

THE LIFE AND 8
LETTERS OF 8 8
ROBERT LEIGHTON
RESTORATION BISHOP
OF DUNBLANE AND 8
ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW

BY THE REV. D. BUTLER
MA. F.R.S.E. MINISTER OF
TRON KIRK EDINBURGH

SCS #1044

To Aunt Jane
from Sandy

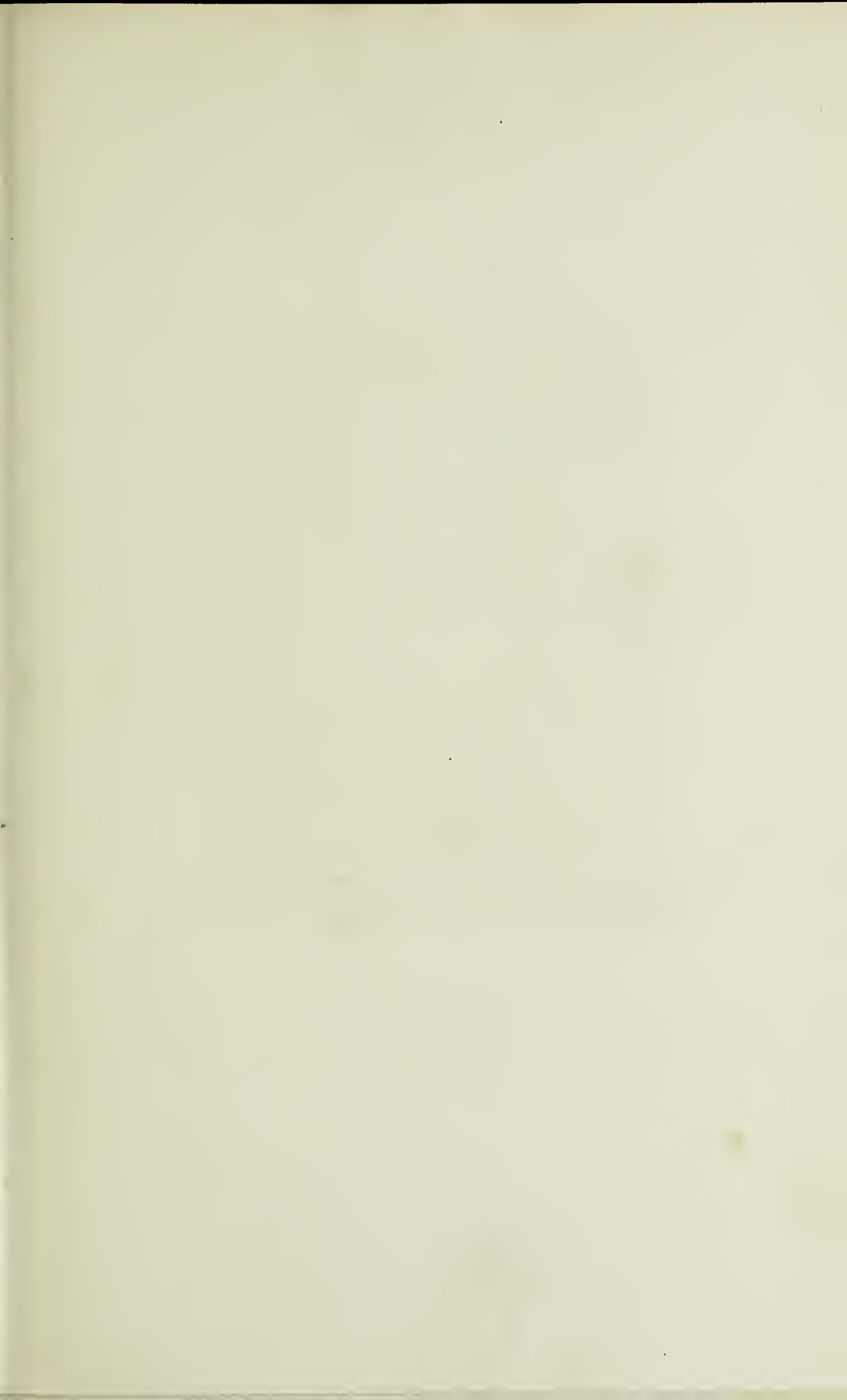
Nov. 1906.

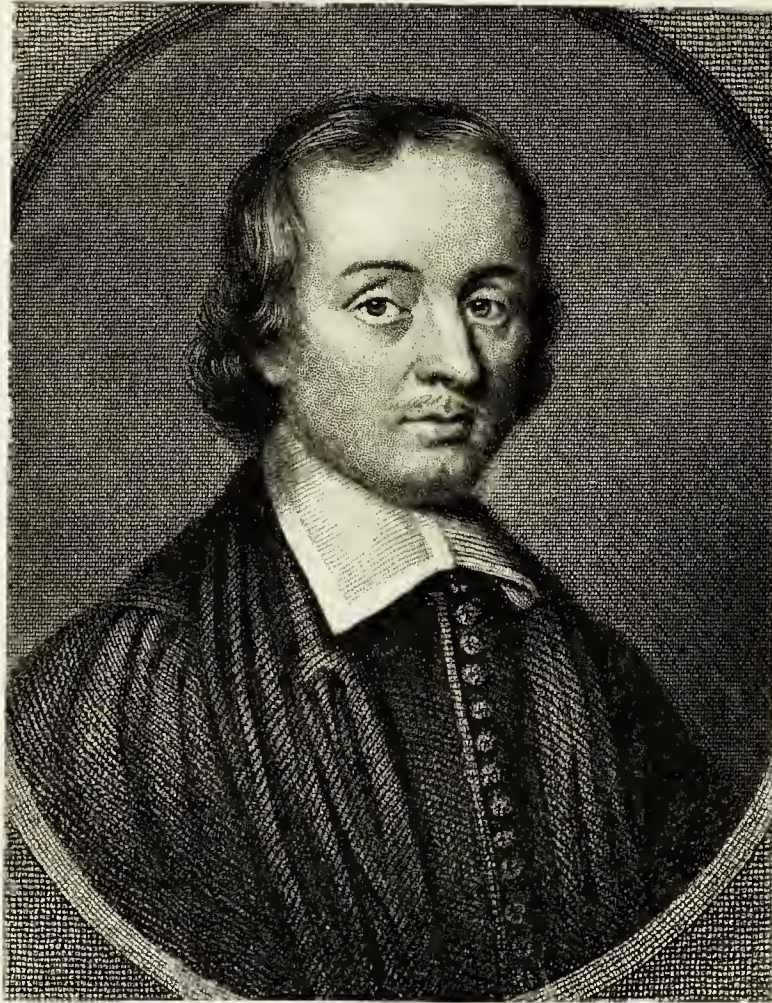
T. F. Torrance

“A purer, humbler, holier spirit never tabernacled in Scottish clay.”—
PROFESSOR FLINT.

“Tauler will be, for the rest of my life, one of my sacred guides, and will stand, after my Bible, with Plato and Leighton, and the *Theologia Germanica*, and Coleridge, and Tennyson, and the German and Wesley hymns. A strange jumble, you will say, of heterogeneous springs of thought! Yet all, I think, assuaging to the same thirst.”—DR. JAMES MARTINEAU.

“If the tradition of Archbishop Leighton could at length replace that of Archbishop Laud, how much might the Episcopal Bench do, even at once, for the unification of Christ’s Church.”—CANON HENSON.





Reproduced in Photoengraving by Adams & Sons Glasgow.

ROBERT LEIGHTON, D.D.

*Engraved by G. Brown from the rare original by R. White,
in the Collection of R. W. Martin Esq^r*

The Life and Letters of Robert Leighton

Restoration Bishop of Dunblane and
Archbishop of Glasgow ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣

By the Rev. D. BUTLER, M.A.
F.R.S.E. MINISTER OF THE TRON KIRK,
EDINBURGH, and Author of "*Scottish Cathedrals
and Abbeys*" "*Henry Scougal and the Oxford
Methodists*" "*John Wesley and George Whitefield
in Scotland*" "*The Ancient Church and Parish of
Abernethy*"

LONDON: HODDER AND
STOUGHTON 27
PATERNOSTER ROW 1903

Butler & Tanner The Selwood Printing Works Frome and London

PREFACE

IT is to be regretted that Gilbert Burnet did not write the life of Leighton as he intended to do, for his long intimacy and correspondence with him gave insight as well as material which no one but Burnet possessed, and the latter, so far as is known, no longer exists, beyond what has been incorporated in the *History of His Own Times*. Philip Doddridge also contemplated a larger life than he has given in the preface to his edition of Leighton's works, but he never attained it, and letters which he possessed (written by Leighton) have now disappeared, or at least, if extant, are at present inaccessible. Since then, lives of Leighton have been promised and projected, but no full life has yet appeared. The following life is an endeavour to supply the want, and at no time was it so necessary, since the very problem which Leighton endeavoured to solve in the seventeenth century has been recently before the Church.

Burnet's account has been hitherto the chief source of information regarding Leighton, and well is it so, for Burnet estimated him aright. In the following life, the valuable edition of Burnet's *History*, edited by Mr. Osmund Airy, has been used.

Other *original* sources of information are:—(1) *The Correspondence of the Earl of Ancram and the Earl of Lothian*, edited by Dr. David Laing (2 vols., Bannatyne Club, 1875). (2) "Extracts from the Presbytery Books of Dalkeith and from the Session Records of Newbattle," by the late Rev. Dr. Gordon, parish Minister of Newbattle (with introductory remarks by Dr. David Laing) in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. iv. pp. 459-489. These valuable extracts correct various mistakes into which Bishop Burnet has fallen

and which have misled later writers. On this account special thanks are due to Dr. Gordon for his excellent work as well as (3) to the late Dr. Wilson, Minister of Dunning and Clerk to the Synod of Perth and Stirling for publishing and editing the *Register of the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane*, containing eighteen of Leighton's addresses.

(4) Reference must also be made to the "Account of the Foundation of the Leightonian Library," by Robert Douglas, Bishop of Dunblane (*Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. iii. 229-272), and (5) to "Bishop Leighton's Resignation of the See of Glasgow" (*Maitland Miscellany*, vol. iv. part i. pp. 295-299), while it is to be regretted that the earliest volume of the *Synod Book of Glasgow and Ayr*, which is now preserved, does not extend further back than 1687, fourteen years after Leighton had resigned the See. Were its valuable predecessor to be discovered, no doubt Leighton's Addresses to the Synod of Glasgow might be brought to light, and another addition made to the religious literature of the Church.

(6) The *Lauderdale Papers*, edited for the Camden Society by Mr. Osmund Airy, contain several letters of Archbishop Leighton, written to Lauderdale, and of Lauderdale, written to the Archbishop. Another letter, written by the Archbishop to Lauderdale (but not included in the above) was published in the *Bannatyne Miscellany* (vol. iii. pp. 231, 232), and is included in the present work.

These letters, as well as those (nineteen in all) published by Wilson in 1758, afford a true insight into Leighton's religious ideals and aspirations. The present writer has incorporated all these *original* sources of knowledge in his present work, as well as consulted directly *all* the previous biographical notices to be found in the various encyclopædias, biographical dictionaries, and editions of Leighton's works from those edited by Principal Fall to Mr. West.

He has also found some original matter in the many volumes of the Historical Manuscript Commission as well as

in those of the Scottish Historical Society, while he has made a wide study of seventeenth century literature in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the British Museum as well. The results of this research are also incorporated in this work, although he was not always rewarded by finding references to Leighton where he expected to have found them. Leighton was the most respected of the Restoration Scottish Bishops, and even Covenanting polemics are somewhat abated in dealing with his scheme, however much they were naturally opposed to it. He was a man *apart*.

To the original sources of direct information already indicated there are added others in this work for the first time :—(a) A letter addressed by Leighton to the Provost and Town Council of Edinburgh, shortly before his reordination as Bishop in Westminster Abbey (p. 291). (b) All the references to him and of him in the *Edinburgh Town Council Records* during the period of his Principalship in Edinburgh College (pp. 293–302). For both I am much indebted to the kindness and courtesy of Thomas Hunter, Esq., W.S., Town Clerk of Edinburgh, to whom I express my warm thanks. (c) Through the kindness and interest of Sir James Marwick, LL.D., Town Clerk of Glasgow, I am able to publish in this work extracts from the *Glasgow Council Records*, showing the conciliatory manner in which Leighton, when Archbishop of Glasgow, discharged his duty of appointing the magistrates (pp. 494–496). (d) Leighton's mortifications to the Hospital of St. Nicholas, with the Council's answer thereanent. (e) His Institution of Bursaries, with his remarkable will (pp. 592–594). (f) The references to Archbishop Leighton that still exist in the few surviving pages of the *Records of Glasgow Presbytery* during Leighton's tenure of office (pp. 496–497). For these five original sources of information I desire to express my grateful thanks to Sir James Marwick, LL.D., while they contain letters of the Archbishop that have hitherto remained hidden.

I desire also to express my hearty indebtedness to the Presbytery of Dunblane, as well to their Clerk (the Rev. Mr. Wilson, of the Trossachs), for kind permission granted me to examine the Records. The results are published in the Appendix, and show that Bishop Leighton only sat in the Presbytery as a Member of the Court, and took part in its deliberations practically as a presbyter, his attendance being stated in the sederunt and his name given almost always as distinct from that of the moderator, who was a presbyter (pp. 575-581). Research in these Records was also rewarded by the account of an ordination service at Port of Menteith in 1667, which will be found at pp. 580-1. This shows that the Bishop had no monopoly of the ordination service, but took his part along with the presbyters, who ordained by the laying on of hands, the same questions being put as were used in Presbyterian times. This I consider an important contribution to the controversy regarding episcopal ordination, and it shows Leighton as making a concession that was in accordance with his own gentle, self-effacing nature.

For the copying of these extracts from the originals, I am indebted to Mr. Robert Renwick, Deputy Town Clerk, Glasgow, and to Mr. John Jarvis, City Chambers, Edinburgh. That assurance will guarantee their accuracy, since they are copied by the pens of two experts, who are quite at home in the contracted writing of the seventeenth century.

Through the kindness of the Rev. Principal Fairbairn, D.D., LL.D., Mansfield College, Oxford, who gave me a letter of introduction to the Rev. Principal Vaughan Price, D.D., New College, Hampstead, I was able to set a matter at rest. Doddridge distinctly stated that he had reserved letters of Leighton's for a future work, and it was thought by me that they might survive among Doddridge's papers, which are preserved in the Library of New College, Hampstead. Principal Vaughan Price has examined the

carefully indexed volumes, and is quite clear on the point that no letters survive among the preserved correspondence. For this research I am very grateful to him.

Leighton's birthplace is still a matter of doubt. Discovering that his father was a frequent attender at the services of St. Ann's, Blackfriars, London (if he was not an actual member of the church), and that he had been in England probably about the time of his distinguished son's birth, I thought the baptismal registers of St. Ann's might afford some testimony. They have been now searched, but there is no reference to any one bearing the name of Leighton. For this kindness, I desire to express my indebtedness to the Rev. P. Clementi-Scott, rector of the church.

Besides the numerous references throughout the work, I cannot close the preface without referring to the constant help I have received from my wife, especially in research at the Bodleian and British Museum, as well as to the Rev. J. Ritchie, B.D., Minister of Dunblane, for permitting me to examine the Leightonian Library in his parish, and to take some notes of its contents; to the Rev. Mr. Jamieson, of Portobello, Clerk to the Presbytery of Edinburgh; to the Rev. Mr. Dodds, of Garvald, Clerk to the Presbytery of Haddington; and to the Rev. Mr. Pryde, Clerk to the Presbytery of Glasgow.

General study has enabled me accurately in some cases, approximately so in others, to affix dates to letters that bear no date, and the whole is an endeavour to sum up, to give unity as well as additional elements to, all that can be at present known regarding Leighton's history. The discovered letters here published and those from the *Lauderdale Papers*, preserve the archaic language of Leighton which has disappeared from the editions of his works through the supposed "improvements" and "modernizing" of editors.

The portrait affixed to this volume is upon the whole the

CHAPTER V

ROBERT LEIGHTON—YOUTH AND STUDENT LIFE	48
--	----

CHAPTER VI

RESIDENCE ABROAD	67
----------------------------	----

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLES OF SCOTTISH PRESBYTERY WITH PRELACY UP TO THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY	112
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII

ROBERT LEIGHTON—MINISTER OF NEWBATTLE (1641-1653) .	137
---	-----

CHAPTER IX

ROBERT LEIGHTON—PRINCIPAL OF EDINBURGH COLLEGE (1653-1662)	245
---	-----

CHAPTER X

LEIGHTON'S TRANSITION FROM PRESBYTERY TO EPISCOPACY .	303
---	-----

CHAPTER XI

ROBERT LEIGHTON, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE 323

CHAPTER XII

ROBERT LEIGHTON, ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW 433

CHAPTER XIII

RESIGNATION, RETIREMENT, DEATH 498

CHAPTER XIV

LEIGHTONIANA 517

CHAPTER XV

TRIBUTES TO LEIGHTON'S SPIRITUAL GENIUS 530

CHAPTER XVI

LEIGHTON AND MONASTICISM 541

CHAPTER XVII

CONCLUSIONS 546

APPENDICES

	PAGE
LADY ULLISHAVEN	13
DR. ALEXANDER LEIGHTON	46
ROBERT LEIGHTON'S COLLEGE COURSE AT EDINBURGH . . .	62
EXTRACTS FROM PRESBYTERY BOOKS OF DALKEITH, RELAT- ING TO THE REV. ROBERT LEIGHTON	220
EXTRACTS FROM EDINBURGH COUNCIL RECORDS RELATING TO PRINCIPAL LEIGHTON	293
BISHOP LEIGHTON'S SYNOD ADDRESSES	366
EXTRACTS FROM GLASGOW COUNCIL RECORDS RELATING TO ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON	494
EXTRACTS FROM GLASGOW PRESBYTERY RECORDS, OR THE ARCHBISHOP AS A PRESBYTER	496
EXTRACTS FROM DUNBLANE PRESBYTERY RECORDS, WITH ACCOUNT OF AN ORDINATION IN WHICH BISHOP AND PRESBYTERY ACT CONJOINTLY	575

CONTENTS

xv

PAGE

THE LEIGHTONIAN LIBRARY AT DUNBLANE	582
LEIGHTON'S MORTIFICATIONS	592
THE BISHOP'S PALACE AT GLASGOW	595
INDEX	597

CHAPTER I

THE LEIGHTONS OF USAN

“Man ! Trust me, 'tis a clay above your scorning,
With God's image stamped upon it, and God's kindling breath within.”

E. B. BROWNING.

USAN is an ancient Scottish estate, in the parish of Craig, near Montrose. The first recorded proprietors of it were the Rossies, who held it for at least two generations, during which time the name was written Hulysham. It is now vain to conjecture when it received the Homeric designation of Ulysseshaven or Ulishaven, or when that name passed into the shorter form of Usan.

Usan is situated, as the old statistical map indicates,¹ in that part of the present parish known anciently as Inch-brayoch, from the church of St. Braoch, which was situated on an island in the middle of the South Esk. Braoch may be the same as Brioc, who was a saint of Brittany,² and may indicate that the early settlers brought their native patron saint's name to their new home. Besides this old place of worship there were others in the parish. The chapel of St. Fergus exists only in name ; that of St. Mary is now marked by the burial-places of several proprietors of Usan, and is situated on the sea-shore not far from the entrance to the Usan property. The chapel of St. Skeoch is romantically situated upon a cliff by the sea-shore to the south-west of

¹ Vol. ii. p. 495.

² Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints*, appendix-vol. p. 116.

Usan and doubtless originated in being the abode of a hermit, who is supposed to have been one of the twelve disciples of St. Columba. There are three saints of this name in the Irish Calendar, and Dr. Reeves considers the word a corruption of Echoid or Eochaidh, which is found under the name of Skeoch in some of the south-western districts of Scotland. The situation is an impressive one :—

“St. Skeas’ grey rock stands frowning o’er
The troubled deep ;
A structure formed by nature’s hand,
A bridge with wave-worn arches planned,
Whose echoing depth the surges spanned,
Where wind and wave
Their voices raise, in concert grand,
When tempests rave.”

Usan has been long famous as a fishing village, and in old times when the King or Court resided at Forfar it is said that fresh fish were conveyed daily from it to the county town, by a road which led through Montreathmont Muir, the track of which is known to this day as “the King’s cadgers’ road.”¹ It may be added that the ancient Forfarshire family of Tulloch (which before 1493 merged by marriage into that of Wood and between whom and the Leightons there were also intermarriages)² is said to have held the adjoining lands of Bonnington under the tenure of supplying fresh fish to the royal table.

The mansion-house of Usan is more inland, although it commands a lovely and extensive view of the ocean. Not the present house, but one on a site near the present lodge and nearer the extensive gardens, was the home of the Leighton family for centuries.

The surname of Leighton is said to be of Saxon origin, and to signify a place or town of pasture. It is believed to have

¹ *New Statistical Account*, vol. xi. p. 251.

² Register of Privy Seal.

been assumed from the barony of Leighton in the county of Bedford, where there were persons of the name prior to the Norman conquest. Soon after that event, Sir Richard, son of Sir Titus de Leighton, who was a co-founder of the Abbey of Buldewas in Salop, made a grant to that monastery.¹ The family may have followed the general movement of leading families northward about this period, but the Leightons appear first in the county of Forfar and in the neighbourhood of Montrose.² As early as 1260 William of Lechton is witness to a grant by Walter of Rossy, whose ancestors, vassals of the old Norman family of Malherb, held the lands from which they assumed their surname and also those of Usan from at least 1245. Probably the Leightons acquired the lands of Usan from the lords of Rossy, and perhaps Dominus Wilhelmus de Legheton, miles, who gave homage to King Edward I on July 17, 1291,³ was the son of the baron who witnessed the charter above referred to. His designation of knight indicates that he had rendered good service to his country.

In 1337 Thomas of Lychton, probably a son of Sir William, was clerk of the livery at Kildrummy Castle, and in 1342 a person of the same name and surname is designated Canon of Moray and collector of the customs of Inverness.⁴ Walter of Lichton is witness to a charter in 1390, and in 1406 Walter Lychton is described as the son of the late Walter Lychton. This latter was the laird of Usan, who fell at the feud of Glasclune in 1391, betwixt the first Earl of Crawford and his relative the Wolf of Badenoch. Leighton was half-brother to Sir Walter Ogilvy, Sheriff of Angus, who also fell there; and the incident is thus referred to by Wyntoun—

¹ Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

² *Calendar of Documents*, vol. ii. p. 124.

³ Jervise's *Memorials of Angus and Mearns*, p. 264: Warden's *Angus or Forfarshire*, vol. lii. p. 157.

⁴ *Chamb. Rolls*, vol. i. 245, 267, 283.

Gud Schir Walter of Ogylwy,
 That manly knycht and that worthy,
 Scherrave that tyme of Angus,
 Godlike wis, and verteuous :
 And a gud Sqwyer of gret renown,
 His Bruthir Wat cald of Lichtoun :
 (To this gud Schirrave of Angus
 Half Brothir he wes, and rycht famous :
 Of syndry Fadirs was thai twá,
 Of lauchful bed ilkáne of thá).¹

The son of this ill-fated man, probably on account of his relationship with the Ogilvys, had a small annuity out of the lands of Campsie in Lintrathen, and contemporary with him and his father was Duncan of Lichtoun, who in 1391 is designated "locum tenens vice comitis de Forfar," and in 1409 is a witness in a charter² of a part of the lands of Kinnaird. In 1428 Alexander de Lichtoun—"miles, prior domus de Torfychyne"—knight and prior of the hospital or preceptory of Torphichin,³ which from 1153 was the principal Scottish residence of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem—appears as a witness in a charter to Patrick de Ogilvy of the lands of Maines.⁴

In 1483, on the death of William, Abbot of the Tyronensian Abbey at Arbroath, and the college being divided in opinion regarding the election of a successor, the settle-

¹ *Chronicle*, ii. 369.

² *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, pp. 201, 208.

³ In the *Libri Bullarum of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem* there is a "Licentia" of the Grand Master, Philebert de Naillac, dated August 23, 1418, granting leave of absence from the Convent for three years to a Scottish Knight of Rhodes, named Alexander de Lichton.

Another Alexander de Lychtoun occurs as Bishop of Brechin in 1415 (Hutton MSS., Stafford Club).

In *Burke's General Armory* the arms of the Lichtons of Usan are given as: "Lighton (Ullishaven, Scotland) argent, a lion rampant, gules armed or crest, a lion's head. Motto, 'Light On.'" Leighton used the family crest as his seal when Bishop (Blair's *Life*, p. 47).

⁴ *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, p. 22, No. 111.

ment was entrusted to the Prior of Fyvie, who made choice of Sir David of Lichtone, who was of the Usan family and at that time held the offices of Clerk of the King's Treasury and Archdeacon of Ross. So popular was the appointment that 3,000 gold ducats were voted by the Convent to defray the expenses of expediting Leighton's bulls at Rome.¹ He held the office of abbot down to at least 1505, and during his abbotship a relative of his own—Walter Lichton, son to the laird of Usan—acted as justiciary of the regality of the abbey. This officer administered the formidable jurisdiction of the abbot, who held all his lands "in free regality," i.e. with sovereign power over his people and the unlimited emoluments of criminal jurisdiction. The noblest thought it no degradation to hold their lands as vassals of the great abbey of Arbroath.

Other members of the Usan family were Churchmen, and some of them were connected with the Chapter of Brechin Cathedral, but the greatest and best known of the Churchmen who came from Usan was Henry de Lichtoun, Bishop of Moray, and afterwards of Aberdeen. He succeeded at Elgin Bishop Innes (1406–1421) who was a Churchman of great repute, and was "the greatest builder of the greatest and fairest fabrick in the kingdom—the Cathedral of Elgin. The work itself, the common tradition, and the inscription on his tomb, confirm what is said sufficiently—notabile opus incepit et per septenium potenter ædificavit. He died young and seems to have given much from his estate towards the Cathedral."² Leighton was certainly not an unworthy successor to this beneficent prelate, and continued his work of restoration. The "Wolf of Badenoch" had descended from the hills in 1390 with a band of wild Scots, and burned a considerable part of the town of Elgin, St. Giles' Church

¹ *Reg. Nig. de Aberbr.*, 208–11.

² *The Familie of Innes*, pp. 12, 13.

the Maison Dieu, the manses of the clergy, and the Cathedral itself. Notwithstanding his great age, Bishop Bur proceeded with the restoration of the Cathedral, Bishops Spynie and Innes persevered, but Bishop Leighton continued it, accepting the office at considerable sacrifice. His first preferment in the Church appears to have been in the Cathedral of Moray, where he was canon and chanter. In 1414 he assisted at a meeting of the Chapter of Moray, held upon the death of Bishop Innes, where it was resolved that whichever of the canons succeeded, should devote a third part of his revenues to the expenses of building the Cathedral, till its completion. The choice fell on Leighton, and on March 8, 1414, he was consecrated¹ Bishop of Moray, taking the oath that he would devote one-third of his income to the work of restoration. He was Bishop of Moray from 1414 to 1422 and fulfilled his obligation, part of which may be seen in portions of the west front and the interior of the chapter house, which indicate by their architecture that they belong to the fifteenth century.² If Bishop Leighton was a cathedral-restorer at Elgin he helped with equal generosity in the *erection* of St. Machar's Cathedral at Aberdeen. The precise date of his translation is uncertain, but it was probably in 1421 or 1422, and he remained there till his death in 1440. As Bishop of Aberdeen he witnessed the charter (Feb. 20, 1423) founding a chaplainry at St. Mary's altar in the choir of the Cathedral. He was one of the Commissioners to England to arrange the ransom of King James I, and after the king's return from his imprisonment, the bishop was one of those selected for an embassy to Rome, from which he appears to have returned before June 20, 1427, on which day, at the desire of the Abbot and Convent

¹ In the *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*, it is stated (p. xiv.) that Leighton or Lychton was consecrated at Valentia by Pope Benedict XIII

² *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 122

of Arbroath, he confirmed to their call at Ardlogy, the vicarage of their church at Fyvie. On October 28, 1427, he converted the revenues of Bishop Matthew, which he alleged to have been abused, to the maintenance of his episcopal table and support of two chaplains at St. Peter's Chapel in the Cathedral—a questionable transaction which was sanctioned by Pope Eugenius IV in 1435. On July 17, 1428, letters passed the Great Seal, appointing him one of three ambassadors to the French Court for treating of the marriage of the infant Princess of Scotland with the Dauphin. He was still in Scotland on August 7 of that year, and seems to have returned from his embassy before October 9, 1431, for on that day he made a transaction at Aberdeen for enlarging the episcopal palace or its grounds. On April 20, 1439, he founded an anniversary for himself, and the same year made a similar endowment to the vicars of the choir for the anniversaries of his father and mother. He also founded the chapel of St. John (in which he afterwards rested) and made during his episcopate several donations to the church of books, vestments and plate.¹

Two other important aspects of his career must not be forgotten. The first brings him before us as a reconciler of parties. After the death of the ill-fated King James I, Chancellor Crichton and Sir William Livingston, between whom a feud existed as to the custody of the young King James II, met in the Church of St. Giles', Edinburgh, and came to a mutual understanding. But they had not come there at their own instigation. When their rivalry was at its height, and was likely to be attended with most disastrous effects to the kingdom, two of the Scottish bishops, Leighton of Aberdeen and Winchester of Moray, induced the disputants to meet for conference. Unarmed and slenderly attended, they repaired to St. Giles' Church,²

¹ Preface to *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, pp. xxxvi.-xxxviii.

² *Tytler's History*, vol. iv. p. 21.

where they debated their differences and were reconciled to each other—the charge of the youthful monarch being entrusted to Livingston, whilst the Chancellor was rewarded with an increase of his individual authority.¹

The second, more continuous and distinguishing aspect of his career as Bishop of Aberdeen was the splendid work he did as the builder of the Cathedral of St. Machar. Up to this time the Cathedral had a rather chequered history. The third Bishop of Aberdeen had begun the building of a cathedral church between 1183 and 1199 to supersede the primitive church then existing, “which (new) building, because it was not glorious enough, Bishop Cheyne threw down.”² The second cathedral was begun about 1282, but was interrupted by the Scottish war with Edward I during the Bishop’s absence in temporary banishment. Robert the Bruce “seeing the new cathedral he had begun, made the church to be built with the revenues of the Bishopric.”³ This cathedral was again thrown down by Bishop Alexander Kininmond, who succeeded in 1355 and began the present cathedral about 1366. Of his operations there remain two large piers for the support of the central tower, which form the earliest portion of the structure of St. Machar now remaining.⁴ The Dean and Chapter (of which Barbour, the father of Scottish poetry, was a member) taxed themselves for the fabric in sixty pounds annually for ten years: the Bishop surrendered revenues worth about twice that sum: the Pope in 1380 made a grant of indulgences to all who should help the work. *But all these appliances only availed to raise the foundations of the nave a few feet above ground,* and forty years elapsed before the Cathedral restorer from

¹ Dr. Lees’ *St. Giles’, Edinburgh, Church, College and Cathedral*, pp. 25-6.

² *View of the Diocese*, p. 48.

³ *Ibid.* p. 163.

⁴ *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, vol. iii. p. 75.

Elgin appeared upon the scene. His work at Aberdeen still stands as a monument to his memory, for Leighton completed the wall of the nave (which may be said to be all of one period), reared the two great western towers, founded the northern transept or St. John's Aisle, and commenced the building of the central tower, which was finally completed by the good Bishop Elphinstone about 1511.¹ In St. John's Aisle (St. John was evidently his favourite saint) the beautiful sculpture of Bishop Leighton's effigy now lies inglorious beneath a rough brick arch, although it appears to have been entire when Orme wrote his history of the Cathedral.² He describes it as an effigy *in pontificalibus* on an altar tomb with a canopy, under which is this inscription—"Hic jacet bone memorie Henricus de Lichtoun," etc. If the mediæval Scottish Church had had many such Churchmen as Bishop Leighton "of good memory" and his illustrious, although not immediate, successor in the See, Bishop Elphinstone, it is beyond doubt that the Scottish Reformation would have been less drastic than it was, and one cannot but think that as Robert Leighton recalled the history of his ancestral home at Usan, one of the brightest and most helpful forms that rose up from the past would be the figure of the good fifteenth century Bishop of Aberdeen.

We have now to proceed from the record of peaceful churchmen to times of violence, with which the house of Usan was connected and which affected the fortune of the family. The laird of Usan who lived towards the middle of the sixteenth century, married a lady named Helen Stirling. He predeceased her, and she afterwards became the wife of James Straton, who is regarded as a cadet of the old family of Lauriston in the Mearns. They lived at Dalladies in the same county, and of this property Straton had probably been

¹ *View of the Diocese*, p. 150.

² Pp. 42, 62.

laird.¹ By Leighton she had a son named John who succeeded his father, and who from some cause unknown, entertained a mortal hatred to his mother after her second marriage. By instigation, it appears that both she and her maid-servant suffered violent deaths "within the Place of Dallady," where they were murdered in cold blood on the night of April 24, 1549—crimes which were aggravated by the fact that both were pregnant at the time.

Persons named Waldy, Tracy and Fothringhame were convicted and hanged for these murders; James Shorewood found caution to appear for the same crime, but Leighton himself, making his escape before the trial, was "denounced rebel and put to the horn." On December 1, 1561, Shorewood was brought before the court, and James Straton and James Lychtoun, the latter of whom was parson of Dunloppy, appeared as prosecutors, when a protest was entered against Lychtoun by the defenders setting forth that "conform to the lawis" the parson "suld tyne his benefice," by which it would appear that in those days the clergy were not allowed to prosecute in criminal cases. No further record of this barbarous murder is preserved; but apart from that charge it appears the assassins were also accused of "breaking up the chests of the said James Stratoune, and stealing and reiving, furth of the said place and chests, all the goods and jewels contained therein."²

This murder had a bad effect upon the fortunes of the house of Usan, although the property was afterwards restored to the family.³ In 1591 Leighton of Usan (evidently son to the preceding laird) is again charged with murder (along with others),⁴ and in course of the first half of the seventeenth century it is believed that the family ceased to have

¹ Jervise's *Memorials*, p. 266.

² Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 344.

³ R. M. S.

⁴ Pitcairn, vol. i. pt. i. p. 264.

possession of the estate, and John who in 1619 was served heir to his father Robert Leighton in the south or sunny side of the estate—the north or shady side being then in other hands¹—is the last of the family found mentioned in connexion with the property. This Robert is supposed to be nephew to the celebrated Dr. Alexander Leighton,² of whom we shall hear more in the next chapter, and who was the father of the celebrated Archbishop of Glasgow. John Leighton, or Lichton, is the last of the name who appears to have had any connexion with Usan, and Sir John Carnegie of Craig, third son to the first Earl of Southesk, had a charter of a portion of Ulishaven from his father in 1618. In 1672 the Lord Treasurer Maitland, taking advantage of the confidence reposed in him by James VII, appropriated to himself large possessions in almost all parts of the kingdom, and added to these the barony of Usan, of which he and his heirs had power to dispose at pleasure.³ Of the old “tour and fortalice” of Usan mentioned in his charter, there is now no trace.

The Leightons of Usan⁴ thus suffered from storms as adverse to their destiny as those that beat upon their rocky coast; no trace of their mansion-house or their resting-place even survives in the district; subsequent proprietors are

¹ *Inq. Spec. Forfar*, Nos. 118–22.

² Jervise, p. 267.

³ Douglas Peerage, ii. 514 : *Acta. Parl.* viii. 122.

⁴ In the “House of Carnegie of *Southesk*,” the following members of the family are mentioned, having been jurors :—

Duncan Lychtoun of Ulishaven (Feb. 20, 1409).

Walter Leighton of do. (March 5, 1506).

Walter Leighton of do. (April 29, 1514).

Thomas Leighton of do. (April 13, 1532).

In the Record of the Convention of Royal Burghs, Robert Leighton appears as Commissioner for Montrose between 1575 and 1591 (vol. i. pp. 41, 121, 229, 244, 353) and Patrick Leighton between 1612 and 1630 (ii. 377; iii. 217, 305, 310, 321, 324). The name is still not an unknown one in Montrose.

commemorated in their burying-ground at St. Skeoch's or St. Mary's churchyards, but in neither of these nor in the old churchyard of Inchbrayoch, is there any monument to be found belonging to this old family, although it is almost certain that the place of family sepulture must have been in one of the three churchyards, probably in Inchbrayoch as the Rev. Robert Scott, Minister of Craig, thinks. The present mansion-house is long subsequent to the time of the Leightons and is comparatively modern; the old one was near the present lodge, but not even a stone of it remains on the site. The well of the old house is still used, and not far from the lodge is an ancient ash tree with a great spreading root and a wide-spreading head, described to the writer by the gardener as the "grandfather of all the ash trees on the estate." It bears indications of extreme age, and could only have reached its present height, colossal in relation to all the surrounding trees, *by being protected in its early stage from the violent sea-winds*. West of the tree all is cultivated land, and east of it and between it and the present lodge, probably stood the old house of Usan—north of which again was the stately garden. On no other hypothesis but on that of protection—unique protection—can the height and massiveness of the ash tree be explained on this stormy coast, and its great age is beyond doubt.

When the good Robert Leighton visited the house which his fathers occupied for nearly four centuries, this ash tree in its early stage may have met his eyes on the lawn at the west side of the house, while the neighbouring ruined chapels, with the dust of the hamlets and his forefathers sleeping around them, must have uttered much to his reverent heart. While there was much in the tradition around the old place of which he might be justly proud, the untimely effects of violence, the variability of human things and the turmoil which self-will produced could not fail to suggest many of those thoughts that afterwards pervaded

his writings in such a vein. But another and an eternal voice would also speak out, which he so often heard and so well obeyed—

“What is that to thee? Follow thou Me.”¹

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

(1539) Oct. 31.—Remission to Thomas Lichtoune of Vllishavin, for the Slaughter of Andrew Tait, &c. (Apud Falkland).

Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials* (vol. i. part ii. p. 252.)

(1549) May 29,——

John Lichtoune, of Vllishaven, denounced rebel, and put to the horn, as fugitive from the law, for the Murder of the said Helen Striueling, his mother, and Jonet Sawlie, her servant, (Helen Striueling is described in the previous paragraph as “Lady Ullifhavin, spouse of James Stratoune”)—the “said Helen and Jonet her servant being pregnant at the time of the said Murder” (Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials* vol. i. part ii. p. 344.)

(1550) May 10.—James Schoriswod and twelve others found caution to underly the law, on Jul. 8, for the cruel Slaughter and Murder of Helen Striueling Lady Ullifhavin, and Jonet Saule her servant (*Ibid.* p. 350.)

(1561) Dec. 1.—James Schoriswod delatit for arte and parte of be crewell Slauchter of vmq^{le} Helene Stirling, Lady Ullefhevene. *Prulocutouris for be pannel, Mr. George Strang, James Crawmond of Aldbar.*

The quhilk day comperitin jugement James Stratoune, and James Lychtoun, Parfone of Dunloppy; and bai being requirit be be said James Schoriswood, gyf bai wald perfew him of his lyfe for be said Slauchter? Anfuerit, bat bai wald perfew him for be samyn. And bairupon be said James Schoirifwod askit ane Act of Court and instrumentis, and protestit bat be said Parfone fuld tyne his benefice conforme to be lawis.

Thomas Guthre of Kynbach protestit for his dampnage and fkayth fustenit be him bat infasar as he was chargit be be Letteris to underly be law, and bat no party comperit to perfew him, that he mycht recouer be samyn, ovther vpone be officiar executour of

¹ Cf. *Sermons before Scottish Parliament.*

be Letteris or party : and *hair* upoune askit instrumentis. (*Ibid.* p. 411.)

Oct. 28, 1591 . . . Lichtane of Vsane, Johnne L., Archibald and Alexander Ogiluy and Johnne Smith his seruandis, George Ogiluy sone to Alexander O. of Drummis, now seruand to James Lord Ogiluy, Williame and . . . O. sonis to Johnne O. of Quheich, . . . O. brother to Innerquharritie, (and sundry others, fervants to the Lairds of Teiling and Balfour, &c.) were charged, "that quhair vpoun the xvj day of August, last past or thairby," they "with convocatioun of his Maiesteis liegis, to the nowmer of thre scoir perfonis or thairby, all bodin is feir of weir with jakkis, fpeiris, haequebutis, pistolettis and vtheris waponis, INVASIUE, prohibite to be worne be the lawis of this realme and actis of Parliament, off the speciall causing, fending, hounding oute, command, &c. of the said Lord, come vpoun vmq^{le} Robert Campbell in Milhorne, Williame of Soutarhous, Thomas C. portionar of Kethik and Johnne C. of Muretoun, and maist cruellie and vnmercifullie murdreift and flew thame, vpoune fett purpois, prouisioun and foirthocht fellouny, in hie and proude contemp-tioun of his Maieftie, and encouragement of vtheris to committ the like shamefull and cruell flauchteris, heireftir," &c.—The Letters raifed were at the instance of "the wyffis, bairnis and re-manent kin and friendes" of the deceased persone, charging the above parties to appear before the King and Council : and they not obeying the charge, were ordained to be denounced rebels, etc." Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. part i. p. 264).

CHAPTER II

DR. ALEXANDER LEIGHTON

“Conscience revered and obeyed,
As God’s most intimate presence in the Soul,
And His most perfect image in the world.”

WORDSWORTH.

“Whatever fault we may find with many of their beliefs, we have a right to be proud of our Pilgrim and Puritan fathers among the clergy. They were ready to do and suffer anything for their faith, and a faith which breeds heroes is better than an unbelief which leaves nothing worth being a hero for.”—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

ALEXANDER LEIGHTON, the father of the Archbishop, was born presumably at Usan, and evidently suffered from the fallen fortunes of the house. His personality is sufficiently distinct, but the course of his life is not very well known. He was born about 1568, and studied at St. Andrews, where he graduated probably in 1587. He himself distinctly states in his petition to the High Court of Parliament in 1640 that he was a graduate of St. Andrews. In the list of students who subscribed the Articles of Religion in St. Leonard’s College in 1586, there is a name resembling “Alexander Leighton,” but the signature is very obscure. It is said that he was professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh in 1611, the year of his son’s birth, but there is lack of evidence for this. There is an undated petition¹ from Leighton, not earlier than 1606, and not later than 1612, addressed to Adam Newton, Dean of Durham and tutor to Prince Henry. In it he asks for a

¹ Harl. MSS., 7004, Art. 71.

small church preferment in the gift of the Dean and Chapter, "donativum nomine St. Iles," i.e. possibly St. Giles; and states that after taking his Master's degree at St. Andrews he had occupied himself "docendo et praedicando Corealibus hisce partibus Anglicanis." His occupation was thus teaching and preaching in the Eastern parts of England, and it was therefore with the English, and not with the Scottish Church, that Leighton was dissatisfied.¹ He may have been at this period one of the "lecturers," of which we shall hear more. He then removed to London, whence he betook himself to Leyden in 1617, studied medicine, and took the degree of doctor of medicine. In *The Index to English Speaking Students who Graduated at Leyden University*, there appears the following entry, "Leighton, Alexander, Anglus, Londiniensis."² In his petition afterwards to the Parliament of 1640, Leighton himself, referring to his suffering in 1630, adds that "the Degrees of the person censured did exempt him from any such punishment, besides inbred generosity: a Master of Arts, I commenced also Doctor: for my capability in these degrees I have the seals of two Universities, St. Andrews and Leyden, with more than ordinary approbation," etc. He was subjected to an examination on his return to England by the Censors' Board of the College of Physicians, who were probably not very anxious to detect his knowledge, as Mr. Gardiner suggests,³ and he was interdicted from practising medicine in England. This was on September 24, 1619. We find him again before the same Court on July 7, 1626, and January 5, 1627. He seems to have practised clandestinely,⁴ while reverting to his

¹ Gardiner's Preface: *History*, vol. vii.

² P. 61.

³ Vol. iii. p. 143.

⁴ In a Breviate to the Bill in the Star Chamber he is described as "sometime a Minister, now pretending himself a doctor in the Church." —Appendix to *Seventh Report of Historical Manuscripts*, p. 260.

clerical work, and gathered around him in the privacy of his own house a considerable number of hearers. The opposition of the College may be explained by the fact that Alexander Leighton was not so much imperfect in his medical attainments as that he emerged pronouncedly in the rôle of a Puritan Lecturer, and brought down upon himself, and indirectly on his profession, the displeasure of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the period.

They may have resented Leighton taking the opportunities afforded him as a medical practitioner to disseminate his religious prejudices, and his publication sufficiently manifested his special direction. In 1624 he published the *Speculum Belli Sacri*, as an incentive to the declaration of war against Spain. It is marked by a furious intolerance, is interspersed with quotations from the classics and Scripture, while he dogmatizes even on military tactics. In 1625 there appeared an anonymous work, "A Short Treatise against Stage-Playes," and in the British Museum Catalogue it is attributed to Alexander Leighton as its probable author. This book, like the *Speculum*, is full of Scriptural quotations and contains "an humble supplication tendered to the High and Honourable House of Parliament assembled May xvijj., 1625." Plays are pronounced as repugnant to the written Word and Will of God, and to examine it is to be strongly convinced of the probable authorship assigned to it. It is similar throughout to the *Speculum*, and manifests its author as the extremest of the extreme Puritans.

In 1628, after the Houses had been prorogued, and the Remonstrance of the Commons was passing from county to county and inflaming the opposition, the friends who met in Leighton's house discussed plans for carrying on the war against the ecclesiastical system that was hostile to freedom, both civil and religious. Some advocated minor reforms, others argued for abating the authority of the bishops, but Alexander Leighton was "right down for the extirpation of

the prelates, with all their dependencies and supporters.' His proposal was well received, and he was asked to embody his views in a petition to Parliament. A draft was soon prepared and circulated amongst those whom Leighton regarded as the "godliest, learnedst, and most judicious of the land." Before long he had 500 signatures to his petition, some of them being Members of Parliament. He crossed to Holland to print the petition, and in its passage through the Press it was elaborated into a treatise, and the appearance of that book "in the year and month when Rochelle was lost" brought very serious consequences for Leighton. His fame and influence were also increased by the most probable—nay, almost certain—fact that during these years in London he had done vigorous work as a "lecturer" and was known as such far and wide throughout England.

The "lecturers" were men who were supported by voluntary contributions and employed in localities where there was a deficiency of clergymen or where the people were unusually zealous. They had no local cure and confined themselves to religious teaching on market days or Sunday afternoons. They arose from the Puritan desire to have preaching more suitable to their minds than that which was supplied by the parish clergy, and when, as Professor Masson says, "many Puritans, educated for the ministry, were glad to have the opportunity of following their calling without such a degree of conformity to Church discipline as would have been necessary if they took full priest's orders and accepted parochial livings. About the beginning of the reign of Charles, there was a movement among the Puritans for their increase: and a scheme for that purpose, among others, had been set on foot by the Puritan leader, Dr. Preston."¹

A committee was appointed to collect funds for the purchase of lay impropriations as they came into the market,

¹ *Life of John Milton*, vol. i. p. 269.

and when a lay impropriation was thus bought it was in the power of the trustees both to appoint a minister and apply the residue of the tithes to the support of "lecturers" over the country. During five years, thirteen impropriations were bought by the funds supplied by wealthy Puritans in London, and it was calculated that in the course of fifty years *all* would be bought in, and the Church would thus be rid of one particular scandal.¹

How Laud regarded this order may be best understood by the "Instructions to the two Archbishops concerning certain orders to be observed and put in execution by the several bishops." No. V. states "that they (the bishops) take great care concerning the lecturers in these special directions following":—

The wording of this instruction in Laud's (or Harsnet's) draft is much fairer:—"That a special care be had over the lecturers in every diocese, which, by reason of their pay, are the people's creatures, and *blow the bellows of their sedition*: for the abating of whose power these ways may be taken:—

"I. That in all parishes the afternoon sermons may be turned into catechising by questions and answers, when and wheresoever there is no great cause apparent to break this ancient and profitable order.

"II. That every Bishop ordain in his diocese that every lecturer do read Divine Service according to the Liturgy printed by authority, in his surplice and hood, before the lecture.

"III. That, where a lecture is set up in a market town, it may be read by a company of grave and orthodox divines near adjoining, and in the same diocese; and that they preach in gown and not in cloaks, as too many do use.

"IV. That, if a corporation maintain a single lecturer, he be not suffered to preach till he profess his willingness to take upon him a living with cure of souls within that corporation: and that he actually take such benefice or cure as soon as it shall be fairly procured for him."²

¹ *Ibid.* Fuller's *Church History*, sub anno, 1630, and Neal's *Puritans*, II. 221-2.

² Gardiner's *History of England*, vol. vii. pp. 130, 131.

In Laud's Diocese of London the order was stringently applied, and it was not likely that he would be favourable to a class of men who were careless about forms and ceremonies, who owed their appointment for religious work to the laity and who could be dismissed by them without episcopal sanction, and especially towards one, like Dr. Alexander Leighton, who was "blowing the bellows of sedition." Row's statement (referring to the period *prior* to Leighton's arrest in 1630) that he had been *silenced*¹ by the bishops, suggests that he had been interfered with in the pursuit of his work as a lecturer. Leighton retired to Holland to escape further disturbance which might prevent the publication of his book, but its ultimate appearance aroused a storm and brought together by a common dislike of subversive doctrines, and a common resolution to punish their dissemination, two men who as yet had formed no special tie of friendship with each other—Laud and Wentworth.²

How this united opposition was aroused, with the terrible punishment that followed, can only be understood by a study of two forces that had long been at work, and at last came into violent antagonism with each other—an antagonism that is nowhere better seen than in the fate of Alexander Leighton, the author of *Zion's Plea*.

¹ *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 301.

² Gardiner, vii. p. 143 : Epitome.

CHAPTER III

PURITANISM AND LAUD

“The greatest liberty of our kingdom is religion.”—PVM.

WHILE the division of Church parties was as old as the Reformation itself, the outstanding fact in the seventeenth century, as far as the internal constitution of the Church was concerned in relation to the clergy and the people alike, was their distribution into two great parties—the Prelatical or Hierarchical party and the Puritan or Nonconformist party, who though within the Church of England were not at ease in it, and were eager for further reforms than the Reformation and subsequent events had given them. At the time of King James' accession (1603) the “millenary petition” makes it clear that scarcely any dissatisfaction was expressed with the essential doctrine of the Church, but only with certain rites and ceremonies as either positively sinful or inexpedient and mischievous. But this dissatisfaction did not terminate with points of Church government and ritual: by 1619 it had developed into a doctrinal antagonism. The most resolute upholders of Episcopacy and the established ritual had not, generally speaking, exhibited any hostility to the Calvinistic *doctrines* of their opponents: at the utmost, they rather abstained from pressing, as their opponents hotly did, the distinctive peculiarities of Calvinism. Yet after the Synod of Dort (1619) the tendency to a doctrinal divergence between the two parties became most evident. It was then perceived that there was an organic connexion between the

Calvinistic theology and the Calvinistic polity and ritual, so that the one implied the other : while it was also perceived that Calvinistic doctrine was chiefly confined to the Puritan section, and that a good many of the hierarchical party tended towards a Romish or Arminian interpretation of the Articles. The "Arminians" and "popishly inclined Doctors" were the most zealous and thoroughgoing supporters of the royal prerogative in the State and of hierarchical forms in the Church, and, as was to be expected, King James' theological prejudices were easily overcome by his partiality towards his divine right theory of Kingship, and it was a matter of complaint that Arminian divines were admitted to intimacy with the King and were favoured with preferments. The pulpits soon became the organs of the popular feeling, and the steady Calvinistic fire from one set was returned by Arminian sharp-shooting from another. Abundant dissertations were heard on the "Five points"—Election, Redemption, Original Sin, Irresistible Grace, and the Perseverance of the Saints—and this was answered by abundant condemnation on the evils of nonconformity. The King resolved on a characteristic measure—to "command silence on both sides or such a moderation as was next to silence." He was helped by Buckingham and the Lord Keeper Williams, Bishop of Lincoln : but the "Directions to Preachers" (1622) forwarded to all the bishops, with instructions that every clergyman or preacher in their dioceses should receive a copy and be obliged to obey its injunctions, failed to lessen the storm. The peace of the Church was not to be preserved by abridging the liberty of preaching, which was in those days the right of free thought and a free press in one. The Puritans and Calvinists protested most loudly, and towards the end of James' reign (1622-5) a new distinction of names arose, superseding to some extent the traditional distinctions into Prelatists and Puritans. Those of the prelatie or hierarchical party, who were most easy under the recent

policy of the Court towards the Catholics, were denounced as Arminians and semi-Papists; and the new name of "Doctrinal Puritans" was invented as a term of reproach for those who held high Calvinistic views and shared in the popular alarm at the concessions to Rome and continental Popery.¹ Bishop Williams was during this period the working partner of Buckingham, both in Church and State, and in State politics his aim seems to have been to bring the prerogative, if possible, into greater harmony with popular feeling, while in Church politics he was disposed towards an inclusive rather than a coercive system. In modern language, his policy was that of the Broad Church. But at this point there appeared prominently on the scene a man who was to supersede Williams in the government of the Church and whose life was to be identified in a very memorable manner for the next twenty years with the history of England. This was William Laud, who did most to kindle the blaze, and in whom the spirit of the new Anglican anti-Calvinism was incarnate "Churchmen in all ages," says Mr. Morley, "are divided into those on the one hand who think most of institutions, and those on the other who think most of the truths on which the institutions rest."² Laud belongs markedly to the first of these types, and his policy was the worst possible to rule the storm or guide the whirlwind.

William Laud was born at Reading in 1573. He was the son of a well-to-do clothier, and passed from Reading free school to St. John's College, Oxford, of which four years later he became a fellow. He took his M.A. degree in 1598: "at which time," says Wood, "he was esteemed by those that knew him a very forward, confident, and zealous person." He was of very small stature, and was known to the wits of the University as "parva Laus" or "little Laud." He became deacon in 1600, priest in 1601, held a divinity lectureship in

¹ Masson's *Milton*, vol. i. p. 312.

² *Oliver Cromwell*, p. 38.

1602, and in 1604 was one of the proctors of the University of Oxford. In the same year he became chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire, and being by 1607 B.D., he became vicar of Stanford, in Northamptonshire; in 1608 he had the advowson of North Kilworth, in Leicestershire, given him; being in the same year made D.D., he became chaplain to Neile, Bishop of Rochester, and to be near him he exchanged the advowson of North Kilworth for that of West Tilbury in Essex; in 1610, on being presented by Neile to the rectory of Cuckstone in Kent, he resigned his fellowship. His connexion with Oxford was renewed in 1611 by his election to the presidency of St. John's, and in that office he remained for ten years, becoming successively Chaplain to the King, Prebendary of Bugden in Lincoln, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Dean of Gloucester, Rector of Ibstock in Leicestershire and Prebendary of Westminster. "In some sort," says Fuller, "he had thus served in all the offices of the Church from a common soldier upwards," and had "acquired an experimental knowledge of the conditions of all such persons as were at last to be subject to his authority." And yet he "bare no great stream," but flowed on in a kind of sombre privacy, "taking more notice of the world than the world did of him." His friends do not seem to have liked him, nor to have been able to make out what he was aiming at. "His life at Oxford," says Archbishop Abbot, "was to pick quarrels with the lectures of the public readers, and to advertise them to the then Bishop of Durham (Neile) that he might fill the ears of King James with discontents against the honest men that took pains in their places, and settled the truth, which he called *Puritanism*, on their authors. *He made it his work to see what* books were in the press and to look over Epistles Dedicatory, and Prefaces to the Reader, to see what faults might be found." It was thought dangerous in Oxford to be much in his company and his habit of ferreting out the faults of his fellow-clergymen and reporting or registering them—

an act incompatible with a generous nature—led to unpopularity. From his earliest days of connexion with the Church he resolved on a patient course from which he never deviated. “Of all diseases,” he says, “I have ever hated a palsy in religion, well knowing that too often a dead-palsy ends that disease in the fearful forgetfulness of God and His judgments. Ever since I came in place I laboured nothing more than that the external public worship of God, too much slighted in most parts of the kingdom, might be preserved, and that with as much decency and uniformity as might be ; being still of opinion *that unity cannot long continue in the Church where uniformity is shut out at the church door*. And I evidently saw that the public neglect of God’s service in the outward face of it, and the nasty lying of many places dedicated to that service, had almost cast a damp upon the true and inward worship of God ; which, while we live in the body, needs external helps, and all little enough to keep it in any vigour.” Laud thus was resolved on a ceremonial worship and punctual conformity to be observed throughout the Church and to be enforced by law and canon. So far he was anti-Puritan, but his anti-Puritanism was more than a passion for uniformity and ceremonial. He believed, as he himself avers, in the “divine apostolical right of Episcopacy.” “There can be no Church without diocesan bishops,” he said in 1603, and in 1614, “The Presbyterians are as bad as the Papists.” In the inexorable logic with which he pressed this position, he was singular even among his own prelatial contemporaries, and he also went farther than most of them in the notion of the superior value of public worship over preaching in the ordinary service of the Church. In all this he was a persistent anti-Puritan, and it was he who invented and put in circulation the term “Doctrinal Puritans” as a synonym for those in the Church of England who adhered to Calvin doctrinally, even though they had no zeal for the Genevan discipline.

Till 1621 this restless, intense man was known only within a limited circle ; he was President of St. John's College, Oxford ; Chaplain to the King, and Dean of Gloucester, as well as Prebendary of Westminster, but he was still "little Laud," the smallest in stature of all the ecclesiastics ; he was noted for his red face, cheery, quick expression, piercing eye, irascible speech, plain garb and short hair. Williams and Buckingham liked him, but the King and Archbishop did not.

"The plain truth is," said King James, "I keep Laud back from all place and authority, because I find he hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change and to bring things to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain." The King told Williams that Laud had been privately pressing on him the project of bringing the Scots to "a nearer conjunction with the liturgy and canons" of the English Church. He rebuffed Laud, but "for all this he feared not mine anger, but assaulted me again with another ill-fangled platform to make that stubborn Kirk stoop more to the English pattern. He knows not the stomach of that people!" Williams still pressed Laud's promotion. "Then take him to you," said the King, "but on my soul you will repent it." And on November 18, 1621, Laud was consecrated Bishop of St. David's.

From the time of the accession of Charles I Laud became a power in the land, and Buckingham confided to Laud the ecclesiastical department of affairs under his government. From the first Laud's theory of Anglican orthodoxy and order was adopted as the royal rule in Church matters, and the schedule which Laud presented to Buckingham nine days after the death of James showed that his object was to drive the question of Arminianism to an issue. The schedule contained the names of many churchmen marked with the letters O and P—divided in other words into two classes, so that the King might know which to promote and which to

keep back. Laud gave his seal to such doctrines as "if princes command any thing which subjects may not perform because it is against the law of God, yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment without either resisting or railing," and "the King is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the rights and liberties of his subjects, but his royal will and command doth oblige the subjects' conscience upon pain of eternal damnation"—moreover "the authority of Parliament is not necessary for the raising of aids and subsidies," and "the slow proceedings of such great assemblies are not fitted for the supply of the State's urgent necessities." Laud had a rapid series of preferments. In June, 1626, he was transferred from the bishopric of St. David's to that of Bath and Wells; in September of the same year he succeeded Andrews as Dean of the Chapel Royal, receiving at the same time notice that in the event of Abbot's death he should be Archbishop of Canterbury. In April, 1627, he and Neile were sworn members of the Privy Council—the last preferment bringing him into closer contact with civil affairs. In 1628, he was appointed Bishop of London, and the assassination of Buckingham gave Laud a deeper grip upon the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom.

Charles announced that there was to be no supreme minister, but that he himself would govern and allot each his part. Laud apparently accepted the conditions but held Charles in his grasp while he professed to serve him, and as the ecclesiastical department received the first shock from the collision with the Parliament, fortune seemed to drive Laud further to the front. The "Declaration" was ordered by the King to be prefixed to a reprint of the Thirty-nine Articles; it is still printed to the Articles in the Book of Common Prayer, but without date or indication of the circumstances amid which it originated. But *then* it was received with different feelings and was regarded as interfering with the liberty of preaching; it was perceived that only the Calvinists would be

restrained, and the delegation of the sole right of ecclesiastical legislation to the crown and clergy was what the Parliament of the day would not endure, and herein was the sting, that the Parliament about to assemble must not interfere with religion.

When Parliament assembled (January 20, 1628-9) the "Declaration" was taken as the chief grievance of all that occurred in the recess. The King was unflinching, and on March 10 Parliament was dismissed, but left as a legacy to the English people these three resolutions passed on the 2nd in uproar and with closed doors :—

1. Whosoever shall bring in innovation of religion or by favour or countenance seem to extend Popery or Arminianism or other opinion disagreeing from the true and orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

2. Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking or levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

3. If any merchant or person whatsoever shall voluntarily yield to pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England and an enemy to the same.

For more than eleven years (March 1628-9 to 1640) there was no Parliament held, and Charles with his ministers were left to govern the country on the principles here condemned, the Church being subject to the Laudian rule, pure and simple. The sole deliberative and legislative body was the King's Privy Council or ministry, consisting of about five and thirty members, and in them was vested the supreme government of England. Laud and Neile were among the working chiefs of the ministry, and in all civil business the ecclesiastical were as active as the lay lords. There was no meeting of convocation any more than of the ecclesiastical parliament, but instead "Instructions to the two Archbishops concerning

certain orders to be observed and put in execution by the several bishops." The enactments were all Laudian and rested for their authority on the King's prerogative.

(1) "The beauty of holiness" was to Laud's mind chiefly centred in a uniformity of the sensuous and ceremonious aids to worship, and it was his effort to increase and perfect them. Laud was for the strict observance of all that was enjoined by the letter of the canons, and for "a restauration" of such "ancient approved ceremonies" as had fallen into disuse since the Reformation.

(2) Laud was as the legislative chief of the Church, the dispenser of the royal patronage, and thereby he gave an impulse within the Church in the Laudian direction by increasing the Laudian element.

(3) He made his own diocese a model of his ecclesiastical order; restored the rite of consecration as it had not been used since Reformation times, and introduced elaborate variations of ceremony in worship. He instituted a severe supervision of Puritans and Nonconformists in his diocese, with swift procedure in cases of offence. Many things that Laud was unable to do as bishop he was able to do as the head of the existing judicial and executive system—an office which entitled him to go beyond his own diocese and practically take cognizance of all the dioceses in England.

(4) The Privy Council was the fountain both of law and judgment, and as such, superseded all other courts of law. The Star-chamber, which was but another edition of the Privy Council (the same persons sitting in different rooms or "divers lords being Privy Councillors, together with two judges of the Courts of Common Law" without jury) enforced the execution of its own decrees. "Whatever, in fact, the council chose to construe as coming under the head of sedition or contempt of authority, was taken, with other causes, under its own immediate jurisdiction—the Council-table conducting the preliminary inquiries, and calling the delinquents before

them, and the Star-chamber receiving the delinquents to be formally tried and punished with fine, imprisonment, or worse penalties." ¹ The bishops were even kept under Laud's hand by this means.

(5) Besides the Council-table and the Star-chamber, Laud and his colleagues had a powerful instrument in the Court of High Commission, the working members of which were the bishops, and three might be a quorum. It wielded the same authority in purely ecclesiastical cases as the Star-chamber had in civil or in ecclesiastical ones bordering on civil. It converted itself into a court of revenue by punishing with huge pecuniary fines, and was empowered "to visit, reform, redress order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, which by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever might be lawfully ordered or corrected."

(6) Laud again as Chancellor of Oxford remodelled the statutes, the execution of which has associated his name with the history of the University as its second founder, and his office enabled him to keep a watch over opinion at that great training-place of churchmen.

By all these means, Laud emerged as the dominant spirit in the English Church and one of the masterful spirits in the English State, and how grievous was the schism that he brought about between his Church and Puritanism, history abundantly testifies. The religious consciousness everywhere, and at all times, revolts against a tyranny, and at no time was the revolt more justified than now. The "little, low, red-faced man," bustling with his definite views and indefatigable official activity, rose above men who were in every way his superiors, to the very top of power, and in 1633 emerges as Archbishop of Canterbury.

¹ Masson's *Life of John Milton*, vol. i. p. 353.

CHAPTER IV

LAUD AND ALEXANDER LEIGHTON

"One thing is needed: it is personal conviction of the truth."
—BISHOP OF RIPON.

"Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament and adversity the blessing of the New."—LORD BACON.

TWO early copies of Leighton's book were sent over to England to be laid before the two Houses of Parliament, but the dissolution came before they reached those for whom they were intended. Yet Leighton himself was passing through vicissitudes. He was in Holland, which was drawn very closely to Scotland in the seventeenth century: he had already been greatly influenced by that Dutch Calvinism of the period which left its mark upon Scotland more profoundly than the Genevan of the sixteenth century, and his book reflected the spirit of the environment amid which it was prepared.

In March, 1629, he was elected and ordained as a preacher in the English Church at Utrecht, but in less than three months he had come to an open opposition with his congregation. He dissented from some of the orders laid down for the guidance of ministers in the province, and he refused to preach on Christmas Day, Good Friday and the other days of the Christian year which the English Puritans of the Netherlands were accustomed to observe. Though his congregation dismissed him, he is said to have persisted in occupying the pulpit till the magistrates intervened and ordered

him to forbear preaching. His wife seems from the following letter (which was found in the State Paper Office and was probably seized at the time of his arrest in England) to have been at first unfavourable to Leighton accepting the office at Utrecht, and was probably aware of the difficulties ahead, which would not suit one of her husband's temperament. Leighton's letter manifests warm family affection, and sheds a light around his character which does not appear in his public life.

LETTER OF DR. ALEXANDER LEIGHTON TO HIS WIFE.

DEAR LOVE,—Having yet once more occasion by a fit bearer to salute you, know that the 14th of March of our style I was getting things in order for my return. I am to be ordained in the place on the 22nd of the said month, whereon also we have the Sacrament. The 24th (being the Tuesday following) I intend to set forth for England, if wind and passage permit; for the which I know you pray earnestly. I was glad to hear by the letter that God hath wrought your heart to my entertaining of the call, which was so freely and publicly put upon me that I could not avoid it. As for the means, we must wait upon God, of whose bounty and goodness we have had many expressions: blessed be His name! hope the Parliament hath the thing (the book?) ere this. [There is then a reference to some one who had promised to get "a protection" for him against his "over-coming."] Howsomever, I mean to come over upon Jehovah's protection, under whose wings if we walk, nothing can hurt us. If I come not with all expedition, know nothing hindereth but want of passage. So, with my dearest love to your sweet self, our children, sister and all our friends remembered, I commend you all to God.

Your ever,

AL. LEIGHTON.

UTRECHT, *March* 14, 1629.

The breach between Alexander Leighton and his congregation took place within three months from the date of this letter, and a few weeks later, finding that there was no place

for him in Holland, he returned to England. His book, *An Appeal to Parliament or Zion's Plea against Prelacy*, was published in 1628 in Holland, and was circulated privately in England. Parliament no longer existed in 1629 to protect him, and in February, 1630, a copy reached Laud's hands. Row tells us "there was great search made in England who should be the author of it,"¹ and Laud at last found that it was the man, who had already been silenced, and he was on his track. On February 17, 1630, Leighton was seized while in the act of leaving Blackfriars' Church, London (which was then served by Dr. William Gouge,² one of the leading Puritan

¹ *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 351.

² A brief notice of Dr. William Gouge (1575-1653) may here be given, as the Leightons evidently attended his church and Robert Leighton in his early years and in his later visits to London must frequently have heard him preach. "Nulla dies sine linea" was Gouge's motto, and his life was an industrious one. During his nine years of residence at Cambridge he was never absent from morning prayers in King's College Chapel, although the hour was half past five, and he always read his stated portion of five chapters before leaving his room. His preaching was a force in London during the forty-five years he was Rector at Blackfriars. He declined all preferment that would take him away from his attached people, saying "The height of my ambition is to go from Blackfriars to heaven." It was a wonderfully domestic and pastoral life which the good man lived under the very shadow of St. Paul's. After his Sunday labours were over many would come to his house, "where he repeated his sermons after so familiar a manner that many have professed that they were much more benefited by them in his repetition than they were in the first hearing of them. For he did not use to read word by word out of notes what he had preached, but by questions and answers would draw from those of his own household such points as were delivered. His exercise being ended, his constant course was to visit such of his parish as were sick, or by pain and weakness were disabled from going to the public ordinances."

His *Wednesday* exposition of Scripture attracted great crowds, and visitors from the country felt that they had not completed the tour of London until they had been to "the lecture in the Blackfriars." For the last thirty years of his life the subject of these lectures was the Epistle to the Hebrews, and neither the interest of the preacher nor the hearers flagged, we are told. Verily he was worthy of the epithet frequently given in the period—"A painful preacher of the word."

ministers), and lodged according to his own words "in a nasty dog-hole, full of rats and mice." He was submitted to a terrible ordeal: his own and the family letters were used as evidence that the book was his, and Laud's vengeance followed upon this pronounced advocate of Puritanism.

All that Laud hated was represented in Alexander Leighton, and he determined to make an example of him. He was a "doctrinal Puritan" of the worst type: he had been one of the irregular lecturers: he was an opponent of the "ceremonies," the decided antagonist of prelacy, and the upsetter of the absolute prerogative of the crown. No wonder, too, that Wentworth, the firm holder of the flood gates of authority against the rising tide of democratic aspiration, became Laud's colleague in the persecution; for had he not said at the close of 1629, "To the joint individual well being of sovereignty and subjection do I vow all my cares and diligence through the whole course of my ministry. I confess I am not ignorant how some distempered minds have of late endeavoured to divide the consideration of the two, as if their ends were distinct, not the same, nay, in opposition: a monstrous, a prodigious birth of a licentious conception: for so should we become all head or all members. But God be praised, human wisdom, common experience, Christian religion, teach us far otherwise."¹ This was to Laud and Wentworth the opportunity of warning Presbyterianism in the Church and Parliamentarism in the State, and it was freely taken advantage of.

Alexander Leighton's book is the work of a vigorous mind, but of a mind with one fixed idea. It is characterized by much learning, but also by a bitter spirit. The prelates are not spared and the two illustrations have the following lines:—

"Prevailing Prelats strive to quench our Light,
Except your ² sacred power quash their might."

¹ *Lord Strafford*, by H. D. Traill, p. 49.

² i.e. Parliament's.

* * * * *

“ The tottering Prelats, with their trumpry all,
Shall moulder downe, like Elder from the wall.”

Whatever evils existed in Church and State are laid to the charge of the anti-Christian and Satanical prelacy, and though *Zion's Plea* spoke respectfully of the King, it did not at the same time hesitate to wound his feelings. The King's marriage was not spared : God had “ suffered him to match with the daughter of Heth, though he missed an Egyptian.” The book was an ecclesiastical manifesto, an appeal to political Presbyterianism to take the sword in hand and to Parliament to take up the work which the King had left undone, as well as to resist a dissolution. Such was the general tendency of *Zion's Plea or Appeal to the Parliament*, but its more specific claims are apparent in its thesis and proposed reforms.

I. First may it please your Honours to take notice, that the calling of the hierarchy, their dependent offices and ceremonies, whereby they subsist, are all unlawful and anti-Christian.

II. The hierarchical government cannot consist in a nation with soundness of doctrine, sincerity of God's worship, holiness of life, the glorious power of Christ's government, nor with the prosperity and safety of the commonwealth.

III. The present hierarchy are not ashamed, to bear the multitude in hand, that their calling is *jure divino*. But they dare not but confess, when they are put to it, that their calling is a part of the King's prerogative. So that they put upon God what he abhorreth, and will hold of the King when they can do no other.

IV. They abuse many ways that power from the King, by changing, adding, and taking away at their pleasure, to the grievous vexation of the subject, the dishonouring of his Majesty, and the making of the laws of none effect.

V. The privileges of the laws and the hierarchical government cannot consist together.

VI. The loyalty of obedience to the King's Majesty and his laws, cannot possibly stand with the obedience to the hierarchy.

VII. All the unparalleled changes, bloody troubles, devastations, desolations, persecution of the truth, from foreigners or domestics, since the year of our Lord 600, arising in this kingdom, and all the good interrupted or hindered, hath had one or more of the hierarchy as principal causes of them.

VIII. All the fearful evils of sin and judgment, for the present reigning among us and threatened against us (to omit the black desolation of our sister churches) we conceive to be the birth of the womb and the nurslings of the breasts of the hierarchy.

IX. If the hierarchy be not removed, and the sceptre of Christ's government, viz. discipline, advanced to its place, there can be no healing of our sore, no taking up of our controversy with God; yea, our desolations, by His rarest judgments, are like to be the astonishment of all nations.

X. Lastly, Right Honourable, if you strike at this root of the hierarchy, removing that Ashtaroth or grand idol, and erect the purity of Christ's ordinances, we are confident that there shall be a ceasing from exorbitant sins, a removal of judgment, a recovery of God's favour, a repairing of the breaches of the Church and Commonwealth, a redeeming of the honour of the State, a dashing of Babel's brats against the stones. Yea, this shall remove the wicked from the throne, strike terror and astonishment to the hearts of all foreign and domestic foes. In a word, God will go forth with us, and smite our enemies: yea a glorious prosperity shall rest upon Zion, King, State and Commonwealth.¹

After dealing with these two principles, at considerable length and with much learning, the author suggests means of removal—

(I) Information—we stand all in need from the King to

¹ pp. 10-12.

the beggar to be awakened, and made sensible of this work to be done : we are deadly secure under the pressure of God's wrath : we are neither sensible of God's honour trod under foot, nor of His glory departed from us, nor of the indignity and indemnity that is upon us and all that we put our hand to : all that pass by spoil us, and we spoil all that rely upon us.¹

(2) The second mean of removal of this great evil, is for ministers and magistrates to set themselves against this superstitious worship and anti-Christian government, teaching and exhorting others for to do the same.²

(3) The third mean of removal of this evil is conceived by some to be a Council called : wherein the authority of the Prelacy, their superiority, their offices, and substituted officers, their liturgy and maintenance may be thoroughly examined, and judged accordingly.³

(4) The fourth mean of removal is "to gather yourselves together in serious humiliation and reformation before the Lord," Zephaniah ii. 2, in knitting your hearts together in the band of love, every one lending his helping hand (according to his place) to the breaking down of Babel.⁴

(5) The fifth convenient mean to take them off will be the removal of their surfeiting and soul-starving means, which maketh them adventure upon their own bane, and maketh them the bane of the nation.⁵

(6) The sixth and last mean of removal is, the continuance of a Parliament, till the tenets of the hierarchy be tried by God and the country, that is, by the laws of God and the land.⁶

Proceedings were commenced against Alexander Leighton in the Court of Star Chamber on June 4, 1630, and the Attorney-General was anxious to find out if Leighton stood

¹ p. 193.

² p. 201.

³ p. 214.

⁴ p. 233.

⁵ p. 235.

⁶ p. 236.

alone, lavished all his powers of persuasion and offered him liberty or forgiveness if he would give up the names of those five hundred who had signed the petition. But Leighton had the stuff in him of which martyrs are made, refused to give any information that would involve his friends, and acknowledged the form of his book to be entirely his own.¹ The following account of the trial is given by Rushworth :—

“ Ann. 1630. An information was formerly exhibited in the Star Chamber against *Alexander Leighton*, a *Scotchman* and Doctor of Divinity, for writing a Book, entitul’d, *An Appeal to the Parliament, or a Plea against Prelacy*, which he printed during the last Parliament, and deliver’d to divers Persons : and he was charg’d in the Information for setting forth therein,

1. That we read not of greater Persecution of God’s People in any Christian Nation than in this Island, especially since the death of Queen Elizabeth.
2. He terms the Prelates Men of Blood, and Enemies to God and the State ; that the establishing Bishops by Law is a Master-sin, and Ministers should have no Voices in council deliberative or decisive.
3. The Prelacy is Antichristian and Satanical ; the Bishops Ravens and Magpies.
4. The Canons of 1603 nonsense.
5. He condemns that Spawn of the Beast, kneeling at the Sacrament.
6. That Prelates corrupted the King, and the Queen was a Daughter of Heth.
7. He commends him that murder’d the Duke of *Buckingham*, and encourages others in the like attempts.
8. He saith, all that pass by us spoil us, and we spoil all that rely upon us ; and instances in the black pining death of the famish’d *Rochellers*, to the number of 15,000 in four months.
9. Saith, The Church hath her Laws from the Scriptures, and no King may make Laws in the House of God ; for if they might, the Scripture would be imperfect.
10. He saith it is pity, and will be an indelible dishonour to the States Representative, that so ingenuous

¹ Leighton’s Answer, Sloane MSS. 41.

and tractable a King should be so monstrously abus'd, to the undoing of himself and his Subjects.

"The Defendant in his Answer confess'd the writing of the Book, but with no such Intention as is suggested, his end being only to remonstrate certain Grievances in Church and State, that the Parliament might take them into consideration and redress them. The Court now proceeded to Sentence and declar'd That it appear'd upon proof the Defendant had printed 5 or 600 of the Books; that he had committed a most heinous offence by his Assertions, to the scandal of the King, Queen, and Peers, especially the Bishops. The two Chief Justices declar'd that they would have proceeded against him for Treason, if it had come before them; and other Lords, that it was his Majesty's Mercy and Goodness he was not question'd as a Traitor.

"His sentence was, to be committed to the Fleet during Life, fin'd 10,000*l.* refer'd to the High-Commission to be degraded; that done, to be brought to the Pillory at *Westminster* (the Court sitting) and there whip'd; and after whipping, to be set in the Pillory, have one of his Ears cut off, one side of his Nose slit, and be branded on one cheek with the letters S S, for a Sower of Sedition; and another day be brought on a Market-day to the Pillory in *Cheapside*, there likewise whipt, and have his other Ear cut off, and the other side of his Nose slit. *November 4*, he was degraded, but the Evening before the Sentence was in part to have been executed upon him, he escaped out of the Fleet; whereupon the Privy Council sent a printed Hue and Cry after him, requiring all Justices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, &c., to use all diligence for apprehending him, describing him to be of low Stature, fair Complexion, a yellowish Beard, high Forehead, and between forty and fifty Years of Age. This hue and cry followed him into *Bedfordshire*, where he was apprehended, brought back again to the Fleet, and the Sentence executed. All which Bishop *Laud* then Bishop of *London* noted in his Diary; and that when he was

brought to *Cheapside* for the latter part of his Sentence, his Sores upon his Back, Ear, Nose, and Face were not cured. This unfortunate gentleman was well known both for Learning and other Abilities, but his intemperate Zeal (as his Countrymen then gave out) prompted him to that mistake. Afterwards they who procured his escape were taken and proceeded against in the Star Chamber. It appeared that *Levingston* put off his Cloak, Hat and Breeches all of a Grey Colour, and *Anderson* his Doublet, and *Leighton* put theirs on, and in that disguise they all went out of the Fleet unsuspected. For these offences and in respect of their Penitence they were only fined 500*l.* apiece, and committed to the Fleet during the King's pleasure."¹

Leighton does not seem to have been present at the whole proceedings of his trial,² and what was new in this infamous transaction was that his judges were parties in the case, and had a personal interest in avenging an insult directed against themselves. This was truest of the bishops, but it was equally true of the judges and temporal lords. As soon as the harsh judgment was pronounced, Laud is said to have taken off his cap and raising his hands "gave thanks to God who had given him the victory over his enemies."³ "Whether this last anecdote be true or false," says Dr. Gardiner, "it illustrates the position into which Laud had come. He looked upon those who opposed his opinions as his enemies, and upon his enemies as the enemies of God."⁴

There are several other details not stated in Rushworth, which are essential to the completeness of the narrative. Before the sentence⁵ could be carried out Leighton was to be

¹ Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, vol. ii. pp. 45, 46, 47.

² *Epitome* (published 1646), p. 70.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁴ *History*, vol. vii. p. 150.

⁵ Dr. Harris says of *Zion's Plea* "that it was written with spirit, and more sense and learning than the writers of that stamp usually shewed in their productions": and adds "I cannot for my life see anything in it deserving so high a censure." *Life of Charles I.*, p. 225.

degraded from his office by the High Commission, so that he might not appear in clerical garb at the pillory. As the High Commission was not then sitting, an effort was made in the course of the vacation to get from him the names of his supporters, but he was obdurately silent. Introduced before the Commission, he refused to take off his hat to the court, and defiantly declared that it had no authority to touch him. His clerical dress was stripped from his back (Nov. 4, 1630) and he was sent back to prison to prepare for suffering.¹ The King was said to be meditating the remission of his corporal punishment, when on the night before the day fixed for his appearance in the pillory, Leighton escaped from prison with the aid of two of his countrymen, named Livingston and Anderson (Nov. 9). Within a fortnight he was captured² and all thoughts of mercy were then at an end. Leighton went bravely to his suffering, together with two other culprits who had offended against the law, and his wife walked before him as if in some triumphal procession. "As Christ," she said, "was crucified between two thieves, so is my husband led between two knaves." His courage did not fail him. "All the arguments brought against me," he said, "are prison, fines, brands, knife and whip." "This is Christ's yoke," he cried, as his neck was thrust into the pillory, and as the sharp knife of the executioner rent away his ear, he exclaimed, "Blessed be God, if I had a hundred, I would lose them all for the cause." The first part of his sentence was fully carried out—that "he was to be set in the pillory at Westminster, and there whipped, and after his whipping to have one of his ears cut off and his nose slit, and be branded in the face with S.S. for a sower of sedition." Faint and bleeding he was

His calling the queen "a daughter of Heth" meant no more than she was a Papist, and such language had much countenance from the taste and spirit of the age, as Bishop Tillotson speaks of foreign Popish princes as "the people of these abominations."

¹ *Epitome*.

² Laud's *Diary*.

taken back to his prison, there to endure long years of misery. The second agony at Cheapside was spared him—one ear was left uncropped, and the second scourging was not inflicted. So far the mercy of Charles extended. At any rate Leighton makes no reference to it in his *Epitome*, and the infliction of the second part of the sentence is noticed only in the forged entry in Laud's diary.¹ Dr. Gardiner regards Leighton's silence as conclusive,² and without it all will acknowledge that the first part was sufficiently barbarous, and must have put the moral sense³ of England in revolt. In Scotland Leighton was regarded as a martyr to the cause of liberty, and notwithstanding his extremeness, "*worthy Mr. Leighton*" was justly honoured as a champion of freedom and as one of those who stemmed the tide of despotism.

Bunyan was committed to Bedford gaol and was imprisoned for over twelve years—during part of which time his imprisonment was little more than formal, as his choice to the

¹ Rushworth, ii. 57.

² Vol. ii. p. 151; cf. Granger's *Biographical History*, 614; p. 21: Meade to Stuteville, Dec. 5 (*Court and Times*), ii. 82.

³ How far this cruelty perpetrated on Leighton may have influenced John Milton adversely to the Church, it is impossible to say: he certainly, however, watched it keenly and with inner scorn assuredly. His letter of December, 1631, or the early part of 1631-2, shows that he had reluctance to take orders, and unquestionably then as ten years later his views were the same.

"The Church, to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends, *I was destined of a child*, and in mine own resolutions, till, coming to sound maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded in the Church—that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either straight perjure or split his faith—I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing. Howsoever thus Church-outed by the prelates, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in these matters as before the necessity and constraint appeared." (*The Reason of Church Government: Works*, iii. 150.) How different matters ecclesiastical would have been had John Milton and not Laud been the Church adviser of Charles I!

pastorate at Bedford in 1671 shows.¹ Alexander Leighton was imprisoned for ten years in the Fleet, but an entry in the Register of the College of Physicians seems to indicate (Feb. 18, 1634) that for a period at least he enjoyed some liberty.² But even with this slight consideration of occasional freedom Leighton's petition to the Long Parliament in 1640, containing a brief epitome of his sufferings is both veracious and reveals the heroic stuff he was made of in enduring so long. The reading of the petition drew tears from the house.³

"The humble petition of Alexander Leighton, prisoner in the Fleet,

"Humbly sheweth,

"That on February 17, 1630, he was apprehended coming from Sermon by a high-commission warrant, and dragged along the street with bills and staves to London-house. That the jailer of Newgate being sent for, clapped him in irons, and carried him with a strong power into a loathsome and ruinous dog-hole, full of rats and mice, that had no light but a little grate, and the roof being uncovered, the snow and rain beat in upon him, having no bedding, nor place to make a fire, but the ruins of an old smoky chimney. In this woful place he was shut up for fifteen weeks, nobody being suffered to come near him, till at length his wife only was admitted.

"That the fourth day after his commitment the pursuivant, with a mighty multitude, came to his house to search for Jesuits' books, and used his wife in such a barbarous and inhuman manner as he is ashamed to express: that they rifled every person and place, holding a pistol to the breast of a child five years old, threatening to kill him if he did not discover the books: that they broke open chests, presses, boxes, and carried away every thing, even household stuff, apparel,

¹ Froude's *Bunyan*, pp. 81-84. Brown's *Bunyan*, pp. 171-191.

² Preface to Gardiner, vol. vii. p. 6.

³ Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 334.

arms, and other things : that at the end of fifteen weeks he was served with a subpoena, on an information laid against him by Sir Robert Heath, attorney-general, whose dealing with him was full of cruelty and deceit : but he was then sick, and, in the opinion of four physicians, thought to be poisoned, because all his hair and skin came off : that in the height of this sickness the cruel sentence was passed upon him mentioned in the year 1630, and executed November 26 following, when he received thirty-six stripes upon his naked back with a threefold cord, his hands being tied to a stake, and then stood almost two hours in the pillory in the frost and snow, before he was branded in the face, his nose slit, and his ear cut off : that after this he was carried by water to the Fleet, and shut up in such a room that he was never well, and after eight years was turned into the common jail.”¹

The petition was read to Parliament on Saturday, November 7, 1640,² and the following was the resolution of the House on April 21, 1641 :—

“On Mr. *Rouse's* Report of Dr. *Leighton's* Case, it was resolv'd on the Question, That the seizing and detaining him in Prison by Warrant from the High Commissioners, and breaking open his House, and taking away his Papers, by *Edward Wright* then Sheriff and now Lord-Mayor of *London*, were both illegal, That the said *Edward Wright* ought to give him Reparation for his Damages thereby, and that the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, then Bishop of *London*, ought to give him Satisfaction for his Fifteen Weeks Imprisonment in *Newgate* by his Warrant : That the great Fine of 10,000*l.* and the Sentence of corporal Punishment, by whipping him, setting him in the Pillory, branding him, slitting his Nose, cutting off his Ears, with the Imprisonment thereupon, were illegally impos'd on him, by the Determination of the

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 334, 335.

² Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 250.

Star-chamber, for which his great Damages he ought to have good Satisfaction.”¹

Parliament supported Leighton's claim,² and well might it, for no threat of punishment could extract from him the names of the five hundred (including members) who had signed the Petition of 1628 and were consequently as guilty of “rebellion” as Leighton himself was supposed to be. Leighton's unflinching loyalty to his friends was beautiful, and relieves a character that might otherwise seem harsh; his loyalty was sternly tested, as refusal implied the pillory, which he bravely faced. His time for imprisonment now was over, for in 1640 he was released by Parliament, had his fine cancelled, while £6,000 were voted to him in compensation for his losses and inhuman treatment. Whether the money in whole or part was paid to him,³ we know not, but in 1642 he was appointed Keeper of Lambeth House, then turned into a State prison, and it surely reads like one of the strange ironies of the world to find in Laud's *Diary of His Own Life* the following entry :

“1642 (Dec. 23), Thursday. Dr. Layton came with a Warrant from the House of Commons for the keys of my

¹ Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 67.

² “It greatly aggravated the injustice and cruelty of the sentence passed on him : that his book was printed for the *use of the parliament only*, and not in England, but in Holland. The heads were previously sanctioned by the approbation of five hundred persons under their hands, whereof some were members of parliament. And when the parliament was dissolved, he returned without bringing any copies of it into the land, but made it his special care to suppress them.” (A letter from General Ludlow to Dr. Hollingworth, printed at Amsterdam, 1692, p. 23.) Neal, i., p. 188.

³ In the manuscripts of the House of Lords (Sixth Report, p. 158) there is a “Petition of Doctor Alexander Leighton, Petitioner, being now in daily expectation of death praying for some suitable reparation for the sufferings both in body and estate which he has endured since 1628 for no other cause than a book which he wrote against the evils of Episcopacy. The greater remaining sting of his sufferings is that he has been hindered by his thirteen years' imprisonment in providing for his family.”

house to be delivered to him, and more prisoners to be brought thither.”¹ Alexander Leighton lived till 1649, but his health was much shattered by his long imprisonment. Although in controversy he was “of violent and ungoverned heat”—and his times offer much by way of explanation—in his family life he was amicable and affectionate, and it is said “was never heard to speak of his persecutors but in terms of compassion and forgiveness.” He was twice married; his first wife’s name is unknown, but his second wife was a daughter of Sir William Musgrave, of Cumberland, who had been twice a widow. He had four sons, James, Robert, Elisha, and Caleb, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Sapphira.

We have now to do in the next chapter with his celebrated son, Robert Leighton, whose personality and career are in such strange contrast to his father’s.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

1. In Benson’s Tracts (No. 14) there is the following reference to Alexander Leighton: “Dr. Alexander Leighton was of low stature, of a fair complexion, and well known for his learning and other abilities. And he must have had an excellent constitution to have lived for so long, under such cruel treatment. But his long and close confinement (added to his other sharp utterances) had so impaired his health: that, when he was released, he could hardly walk, see, or hear” (p. 234).

2. Baillie (writing Nov. 18, 1640) says with reference to his appeal to Parliament: “Lightoun has been twyce heard and on Fryday, is hoped, sall be absolved” (vol. i. p. 273).

3. In the *History of the English and Scotch Presbytery*, by Isaac Basier or Basière (edition 1660)—the Scotch Covenanters are described as “impatient Libertines and haughty: they will form a Gospel according to the air of their climate” (p. 32)—“the Presbyterians laid his head (Charles I’s) upon the block, and the Independents cut it off” (p. 229). In the course of this violent book against the Covenanters and as violent defence of Charles I, Dr. Alexander Leighton’s *Zion’s Plea* is severely criticized and referred to (p. 76).

¹ *Diary* (1695), p. 65.

4. Referring to the portrait of Alexander Leighton, with its evidences of suffering, Granger says: "It shows how differently authors of libels were treated in the reign of Charles I from what they have been of late years." *Biographical History of England*, vol. i. p. 493.

5. In the Camden *Miscellany* (vol. vii. old series) will be found the "Speech of Sir Robert Heath in the Case of Alexander Leighton (1-10) with preface by the late John Bruce, F.S.A., (iii.-xiii.) and notes by the Editor, Samuel Rawson Gardiner (xiv.-xxii.).

6. In the British Museum Catalogue there is an anonymous work, published September 6, 1642, attributed to Alexander Leighton as its author. The probability is great, but no certainty is possible regarding it. If it is Leighton's then it would be additional evidence to that already adduced (p. 43) that Leighton sometimes had times of liberty during his imprisonment. The title is a long one:

"King James: His Judgment of a King and of a Tyrant: Extracted out of His own speech at Whitehall to the Lords and Commons in Parliament, 1609, with certain notations anent the same. Also 28 Questions, worthy due consideration and solution, in these dangerous times of England."

It bears a strong internal resemblance to Alexander Leighton's other works, and is on the same line of direction. I am disposed to think the conjecture in the Catalogue is a right one.

7. Although Leighton in his *Zion's Plea* incites the Members of Parliament to "smite the bishops under the fifth rib" (p. 128), he adds; "*we mean of their callings not their persons.*"

8. R. Walker (*Journal*; 177) styles him "Keeper of the Prisoners for the Rebels in Lambeth House."

CHAPTER V

ROBERT LEIGHTON—YOUTH AND STUDENT LIFE

"He at least believed in soul, was very sure of God."

"You know how love is incompatible
With falsehood—purifies, assimilates
All other passions to itself."

"What is there to frown or smile at?
What is left for us, save, in growth
Of soul, to rise up, far past both,
From the gift looking to the giver;
And from the cistern to the river,
And from the finite to infinity,
And from man's dust to God's divinity?
Take all in a word: the truth in God's breast
Lies trace to trace upon ours impressed:
Though He is so bright and we so dim,
We are made in His image to witness Him:
And were no eye in us to tell,
Instructed by no inner sense,
The light of heaven from the dark of hell,
That light would want its evidence."

ROBERT BROWNING.

WE now pass from the father to his distinguished and saintly son, Robert Leighton, and in doing so the transition is felt to be a sudden one, for there is very little in the son to suggest the father, and as far as charity and mildness are concerned, they seem as opposite poles, or as the arctic and tropical regions to each other.

Robert Leighton's birthplace is unknown, although Edinburgh has not a little to be said in its favour,¹ perhaps more

¹ Robert Pearson's *Life*, p. 7.

than London.¹ His father's personality stands out sufficiently clear from the last chapter, but of his mother nothing is known. Robert was unquestionably the son of the first wife, whose name is unknown. One would eagerly know something regarding his mother, but search is in vain. There must have been about her an unusual sweetness of disposition, amiability and tenderness, and Robert seems to have been shaped much by her character; his refinement, delicacy of feeling, sweetness of temper, as well as his constitution, apparently not very robust, must have been inherited from her side of the family, and I cannot help thinking that Robert's eager desire for heaven, his constant communing upon it throughout life, must have been intensified by this love, early removed from the visible form and centred round her as an angel form. His mother's early death, with the chastening and reflection it brought, does much to enlighten one regarding his inner life, and to reveal the affections it created there, while Principal Tulloch thought that his father's second marriage evidently explains some features of the son's later career.² Robert Leighton was born in 1611, and Burnet adds that the father "sent his eldest son Robert to be bred in Scotland."³ He entered the University of Edinburgh in the winter of 1627 under Mr. Robert Rankin, one of the regents, and he took his degree on July 23, 1631.⁴ Principal Sir Alexander Grant says: "It has never been observed that whereas a century later Robertson and Hume took the greatest pains to write English correctly, and did

¹ There seemed a possibility of acquiring sound information on this point from the Baptismal Registers of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe and St. Ann, Blackfriars, London, as Alexander Leighton attended the ministry of Dr. Gouge, the rector of the period there. The present rector (the Rev. P. Clementi-Smith) favoured me by examining the Registers of the period, but the search for the name of Leighton was in vain.

² *Scottish Divines*, p. 117.

³ *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. p. 239.

⁴ *Proceedings*, vol. iv. p. 460.

not always succeed, because it was not the dialect in which they were accustomed to speak and think, Leighton in the middle of the seventeenth century wrote in a lucid style of English undefiled. The explanation must be that as a boy he lived in England, and the southern dialect was to him the mother-tongue, the use of which he of course improved by scholarship.”¹

The College consisted of the following members at the year of Robert Leighton’s enrolment as a student :—

Alexander Morison, Lord Prestongrange, Rector of the University.

Mr. John Adamson, Principal.

Mr. Henry Charteris, Professor of Divinity.

Mr. Robert Rankin

Mr. John Brown

Mr. Andrew Stevenson

Mr. William King

} Professors of Philosophy.

Mr. Thomas Crauford, Professor of Humanity.²

Principal Adamson published in 1627 a small Latin catechism for the use of students, and Leighton would use it as one of the University manuals. It was entitled *Στοιχειώσις Eloquentiorum Dei, sive Methodus Religionis Christianae Catechetica. In usum Academiae Jacobi Regis et Scholarum Edinensium conscripta*. “Beyond this,” Sir Alexander Grant remarks, “his Principalship did not leave much trace, except that he bequeathed George Buchanan’s skull to the College.”³ Professor Henry Charteris is described by Crauford as “certainly one of the most learned men of his time, both in the tongues, and in philosophy and divinity ; but he had too low thoughts of himself, a fault (if a fault) known in few beside. He was also of an holy and unblamed life.”⁴ He wrote the

¹ *The Story of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 248.

² Dalzel’s *History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 91.

³ *Story*, vol. ii. p. 245.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 242, 243.

life of Rollock, Principal of the University from 1586 to 1599—a book that may have influenced Leighton, as we shall yet see that when the latter became Principal he followed Rollock's example in restoring the week-day lecture, and one of Leighton's early pieces indicates that Rollock was one of the youthful student's heroes. Rollock had a high ideal of the preacher's vocation: "Believe me, it is not a thing of small importance to preach the Word: it is not the same thing as to expound the text of Plato and Aristotle, or to set forth a harangue bedaubed with the colours and allurements of rhetoric. The preaching of the Word depends on holiness, humility, and the efficacious demonstration of the Spirit. God knows how highly I have ever prized it." Rollock's sermons, too, were well known during Leighton's student period, and he was said in his day to have shone out "like a star of salvation." Another contemporary of Rollock's¹ to whom Leighton ardently refers, was Bruce of Kinnaird, whose preaching was described as "an earthquake to his hearers." The earnestness of the early Reformed Church pulsed in both, and Leighton may have caught something of their glow.

It has been asserted as more than probable that Robert Rankin, Professor of Philosophy, and James Fairly, Professor of Divinity (elected successor to Henry Charteris in 1629) and both of them strongly in favour of Episcopacy, the latter having afterwards become Bishop of Argyle—had early penetrated Leighton with those views which in after-life exercised a considerable influence over him.² But this at best is only problematical, and there is no existing evidence by which we can test its truth. It is most likely that Robert Leighton reached his later opinions by his own growth, and as a result of contact with another environment. But so far as evidence exists, it can reasonably be inferred that Bruce and Rollock were the two master lights of his college

¹ Cf. p. 57.

² Chamber's *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. v. p. 378.

days, and Rollock especially was distinguished by a feature which early possessed Leighton—humility of character. Affinities meet each other and the self-effacement of the principal would not fail to impress and deepen a natural tendency in the receptive student as he read his works. The historian of Edinburgh University points out that in his numerous works Rollock never gave himself the title of “Principal,” or in any way referred to his connexion with the college, but always styled himself “Minister of Jesus Christ in the Church of Edinburgh.”¹ This is all the more remarkable as his works were all prepared for the class-room, and afterwards published for the students. Robert Leighton graduated in 1631, and is said to have had a distinguished career in all his classes. But his character was no less outstanding than his scholarship, and part of Burnet’s narrative of him relates to this period. “He was accounted as a saint from his youth up. He had great quickness of parts, a lively apprehension, with a charming vivacity of thought and expression. He had the greatest command of the purest Latin that ever I knew in any man. He was a master both in Greek and Hebrew, and in the whole compass of theological learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the rest, he came to be possessed with the highest and noblest sense of divine things that I ever saw in any man. He had no regard to his person, unless it was to mortify it by a constant low diet, that was like a perpetual fast. He had a contempt both of wealth or reputation. He seemed to have the lowest thoughts of himself possible, and to desire that all other persons should think as meanly of him as he himself did. He bore all sorts of ill usage and reproach like a man that took pleasure in it.”²

Burnet gives here additional references to later years, but the description includes the tendencies of the earlier ones.

¹ *Story of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 241.

² *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. pp. 239, 240.

A comparison may here be made between Leighton and John Milton, who was a student at Cambridge during the same period and graduated in the subsequent year, 1632. Milton was known as the "Lady of Christ's," and both were noted for a prevailing tone, a characteristic mood—a deep and habitual seriousness. Both guarded against sensuality as the cause of inevitable spiritual incapacitation and both had a prevailing ideality of conception within them, an united tendency to the high and holy and contemplative. Both had the stewardship of many talents, and Milton was possessed by a "fixed idea" from his youth upwards which was unquestionably Leighton's underlying resolve as well, that to a life of truly great work or of truly great endeavour of any kind, moral integrity was supremely necessary:—"He who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things ought himself to be a true poem." Each afterwards found different paths to express his particular ideal—Milton striving not only to be a poeta but a vates, and Leighton to be not only a minister but a man after God's own pattern.

But an academic episode, besides the common features of character just indicated, brings them together at this period. Milton was chastised by his tutor and was certainly rusticated for a short time in 1626, Leighton had a somewhat similar experience in 1628, which ended in his temporary expulsion¹ from the University of Edinburgh. His piety

¹ The following is the Coltness reference:—

"In his bachelor year, attending the College, he was induced to lampoon the chief magistrate, who by office is Rector or Chancellor of the University, and who had disoblged some of the students. The stanza made was a piece of false witt then fashionable: it was a pun on the Lord Provost of Edinburgh's name, Aikenhead and the many pimples on his face . . . For this Robert Leighton was called before the faculty of Masters, and to please the Provost, was solemnly *extruded* the University. Sir James his guardian, was absent, but on his return had him *reponed*." *Collections*, pp. 21, 22.

had never any tinge of gloom about it, and the caustic epigram on the nose of the Provost of Edinburgh, which he wrote in 1628, is in no degree at variance with the disposition already described, while it exhibits an intellectual vivacity and an ironical humour which he had difficulty in restraining, even as a bishop. Leighton had to submit to censure and expulsion for the indignity¹ offered the Provost. Sir James Stewart, his guardian, was absent at the time from Edinburgh, but upon his return had Leighton reponed.² The following is the epigram and the subsequent apology, and they are very clever to be written by a lad of seventeen years.

UPON THE PROVOST OF EDINBUUGH.

That which his name pretends is falsly said
To wit, that of an Aike his Head is made ;
For if that it had been composed so,
His fyrie nose had flam'd it long agoe.

HIS APOLOGIE.

Come, Muses all, help me to overcome
This thing which some ill-mynded Muse has done ;
For sure the Furies, and no sacred Muse,
Has taught madde braines such patrones to abuse.
But since the fault committed is so great,
It is the greater honour to remitt ;
For if great Jove should punish everie cryme,
His quiver emptie would become in tyme :
Therefore sometymes he fearfull thunder sends,
Some tymes sharpe arrows on offenders spends ;
Some tymes againe, he swan-lyke doth appeare,
Or in a showre of crystale waters cleare ;
Fooles scornes Apollo for his glistering beames,
Lykwayes the Muses for their sacred streams :

¹The students in Edinburgh in those and previous days were evidently in strong opposition to the Provost and Baillies of Edinburgh. High School boys adopted far more violent measures than Leighton over the question of holidays, for during the time of Rollock's Regency (1583-1587) we are told that by his personal character he acquired a great influence over all the students of the college and tamed the wild High School boys, who had "barred out" their masters and SHOT a bailie when the Town Council made some demur about *their autumn holidays*. Stevenson's *History of the High School of Edinburgh*.

² p. 53.

But as they doe, so may you eike despyse
 Your scornors. For why? Eagles catch no flyes.
 Fooles attribute to you a fyrie nose,
 But fyre consumeth paper, I suppose ;
 Therefore your Lordship would seem voyd of fyre,
 If that a paper doe dispell your eyre ;
 And if that this remeid doe stand in steide,
 Then shall the laurell crown your Aiken heid :
 Now, since it's thus, your Lordship if it please,
 Accept ane triple cure for ane disease.

MR. R. LIGHTOUNE.¹

The authorship and the date of the verses are put beyond all doubt by the following letter of Leighton to his father which was found along with two others in the State Paper Office, and was apparently seized, at the time of Dr. Alexander Leighton's arrest. (It has endorsed in the father's hand the following words :—" If this Parliament have not a happy conclusion, the sin is yo^rs. I am free of it.")

" To his kind and loving father. Mr. Alexander Leighton Dr. of Medicine, at his house on the top of Pudle Hill beside the Blacke Friars Gate, near the Kinges Wardrobe there, London :—

(Chief part of letter.)

" SIR,

" The busines that fell out with me, which I cannot without sorrow relate that such a thing should have fallen out, yet having some hope to repe good out of it as you exhort me—it, I say, was thus. There was a fight between our Classe and the Semies, which made the Provost to restraine us from the play a good while ; the boyes upon that made some verses, one or two in every classe, mocking the Provost's red nose. I, sitting beside my Lord Borundell² and the Earl of Ha(ding-

¹ Laing's *Fugitive Scottish Poetry of the Seventeenth Century*, second series, Edinburgh, 1853.

² John, master of Berriedale, predeceased his grandfather in 1639 ; but his son George succeeded to the Earldom of Caithness in 1644.

ton's) son,¹ speaking about these verses which the boyes had made, spoke a thing in prose concerning his nose, not out of spite for wanting the play, neither having taken notice of his nose, but out of their report, for I never saw (him) before but once, neither thought I him to be a man of great state. This I spoke of his name, and presently, *upon their request*, turned it into a verse thus :

“That which his name importes is falsely said (his name is Oken-head)

That of the oaken wood his head is made,
For why, if it had bein composed so,
His flaming nose had fir'd it long ago.

“The Verses of Apology not onely for myselfe but for the rest² you have in that paper. I hope the Lord shall bring good out of it to me. As for the Primare³ and Regents, to say the truth, they thought it not so hainous a thing as I myselfe did justly thinke it. Pray for me as I know you doe, that the Lord may keepe me from like fals ; if I have either Christianity or naturality, it will not suffer me to forget you, but as I am able to remember you still to God ; and to endeavour that my wayes greive not God and you my dear Parentes, the desire of my heart is to be as litle chargeable as may be. Now desireing the Lord to keepe you, I rest, ever endeavouring to be,

“Your obedient son,

“ROBERT LEIGHTON.

“I pray you, Sir, remember my humble duety to my mother my loving brethren and sisters : remember my duty to all my freindes.

“EDENBROUGH, *May* 6, 1628.”

¹ This was Robert Hamilton, the youngest son of Thomas, Earl of Haddington, by his third wife.

² Evidently the whole of the class.

³ Primare, primarius, principal.

Leighton also evinced at this period a disposition to satire, having written one or more pieces of sarcastic verse against the Scottish Bishops of his time.² Let the following be taken as a representative one, and as being autobiographical in so far as it reveals the names of Robert Leighton's heroes.

It belongs to his early years in the University:—

UPON THE DECAYING KIRK.

Ryse Rollocke, ryse, relate, and Bruce returne,
 Deplore the mischeifes of this uncouth change :
 In the prime Kirk, which as a lamp did burne,
 Our Teachers hath set up a Worship strange ;
 Strutheris spyc'd sermons now prove true indeid,
 It is become the tail that was the heid.

L.

It has already been pointed out that we can know nothing from any records as to the sweet, winsome lady who was Robert Leighton's mother. If we can interpret her through her remarkable son, it might be said that two of her prominent qualities were intellectual vivacity and genuine piety. I often think that the catechism which Robert Leighton afterwards composed for the use of children is for him an echo of the long ago, and brings back the memories of the lessons learned at his mother's knee. In this light, it is always to me an impressive document, and a revelation of the early formative influence in his own life. Take the following as representative ones:—

“How hath our Lord Jesus Himself expressed the great and necessary duty of all disciples?”

¹ There are others included under the title *Incertis Auctoribus*, but the letter “L” besides the internal evidence puts the above one beyond doubt. Dr. David Laing remarks in his prefatory notes:—“The most singular circumstance connected with these effusions is to find the amiable Archbishop Leighton as a writer of satirical verses; but his original opposition to Episcopacy may afterwards have inclined him to that moderation which distinguished him from the rest of the Scottish Prelates during the reign of Charles the Second.”

² Cf. Laing's *Scottish Fugitive Poetry*.

"That they deny themselves and take up their cross and follow Him.

"Rehearse then some of the chief points wherein we are to follow our Lord Jesus Christ.

"1. To surrender ourselves wholly to our Heavenly Father, and His good pleasure in all things, even in the sharpest afflictions and sufferings ; and not at all to do our own will or design our own praise and advantage, but in all things to do His will and intend His glory.

"2. To be spotless, and chaste, and holy, in our whole conversation.

"Add a third.

"3. To be meek and lowly, not to slander or reproach, to mock or to despise any ; and if any do so to us, to bear it patiently, yea, to rejoice in it.

"A fourth.

"4. Unfeignedly to love our Christian brethren, and to be charitably and kindly affected towards all men, even to our enemies, forgiving them, yea, and praying for them, and returning them good for evil : to comfort the afflicted, and relieve the poor, and to do good for all as we are able.

". . . . What is the final portion of them who truly repent and believe and obey the Gospel ?

"The blessed life of angels in the vision of God for ever."¹

The supreme help in the religious life which Leighton commends is prayer—"the effectual means of obtaining increase of faith and power to obey, and *generally all graces and blessings at the hand of God*," and one may compare it with the similar statement of Milton. It is from God the poet's thought comes. "This is not to be obtained but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit that can enrich with all utterance and knowledge and *sends out "His seraphim with the*

¹ Leighton's *Works* (Pearson's Edition), vol. ii. pp. 505, 506.

*hallowed fire of his altar to touch and purify the life of whom He pleases."*¹

In this simple catechism of Leighton's, it is possible to see reflected the early teaching of his old home, and to hear the voice of one who as a heavenly spirit spoke to him from behind the veil. It reveals the teaching with which he was surrounded in childhood, and so has something autobiographical about it. The letter to his father just referred to, manifests fine affection and respectful obedience, but the two following ones, written to his step-mother, indicate her loving concern for the young student at Edinburgh, and the reverence with which he regarded her. Here as elsewhere his character is all a piece, and as these letters belong to his early Edinburgh days they are here published, with the comment that their preservation is due to Laud's arresting them along with his father's other papers, as evidence against the latter.

"LOVING MOTHER,

"I have much wondered that this long time I have never heard from you, especially so many occasions intervening, but yet it stopped me not to write yet again (as is my duty), and so much the more because I had so good an occasion. I received a letter from my father, which, although it was but briefe, yet it perspicuously made manifest unto me the danger that he would in al likelihood incurr of the booke which he hath bin printing. God frustrate the purpose of wicked men. He sent some of the bookes² hither, which are like to bring those that medled with them in some danger, but I hope God shall appease the matter and limite the power of wicked men, who, if they could doe according to their desire against God's children, would make havock of them in a sudden. The Lord stirr us up to whom this matter belonges, to pray to God to defend and keepe his children and his cause, least the wicked getting too much sway cry out where is their God

¹ Mark Pattison's *Life of Milton*, p. 17.

² *Zion's Plea against the Prelacie*, for which he was now in prison.

become. If trouble come, there is no cause of sinking under it, but a comfortable thing it is to suffer for the cause of God, and the greater the crosse be, if it be for righteousness, the greater comfort it may afford, and the greater honour will it be to goe patiently through with it, for if it be an honour and blessedness to be reviled for Christ's sake, it is a far greater honour to be persecuted for his sake. Exhort my brother walke with God, and pray for me that the same thing may be my case. Thus committing you to God, I rest

"Your obedient Son,

"R. LEIGHTON.

"EDBRG., *March* 12, 1629.

"Pray remember me to my brethren and sisters, my duty to my Aunt and all my freindes. I write not to my father because I have not heard whether he be come home yet or not. I directed the letter as to my father, that it might be the better knowne where to deliver it.

"I writt for sundry things long since, for which I will not now sollicit you; send them at your owne leasure any time before May.

"To his loving father Mr. Alexr. Leighton, Dr. of Physike at his house on the top of pudle hill, near blackfriars gate over against the King's wardrobe. These,
London.

"Endorsed,—in Laud's handwriting, March 2, 1629 (Style Rom.), Rob. Leighton, the Sonn's Letter to his mother from Edenborough."¹

"LOVING MOTHER, The cause of my delaying to write unto you, having twice received letters from you was this. You writt unto me concerning some things that you had sent, and I differred writing till I thought to have received them, but not having heard anything as yet of their coming, I thought good to write a line or two, having occasion. Mr. Wood hath re-

¹ *Notes and Queries*: 3rd series, vol. i. p. 107.

ceived things from Mr. Morhead since then, with which he thought to have gotten my thinges, but he hath received his own and not mine. I informe you breifly of this, but I more desire to heare something of my father's affaires. I have not so much as seene any of his bookes yet, though there be some of them heere. I pray you the first occasion write to me what he hath done ; as yet my part is in the mean while to recommend it to God. Remember my duety to my aunt, my love to my brother James. I blesse God for the thing I heare of him, though I come short of it myselfe, pray him to pray for me, that God uphold me, and let not Satan take advantage either by objecting liberty before me or ill example.

"Remember me to Elizabeth, Elisha, and my young brother and sister. Remember me to Mrs. Freese.

"Pardon my most rude forme of writing in regard of the past and ye time of night wherein I writt this letter.

"Your obed. Son,

"R. LEIGHTON.

"EDBRG., *May* 20, 1629.

"To his loving father Mr. Alexr. Leighton, Dr. of Physike, at his house on the top of pudle hill, near blackfriars gate, over against the King's wardrobe— These—
London.

"Endorsed,—*Maij* 20, 1629 (Style Rom.), Rob. Leighton's letter to his mother, from Edenboroughe."¹

Such is all that can be gathered from existing sources regarding Robert Leighton's youth and student days. One would willingly know more and regrets that he can know so little. The veil is only lifted at brief and long separated intervals to fall again, and the record of his early days, chiefly on account of the vicissitudes of his family, is very incomplete. His character, however, stands out clear amid the surrounding

¹ *Notes and Queries*: 3rd series, vol. i. (1862) p. 107.

uncertainty regarding details and is full of a potency which his later years more definitely unfolded.

November 26, 1630, saw the execution of the dreadful sentence upon his father, after which he was confined to the Fleet. When Leighton graduated at Edinburgh College on July 23, 1661, his father was then a prisoner, and the last year of his college career must have been for him one of strain and much solicitude for his father's welfare. At a later period of his life one of the professors wrote to Dr. Alexander Leighton congratulating him "*on having a son in whom Providence had made him abundant compensation for his sufferings.*" During the next ten years he was abroad. Burnet's statement is: "From Scotland his father sent him to travel. He spent some years in France and spoke that language like a native."¹ He lived with relations at Douay—not unlikely friends of his mother—and there he conceived, as is said, a certain sympathy for the French Catholics. His travels brought him a wider knowledge of the life of others and an acquaintance with forms of religious thought and worship, different from his own. Perhaps this may account in some measure for his freedom from insular prejudices, his capacity of seeing good in those who widely differed from him, as well as his wider charity. Leighton became a believer in the influence of travel, and many years afterwards recommended a similar course to his nephew, alleging that "there is a very peculiar advantage in travel, not to be understood but by the trial of it: and that for himself he nowise repented of the time he had spent in that way."

NOTE TO CHAPTER V

The "Old College Record" was carried off by the Town Council of Edinburgh in 1704,² and was destroyed some time subsequently to 1826, so that we are deprived of valuable *data*

¹ *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 240.

² See the *Story of the University*, vol. ii. p. 469.

relative to the early student life of Edinburgh College. But the following course of study, belonging to the period when Robert Leighton was a student, not only illustrates University life in the period, but goes far to explain the thorough training he received, and the good use he makes of the classical writer throughout his lectures and sermons.

The Discipline of the College of Edinburgh, December 3, 1628; wherein is contained the Offices and Duties of the Professors, Masters, Scholars, Bursars and Servants as it has been observed many years ago.

THE ORDER OF THE FIRST YEAR.

In the beginning of October, the entrant students to the discipline of the College are exercised in Latin authors, chiefly in Cicero, and turning of Scots into Latin and Latin into Scots: and the Regent is to examine these versions both in the etymology, construction, and in the right writing of them, until the Primar give and examine a common theme.

The common theme being examined, Clenard's Greek Grammar is continually taught, in which, when they come to the annotations of the nouns, the practice of the rules is joined with the Grammar out of some part of the New Testament. Then are taught the first and second orations of Isocrates, and also one or two others of the same author, and of the poets, Phocilides, the first book of Hesiod, with some book of Homer.

About the middle of May are taught Ramus's Logics,¹ and with the Logics some Latin themes to be turned into Greek, and some in Greek to be turned into Latin.

What they hear at the beginning out of the New Testament, the first oration of Isocrates and Phocilides, or the first book of Hesiod, they commit to memory: and what is taught during the week they repeat on the Saturday mornings with a clear voice in the master's audience: on that same day they dispute betwixt ten and twelve o'clock. On the morning of the Lord's day the Catechism is taught.

¹ Ramus was a Protestant and a victim of the St. Bartholomew massacre. His *Logic* was adopted with zeal by the Protestant Universities of Europe in the last half of the sixteenth century in opposition to the Aristotelian with which the cause of Roman Catholicism was regarded as associated.

THE ORDER OF THE SECOND YEAR.

From the beginning of October they are exercised in repeating those things which were taught in the former year; and near the end of October they are examined on the same.

The examinations being ended, they are examined in themes and versions, until the Greek theme is taught by the Primar: which uses to be taught the day after the common theme (foresaid) is given.

After the Greek theme is taught Talaëus' Rhetoric with Cassander, or the like, together with Athonius's Progymnasmata. Afterwards they make orations to exercise their style in Logic and Rhetoric.

In the beginning of January, Aristotle's Organon is begun to be taught, beginning at Porphyry's Isagoge; and in that year are taught the books of the Categories on the Interpretation of the Prior Analytics, the first, second, and eight of the Topics, and the two books of Sophistics.

In the end of the year is taught a compend of arithmetic.

On the Saturday they dispute on Logic theses in their private schools. But on the first Saturday in May, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they begin to have orations in public: and they have each days appointed, until all of them have declaimed before the end of the year.

On the Lord's day, in the morning, the Regent goes on in the explication of the Catechism.

THE ORDER OF THE THIRD CLASS.

In the beginning of the third year, they repeat¹ what was taught in the former year, until the examinations.

After the examinations, the Regent teaches his scholars the Hebrew Grammar, and exercises them in Logical analysis and Rhetoric, in what authors he thinks best, until a public examination of their progress in analysis is made by the Primar: which usually takes place the day after the Greek theme (aforesaid) is given and examined.

The trial of their ability in analysis being made, the Regent goes

¹ Burnet says of Leighton's scholarshp: "He laid *together in his memory* the greatest treasure of the best and wisest of all the ancient sayings of the heathen as well as Christians, that I have ever known any man master of, and he used them in the aptest manner possible." *History of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 240.

on to teach his scholars the two books of the *Posteriores* in the Logics, and then teaches the first, second, the half of the third, the fifth and sixth books of the *Ethics*, afterwards the five first books of the *Acroamatics* (or *General Physics*) and teaches a short compound of the three last.

In the end of the year the anatomy of the human body is described.

On the Saturdays they dispute in their private schools on theses which the Regent prescribes out of those things which they have heard.

On the Lord's day, some commonplace of Divinity is taught.

THE ORDER OF THE FOURTH CLASS.

In the beginning of the fourth year, after the vacation, all those things which were formerly learned are repeated, until the two inferior classes be examined.

The examinations being ended, they begin the books *de Caelo* (i.e. concerning the heavens), and the Regent teaches the first book, the greater part of the second and fourth; which being perfected, the sphere of John de Sacrobosce is taught, with some theorems of the planets, to the fourth chapter; as also the more notable constellations are shown in the book, in the celestial globe, and in the heavens.

Then are taught most exactly the books *de Ortu* (i.e. of generation) and the books *de Meteoris*, as much as sufficeth. Then are taught the three books of *Anima* (i.e. concerning the soul).

In the beginning of May they begin to repeat all those things learned in the Logics and Philosophy.

In the time of the repetitions, Hunter's *Cosmography* is taught; and afterwards they are exercised in disputing, chiefly on the theses, which they are publicly to defend at the laureation.

On the Lord's day, in the morning, they are exercised in common places of Theology, and on the most necessary controversies.

The Bachelors, after they have learned in the third year the first four chapters of the first book *de Demonstratione*, convene in the Magistrand school at five o'clock at night, and there dispute with the Magistrands,¹ every one of them having a Magistrand for his antagonist, the choice being made by the Regents, who likewise

¹ The name given to those who are in the highest philosophical class before graduation. It is still retained in Aberdeen.

prescribe the matter of disputation, and so they exercise themselves till six.

In like manner, upon the Saturdays from ten o'clock, all the three superior classes dispute in the public schools: the Magistrands first give the theses, then the Bachelors, and thirdly, the Semies; and so by turns in circle. These public disputations are begun so soon as the Semies have learned Porphyry's *Isagoge*, from whence the matter of disputation is taken.

These disputations are continued until the examination of the Magistrands . . .

THE OFFICE OF THE PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY.

The Professor of Theology must teach the students the right method of learning Theology: what they should read first, or at the beginning, and what is necessary afterwards, and in all things which they should chiefly exercise themselves in. He shall teach publicly on the Tuesday and Friday, betwixt eleven and twelve in the forenoon, and he shall be present on the Monday at an exercise in Scots of the students in Theology. On the Thursdays he shall take care that one of the students make trial privately in Latin upon some head of Theology, both by teaching and by sustaining theses; the Professor himself, in the meanwhile, moderating in the disputations.

It belongs also to the Professor of Theology to teach something of the Hebrew tongue.¹

A training such as that, acting upon the natural, intellectual and metaphysical nature of the young Scottish mind, not only explains much in Leighton, but in those with whom he had afterwards to confer. It certainly produced information, enlightenment and power in disputation, and was the framework amid which at least Robert Leighton's mind was academically evolved from 1627 to 1631.

¹ Town Council's Records of date: Dalzels' *History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. pp. 376, 382.

CHAPTER VI

RESIDENCE ABROAD (1631-1641)

“And Wisdom’s self
Oft seeks to sweet retired solitude,
Where, with her best nurse, contemplation,
She plumes her feathers, and lets grow her wings,
That in the various bustle of resort,
Were all to-ruffled and sometimes impaired.”

—MILTON.

“It is to the pale solitary, stretched by his cave in the desert or on the mountain, with his beechen bowl of simple water beside him or meditating alone in his quiet watch-tower, that Nature whispers her sublimer secrets, and that the lost knowledge of things comes once more in visions and in dreams. Did we live as erst did Pythagoras, should there not begin to resound in our ears, faint at first, but gradually more and more clear and loud, that famous sphere-music of his, to which the orbs do keep time and the young-eyed cherubs do unceasingly listen albeit to humanity it has so long been a fable?”—PROFESSOR MASSON.

“That One Face, far from vanish, rather grows,
Or decomposes but to recompose,
Becomes my universe that feels and knows.”

—BROWNING.

“The points on which the disciples of the Saviour agree, greatly outnumber and in respect of importance very greatly outweigh, the points on which they differ.”—ANDREW FULLER to Dr. THOMAS CHALMERS.

THE late Master of Balliol (Dr. Jowett) in taking a comprehensive view of the Church, regarded it as embodying three tendencies of thought or three distinct parties. (1) Those whose eyes are fixed on the past and whose prayer and aspiration might be summed up in such words as these:—“The Catholic Church, one and continuous throughout all ages.” (2) Those who have found a nearer way to God, not

through the priesthood or the sacraments or any ordinance of the Church, but in the immediate approach to God through Christ, whose ideal might best be expressed in the phrase—"The Bible the religion of Protestants." The inner life of their Church might be expressed in the words of the Apostle: "By grace are ye saved through faith: and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God." (3) Those who pursue truth as a duty. If their hopes and aspirations could be summed up in a few words, perhaps the motto that might best describe them would be "The truth, one and indivisible in religion, in philosophy, in history and in nature," or the words of Scripture, "The truth shall make you free."¹ Robert Leighton's early surroundings were such as to impress him almost exclusively with the ideal of the second class, and the influences that led him to a more comprehensive, yet inclusive ideal, remain now to be traced. But in doing so, it is right at once to state that he never parted with the spirit of his early environment, but only had it enlarged and made more roomy by other forces, into contact with which he was now brought. To sum up, Leighton's mind from the very earliest years presents itself to us as one in which the Unseen was the prevailing background—in which there was a subtle gift of spiritual genius giving flavour to the whole personality—in which there is always perceived the stamp of spiritual consecration. His father presents to us the headlong, the strong conviction, united with enthusiasm for it: Robert Leighton, on the other hand, brings before us the quiet, meditative, contemplative type of mind, by which and through which the cloister in its purest days did its best work. He was "a saint from his youth upwards"—one who, like John Wesley, had a genius for godliness, and holiness in his blood. He had a deep, habitual seriousness without sourness, and no one would single out humour—although he possessed a natural vivacity—as one of his prevailing characteristics. He impressed us as

¹ Jowett's *Sermons* (Biographical and Miscellaneous), pp. 260-264.

one who embodied more of the spirit of his mother than of his father.

(2) Robert Leighton embodied the deepest spiritual culture of the Scottish Church ; his home and his friends represented it to him in its most vigorous form.

"A virtuous household, though exceeding poor !
Pure livers were they all, austere and grave,
And fearing God : the very children taught
Stern self-respect, a reverence for God's Word,
And an habitual piety, maintained
With strictness scarcely known on English ground.

* * * * *

The Scottish Church, both on himself and those
With whom from childhood he grew up, had held
The strong hand of her purity and still
Had watched him with an unrelenting eye.
This he remembered in his riper age
With gratitude, and reverential thoughts."

Wordsworth here expresses the true genius of Scottish religion, for notwithstanding all the controversies of the period, there was in Scotland a real piety and a vigorous religion, which shaped splendid types of character and heroic men. The Church was characterized by an impassioned sense of national independence, by an equally strong grasp of spiritual independence, as well as by a fervid devotion, and if its theological division centred around points that now seem conspicuous for their littleness or minuteness : if a pre-eminence was given in its teaching to the Old Testament and even to some of the most transitory portions of the Old Testament—which is blamed for having "cribbed, confined and soured" ¹ the religion of the country—it can only be a superficial glance which stops there. The best literature of the period reveals much that is better and more potent : the deep sense of the Grace as well as of the Sovereignty of God, of the loveliness of Christ, of the hatefulness of sin, and of the searching light of holiness. This religion blended itself with

Dean Stanley's *Lectures on The Church of Scotland*, p. 83.

the stern intolerant church policy and even of the extremest upholders of the covenant (the Cameronian); Kerr of Kerrshaw, who was among them but not of them, could say: "They are strictly religious and make war a part of their religion and convert state policy into points of conscience. They fight as they pray and pray as they fight." The struggles of Scotland during the seventeenth century are only to be understood from the theocratic ideal that possessed the Church and the deep, pervasive religion at the heart of the people. Of this the Church of Scotland was the inspiring force, and Robert Leighton must have felt it and been shaped by it as it expressed itself through the action and life of his father. The Scottish Church can rightly claim him as her son.

(3) We must remind ourselves that Robert Leighton had a Calvinistic bringing up, but the Calvinism he knew was that of the warm Puritan age, and not as it became in the attenuated creed of the eighteenth century. It was not the Calvinism which became a personal gratification of safety for self and for the rest damnation: that asserted predestination in an arbitrary degree; degenerated so often into antinomianism and had this as its tendency and inherent danger: that was briefly but accurately described in the words "nine hundred and ninety out of a thousand are lost, do what they can: the remaining ten are saved, do what they will." It was against this degenerate Calvinism John Wesley directed his energy and wrote one of the most remarkable sermons in any language. But when Robert Leighton was being reared Calvinism was not a mere doctrine, far less was it old and effete. It was a living system of thought, an all-prevailing sense of God's Majesty and Sovereignty over men and human institutions, as the supreme law. It carried the mind upwards towards the Eternal Will, rather than downwards towards personal security. It made the Puritan a force, transformed the humble into heroes, and had its

strongest fort in the Church of Scotland. More than anything else it inspired the resistance to kingly absolution and ecclesiastical Erastianism : it evoked the spiritual independence of the Scottish Church and made impossible for the Stuart kings to say what Elizabeth said of her policy in the Church of England, "that she tuned its pulpits": it inspired the hero to oppose interference with the authoritative ideal of conscience, and the Church to be moved from within and not from without. Scotland in the seventeenth century is not to be understood apart from its living Calvinism, for this is at the heart of its chivalrous romance, and has helped most potently to make it what it is. But, on the other hand, it is to be recalled that it was Calvinism in its best form—not as an effete doctrine, but in its pristine vigour—as it has been described by one who has made it a special study. "First, it regards religion, not in an utilitarian or eudaemonistic sense, as existing for the sake of man, but for God, and for God alone. This is its dogma of *God's sovereignty*. Secondly, in religion there must be no intermediation of any creature between God and the soul—all religion is the intermediate work of God Himself, in the inner heart. This is the doctrine of *Election*. Thirdly, religion is not partial but universal—that is the dogma of *common or universal grace*. And, finally, in our sinful condition, religion cannot be normal, but has to be *soteriological*—that is its position in the two-fold dogma of the necessity of regeneration, and of the *necessitas S. Scripturae*." ¹

Such was the strong Puritanism amid which Leighton was educated, both at home and college, and Burnet sums it up by saying "he had been bred up with the greatest aversion imaginable to the whole frame of the Church of England." ² But the little we do know of his next ten years is suggestive, although the veil only raises itself to fall again

¹ *Calvinism*, by Prof. A. Kuyper, p. 71.

² *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. p. 240.

"From Scotland," says the same authority, to whom we owe so much, "his father sent him to travel. He spent some *years in France*, and spoke that language¹ like one born there."² Wodrow adds a sentence regarding Robert Leighton which is also suggestive of this and of a subsequent period :— "By many he was judged void of any doctrinal principles : and his close correspondence with some of his relations at *Douay, in Popish orders*, made him suspected, as very much indifferent to all persuasions which bear the name of Christian." "Certain it was," says Row, "that he had too great a latitude of charity towards the Papists, affirming that there were more holy men in the cloisters of Italy and France, praying against the covenant than there were in Britain praying for it."³ Nor is the subsequent opposition of the strong Scottish Calvinism without specific interest in the present connexion. "I am told," says Wodrow, "that when Mr. Dickson was Professor at Edinburgh, and Mr. R. Leighton was Principall there, the Principall urged that the Professor might either teach, or at least recommend Thomas à Kempis to his students : and told him he regarded it one of the best books that ever was writt, next to the inspired writers. Mr. Dickson refused to do either, and among other reasons from some Popish doctrines contained in it, he added, that neither Christ's satisfaction, nor the doctrine of grace, but self and merit ran throw it."⁴ Burnet again informs us that the early visit to Douay was repeated in later years, especially during the time of his Principalship. "Sometimes he went over to Flanders to see what he could find in the several orders of the Church of Rome. There he found some of Jansenius's followers, who

¹ This statement by Burnet is corroborated from another source. Dalrymple's *Memorials* contain a letter of Mr. William Colvill to Lord Balmerino in which he refers to Robert Leighton's "better judgments and better experience" in French. p. 58.

² *Ibid.* ³ *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 404. ⁴ *Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 452.

seemed to be men of extraordinary temper, and who studied to bring things, if possible, *to the purity and simplicity of the primitive ages*: on which all his thoughts were much set.”¹

Such is all that can be gathered as referring directly and indirectly, wholly or partially to the period between 1631 when Robert Leighton went abroad and 1641 when he was ordained minister of Newbattle. But interpreted in the light of the religious movements both in France and the Netherlands, and in the light of his later aims and religious teaching, as unfolded in his subsequent sermons and lectures, they are of great interest and are very suggestive. While there is no evidence to tell the college or colleges he attended during the period or part of the period, it is more than certain that he had been a student in one or other of the Protestant Theological Schools either in France or Holland. In the history of his mental development it is not unimportant to know that for some time he had resided at Douay, where he had some relations connected with the Religious Orders. And here we have the first influence that modified the Calvinism amid which he was reared. He formed at Douay² an intimacy with the best educated of the Roman

¹ Vol. i. p. 244.

² In the subsequent days when Leighton must have felt his connexion with Lauderdale, Middleton and Sharpe as very embarrassing, and contrary to his own Christian instinct, Dr. Walter Smith thus interprets his mind in the *Bishop's Walk*.

“O that I were in meek Douay,
Among the quiet priests that pray
In chapel low or chancel dim,
Chanting the plain-song or the hymn,
Or the ‘Stabat Mater’
Or ‘Veni Creator.’

“I may not bind me with their creed,
Though some of them are free indeed,
Or only thrall to heaven above,
And O they bind me by their love
To him whose name on earth
Is ointment poured forth.”

Catholic gentlemen who were attending the college, and being fond of understanding systems different from his own, and of coming into contact with men of worth in other Churches than his own, he learned to love them in Christian charity for the goodness they possessed, and thought less rigidly of the differences that separated them.”¹ A brief survey of the history of the town will show that its influence would tend to break down the narrower aspects of young Leighton’s creed and give him a wider outlook through the social influence it afforded.

Douai or Douay, a town in France, in the department of Le Nord on the Scarpe, grew during the middle ages into a place of commercial and industrial importance under the Counts of Flanders. It passed afterwards into the possession of the Dukes of Burgundy, fell then as an inheritance to the crown of Spain and was in 1667 conquered by France. In 1568 William Allen (afterwards Cardinal) founded there a college for the young English Catholics who were sent to the continent for the prosecution of their studies, which became the model for a similar one at Rome in 1579, that the Pope might have them more under his own eye and away from the turbulent Netherlands.² No student was admitted into the

“ Nor can I say but vesper hymn,
And the old chaunt in chapel dim,
Sound to me as an infant’s voice
When Faith is young, and doth rejoice,
And goeth all day long
Singing a quiet song :—

“ A voice that lingers on mine ear
From bride whose Bridegroom still is near ;
In her mysterious mirthfulness,
And trembling joy, and wondering grace,
A tender music sighing
Upon her bosom lying.”

pp. 32, 33.

¹ Cf. *Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, vol. iii. p. 378.
Ranke’s *History of the Popes*, vol. i. p. 458.

college at Douay until he pledged himself to return to England on the completion of his studies, and there preach the faith of the Roman Church. For that purpose they were exclusively prepared and were excited to religious enthusiasm by the spiritual exercises of Ignatius and the example of the missionaries sent by Pope Gregory the Great for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, who were set before them as models for imitation. Though supported only by private subscription, the seminaire flourished, and in a short time had one hundred and fifty scholars and ten professors. It was affiliated to the Douay University, which had been founded by Philip II, in whose dominion the town then was. It made the town the headquarters of the Englishmen living on the continent, and the hotbed of political intrigue. Campian and his colleagues Sherwin and Briant came from Douay. This gave rise to great disturbances, and after a Huguenot riot the college was compelled to move in 1578, but found an asylum at Rheims under the protection of the Duke of Guise. In 1593, however, the college returned to Douay and before its dissolution at the French Revolution it could boast that it had produced more than 30 bishops, 169 writers, while 160 of its alumni had given their lives on the gallows for the papal cause. The Douay Bible was the English version of the Bible executed by the students of the Roman Catholic College at Douay under the auspices of Cardinal Allen. The work was published at Douay in 1609, about two years before the appearance of King James' authorized Protestant Bible issued in 1611. The Douay version contains the Old Testament only, a translation of the New having been sent forth from the press at Rheims as early as 1582. The Douay version is the only one that has obtained the sanction of the Pope, and apart from its religious use, possesses an interest for philologists.

There was also at Douay a Scotch College. This seminary was originally founded at Pont-à-Mousson, in Lorraine, by

Dr. James Cheyney of Aboyne in 1576, and was assisted by a pension from Queen Mary. After her death it was reduced to great straits, and could only count seven members. In 1594 it moved to Douay, thence to Louvain, and finally was once more transferred to Douay in 1608. Clement VIII placed it under the administration of the Jesuits. Hippolyte Carle, the son of Mary's secretary, made over to the college by deed of gift a large sum of money, providing that in case of his country's return to the Roman Catholic religion, the foundation should be transferred to St. Andrew's University. Carle became the second rector to the college, and died in 1638. The college was closed in 1793 by the French Government and turned into a prison. It ultimately became the mother-house of a congregation of nuns devoted to education, called Les Dames de la Sainte Union.

It was in such a town that Robert Leighton lived during his formative period. It was in it he had friends, and it is not unlikely that after the fall of the old family of Usan (chapter I.) a member or members of it may have retired thither along with the many Scotch families of the period. Possibly too he may have had relations there on his mother's side and at any rate Wodrow's *Analecta* makes it clear that his grandfather had not joined the Reformed Church.¹ Now a first step is always important because the whole tendency of the course pursued is involved in and determined to some extent by it, and we know that while Robert Leighton always retained a repugnance to the Roman Catholic Church in its unreformed condition,² he yet admired

¹ "Sir James Stewart, Provost of Edinburgh told Mr. Muire that being very bigg with Bishop Leighton, he said, '*Sir, I hear your grandfather was a Papist*, your father a Presbyterian and suffered much for it in England, and you a Bishop! What a mixture is this.'" (Says Leighton): "It's true, Sir, and my grandfather was the honestest man of the three." Vol. i. p. 26.

² Writing about the 1660 period in Leighton's life, Burnet adds:—"What hopes soever the papists had of him at this time, when he knew

the piety of the best connected with it, and was much influenced by those deep utterances of the religious writers it has nurtured. In other words, he was influenced by Roman Catholicism in its *religious*, not in its *official* aspect, and while disliking its corruptions, he could yet live upon those deep aspirations after a perfect holiness and a chastened humility that found expression in the Jesus-love of a St. Francis, a St. Bernard, or a Francis Xavier. At any rate his contact with men of different religious persuasions at Douay, his admiration of a goodness transcending creed and outsoaring its limitations, brought him under the range of an influence that helped to evolve a truly Catholic spirit, and gave him an insight to trace unity beneath differences. In other words his Puritanism was at Douay modified by Catholicism. "Amplius, amplius," as Francis Xavier put it, became henceforth his prevailing attitude.

As to "his relatives at Douay in Popish orders" we are without definite information in the meantime, and may always be, as we do not know the name of his (Leighton's) mother. The discovery of her family name might lead to their identity, but we fail to find amid the recently published matter relating to

nothing of the design of bringing in popery, *and had therefore talked of some points of popery with the freedom of an abstracted and speculative man*, yet he expressed another sense of the matter, when he came to see it was really intended to be brought in among us. He then spoke of popery in the complex at much another rate : *and he seemed to have more zeal against it than I thought was in his nature with relation to any points in controversy: for his abstraction made him cold in all such matters.* But he gave all who conversed with him a very different view of popery, when he saw we were really in danger of coming under the power of a religion that had, as he used to say, much of the wisdom that was earthly, sensual, and devilish, but had nothing in it of the wisdom that was from above, that was pure and peaceable. He did indeed think the corruptions and cruelties of Popery were such gross and odious things, that nothing could have maintained that church under those just and visible prejudices but the several orders among them that had such an appearance of mortification and contempt of the world : *that with all the trash that was among them this maintained a face of piety and devotion.*" *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. p. 246.

the Douay College in the "Papers of the Right Reverend Dr. Manning, late Archbishop of Westminster":¹ in the "Papers belonging to the Catholic Chapter, London":² in the "Manuscripts of Mrs. Dorothy Witham of Kirkconnell and her husband Robert Maxwell Witham, Esquire, containing reference to the Two Registers of the Scots' College at Douay"—the "Register of Douay," and the "Smaller Register of Douay"³—*as published*, any reference to persons bearing the name "Leighton" as connected with the college. The Kirkconnell Manuscripts show that many of the students at the Douay Scotch College were connected with distinguished Scotch families; such names occur as Bruce and Wallace (they are the first and second names at the beginning of the list), Crichton, Law, Barclay, Gordon, Douglas, Seton, Elphinston, Lyndesay (son of the Baron of *Mains*), MacCree Christie, Maxwell, Gray, Forbes, Irvine, William Leslie (rector in 1634), Ogilvie (son of John Ogilvie of Craig, 1647), Semple, Skene.⁴ Similar representative names might be chosen from the English ones, but "Leighton" does not occur among either, and the evidence only manifests hitherto the religious activity of the neighbourhood where Robert Leighton settled. It was an academic centre for Scotch and English Roman Catholic gentlemen.

But there was a special form of Catholicism, in this period, that was agitating the Church, and in which we definitely know Robert Leighton was interested, and by which he was influenced—the movement known as Jansenism. In his later years he watched its development closely, but in his earlier days of travel and study, with their accompanying impressionableness, he observed it in its nascent form and in his near neighbourhood, for north-west of Douay and in west Flanders was Ypres, where Jansen, its founder, was

¹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifth Report, pp. 470-478.

² *Ibid.* pp. 463-470.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 650-654.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 653, 654.

bishop during the latter years of Leighton's residence, while in the earlier he was professor at Louvain, east of Brussels. Jansenism was a movement that profoundly influenced him, and with it we have now to do.

Jansenism was one of those movements that in the history of the Church have had the religious and Christocentric doctrine of St. Paul as their inspiration. It is at heart a Pauline reaction against all natural moralism, all righteousness of works, all religious ceremonialism, all Christianity without Christ. It was the inward, Christocentric spirit of Paulinism that created it as it has done all the critical epochs in the Church. In the words of Professor Harnack:—"One might write a history of dogma as a history of the Pauline reaction in the Church, and in doing so would touch on all the turning points of the history. Marcion after the Apostolic Fathers: Irenaeus, Clement, and Origen after the Apologists: Augustine after the Fathers of the Greek Church: the great reformers of the middle ages from Agobard to Wessel in the bosom of the mediaeval Church: Luther after the Scholastics: Jansenius after the Council of Trent—everywhere it has been Paul, in these men, who produced the Reformation."¹ So deeply was this manifested in Jansenism, that the same scholar declares—"Paulinism has become the conscience of the Church until the Catholic Church in Jansenism killed this her conscience."²

Such was the inspirational source of Jansenism, but it had a more specific development and a distinct history in relation to the time when it arose. It came from the piety within the Catholic Church, was an expression of the counter-Reformation which the Protestant Reformation forced upon the Catholic Church itself, was a reaction against the lamentable position in which pious Catholics saw their Church placed. Earnest Catholics in France could not reconcile themselves with the Court and State Christianity, with its frivolity, world-

¹ *History of Dogma*, vol. i. p. 136.

² *Ibid.*

liness of spirit and despicable ideals : nor on the other hand could they rest satisfied with the Jesuits who had attained enormous power, who were undermining the principles of religion with their dangerous and immoral doctrine of "Probability" and by which they were driving religion into blind dependence on the Roman Confessional. "Behold the Fathers who take away the sins of the world!" It is from this state of things that the Jansenist movement is to be understood, and as a reaction against it there was in Jansenism the true impulse of piety. It strove for an *inner* regeneration of the Church through faith and piety, religious awakening and asceticism, as these were interpreted by Augustine, and after adverse judgment had been expressed on Luther and Calvin there was a rallying around the banner of Augustine by pious Catholics themselves.¹ Jansenism was a spiritual movement against false religion and against the false moral teaching of the Jesuits, who applied it through the Confessional and maintained that it is sufficient if we do not will the commission of sin, as sin is a *voluntary* departure from the commands of God. As to their doctrine of "Probability," "the Jesuits maintained," says Ranke, "that in doubtful cases a man might follow an opinion of the soundness of which he was not himself convinced, provided always that the said opinion was defended by some author of repute. They not only considered it allowable to be guided by the most indulgent teachers, but they even recommended that practice. Scruples of conscience were to be disregarded : nay, the proper method of freeing oneself from their influence was to follow the most tolerant opinion, even though they might be less safe. How completely were the profound and secret monitions of self-government and self-judgment thus lowered into a mere external act! In the directing manuals of the Jesuits all possible contingencies of life are treated of, much in the method usually adopted for systems of civil law, and

¹ Cf. *History of Dogma*, vol. vii. pp. 92, 93.

appreciated according to the degrees of their veniality. A man has but to look out the cases supposed in these books, and, without any conviction on his own part, to regulate himself according to their directions, and he is then certain of absolution before God and the Church: a slight turn of the thoughts sufficed to exonerate from all guilt. The Jesuits themselves, with a certain sort of honesty, sometimes express surprise on perceiving how light and easy their tenets render the yoke of Christ."¹ All religious life was perishing between the Court and State Christianity and this disgraceful ethical teaching: all religion must have perished in France and elsewhere had not an *evangelical* movement within the Church itself arisen. It is this which makes Jansenism so interesting in its origin and so full of ultimate good: for at heart, it was an endeavour to emancipate the Church from the Church and faith from a subtly-refined and immoral morality.

The Jansenists remind us of the early Protestants, and may be called unconscious Protestants.² It is not without a true perception that they have been called the Methodists of the Church of Rome, although the term is only applicable in the wide and *early* sense of those who sought at reformation and aimed at a superior piety within the Church of England.³ No doubt, the Jansenists adhered to a principle with which Protestantism from the very first refused a reconciliation—they did not cut themselves off from the authority of the Fathers. They held themselves to be the true Catholics, the representatives of the Church in its palmy days, as it existed at least down to St. Bernard, whom they styled "the last of the Fathers." They followed St. Ambrose, St. Augustine and St. Gregory, added fathers of the Greek Church, especially

¹ Ranke's *History of the Popes*, vol. ii. pp. 395, 396.

² Buckle calls them the Calvinists of the Roman Communion. *Civilization in England*, xiv.

³ Cf. Dr. McCrie's *Introduction to Pascal's Provincial Letters*, p. lxiii.

St. Chrysostom, in whose works they perceived the true and unadulterated stream from which down to the days of St. Bernard they believed no deviation had been made. After him, "the last of the Fathers," they held that the intrusion of Aristotelianism had obscured the light. Pascal in his concluding letter repudiates the idea of "heresy existing in the Church," and in doing so, upheld the attitude of the whole brotherhood at Port-Royal, for to be a Catholic and a Christian were with the Jansenists convertible terms. They were convinced that the Church, notwithstanding its disfigurements and corruptions, is still one with Christ—"not one in spirit only, but in body also—infallible, immortal, and imperishable." They held by the episcopal hierarchy, and by St. Augustine as appointed by God to communicate to the world the doctrine of grace as the foundation of the new covenant, and in whose teaching theology was completed. They examined St. Augustine's teaching to its very roots, and in the ever-recurring problem of the connexion between Divine Grace and human freedom, they opposed Pelagius and followed Augustine who denied to man, *apart from special grace*, all freedom except a *dira neccesitas peccandi* ! The Jansenists, in enforcing the creed of Augustine, regarded it as comprehending all that preceded it and as containing the basis of all that was to follow. The Catholics held fast by tradition, but Jansenism endeavoured to purify it, to restore to it its original character, with the hope of regenerating both doctrine and life. In thus adhering to a form of tradition, they differed from Luther, who had first been awakened by St. Augustine, but then returned solely to the true source of inspiration—the Scriptures. Luther and the Reformers thus accepted a principle, to which the Jansenists refused to be reconciled, but it is true to say that had the Jansenists taken one step further they would have approached Protestantism, and notwithstanding their assertion that they were opposed both to Protestants and Jesuits alike, it was a favourite

charge which the Jesuits made against them, that the Jansenists were Calvinists in disguise. Unconsciously they were so—their disclaimer notwithstanding—and the Jesuits, however unscrupulous, had here a clear penetration. The doctrines of Jansen and St. Cyran were the old doctrines of grace which Calvin and they both found in St. Augustine, but which Calvin again found in the Epistles of St. Paul.¹ The difference was one of *authority*, and by holding to St. Augustine and giving St. Paul a less authoritative position, their teaching aroused within the bosom of the Catholic Church the old controversy which since the days of the Pelagian controversy had so often agitated it. The Jansenists were thus unconscious Protestants within the Catholic Church itself, and one hears the ring of Luther's *Ich Kann nicht anders* in Pascal's solemn declaration: "if my letters are condemned in Rome, what I condemn in them is condemned in heaven. *Ad Tuum, Domine Jesu, Tribunal Appello.*" One hears again Luther's sense of a great mission in time from the very heart of the Port-Royal itself. When Arnauld was expelled from the Sorbonne, driven out of France, hunted from place to place, he still continued heroically to fight for his cause to the last. On one occasion, wishing his friend Nicole to assist him in a new work, the latter observed, "We are now old, is it not time to rest?" "Rest!" exclaimed Arnauld, "have we not all eternity to rest in?"

This Jansenist movement was in its early stage centred around two names, Cornelius Jansen of Holland, and Jean Du Verger of Gascony, and these two names must have been very familiar to Robert Leighton, the young Scottish graduate living in the North of France and making occasional or frequent visits to Holland. It is with them as inspirational forces in his life and thought that we have now to do, and this because they were associated in a prominent way with the

¹ Cf. Principal Tulloch's *Pascal*, pp. 104, 105.

movement already described in its general spirit and tendency.

During the years when the Catholic Church was held in a state of continual warfare respecting the Means of Grace, Cornelius Jansen and Jean Du Verger were studying at Louvain, were moulded by the more rigid doctrines which that university maintained and contracted a strong antipathy to the Jesuits. Du Verger was the superior in rank and took his friend with him to Bayonne, no doubt fascinated by his spiritual genius, by his contemplative habits and intense inwardness. His mental bent is indicated by what his friends overheard him once to exclaim in his solitary walks, "*O veritas ! veritas !* O truth, truth !" Here they both plunged into a deep study of Augustine and were possessed with an enthusiasm for the doctrines of this Father in relation to grace and free will. In 1630 Jansen became professor of theology at Louvain ; in 1636 he was made Bishop of Ypres, and he died in 1638 just as he had completed his great work, the *Augustinus* (4 vols.) which was published after his death in 1640. Jansen attached himself all his life to a theoretical asceticism with a view of reviving Augustine's teaching, while St. Cyran pursued the same object by a path more ascetical and practical in the Port-Royal. Jansen's book is of great value as an exposition of his convictions ; he boldly attacks the doctrines and tendencies of the Jesuits and seeks to restore to their original vitality of thought the doctrines of grace, sin and remission. His principle, clearly stated after the teaching of Augustine, is that man's will is not free, but is fettered and enslaved by the desire after earthly things. It cannot of its own strength rise from this condition ; grace must come to the aid of the will—grace, which is not so much the forgiveness of sins, as the deliverance of the soul from the bondage of earthly desires. "The liberation of the soul," he says, "is not the forgiveness of sins, but a certain delightful freedom from the bonds of earthly wishes : enslaved by

which, the soul is in chains, until, by a celestial sweetness infused by grace, it is borne over to the love of the supreme good.”¹ Grace is thus a celestial sweetness which God’s grace pours over the soul, and is made manifest in the higher, purer happiness obtained by the soul from heavenly things. It is a spiritual delight, by which the will is moved to desire what God decrees. It is an involuntary impulse given by God to the will by which it finds happiness in good, by which it seeks good, not from fear of punishment, but from love of righteousness ; by which in loving it, the soul is loving God Himself. God is purely Spiritual, the Eternal Truth whence all truth and wisdom proceed—the Eternal Righteousness whose will makes right absolute. In loving righteousness, man loves God Himself. Virtue is the love of God, and it is in this love that the freedom of the will consists. The sweetness extinguishes the pleasure derived from earthly gratification, and then “there follows a most happy, immutable and necessary will not to sin, but to live rightly.”²

“Throughout the work,” said Ranke, “the development of the doctrinal view is carried out with a high degree of philosophical clearness, even in the midst of zealous and hostile polemical discussion. The essential groundwork of the book is at once moral and religious, speculative and practical. To the mere external form and self-seeking of the Jesuit doctrines, it opposes an upright and strict internal discipline, the ideal of an activity, whose primary origin, as well as its ultimate expression, is love to God.”³

The chief centre of Jansenism was at the Port-Royal, a convent situated in a romantic valley three miles from Versailles. La Mère Angelique, of the Arnauld family, and while of tender years, became abbess of the house in 1602. She determined on a complete reformation of the community and established a most austere system of discipline, being led

¹ Vol. iii. lib. i. c. ii.

² Vol. iii. lib. vii. c. ix.

³ *History of the Popes*, vol. ii. p. 399.

to it by the preaching of a Capuchin friar. After a time she was sent by the General of the Order to reform the convent at Maubisson, but she again returned to "Port-Royal des Champs" taking with her thither many of the inmates from the former house. In 1633 the community removed to a house in the Rue St. Jacques, Paris, known as the "Port-Royal de Paris," and one of the most important consequences of this change was that the "Port-Royal des Champs" became under the rectorship of Du Verger, abbot of St. Cyran, an asylum for those who wished seclusion without taking monastic vows. St. Cyran, for so was Du Verger now called, made this a learned and ascetic hermitage, where he reduced the principles of Jansen to practice, and by an unwearied study of Scripture and the Fathers, sought to imbue his mind with their spirit. Here he gathered around him a brilliant galaxy of earnest and distinguished scholars, and Port-Royal became associated with the names of Le Maître, Arnauld, Nicole, Pascal, De Saci, Sericourt and others. Several of them had renounced a career of worldly splendour, and became disciples of St. Cyran in this literary and religious hermitage, while Angelique Arnauld, with her nuns at Port-Royal attached themselves to St. Cyran with all the enthusiasm of womanhood for a religious guide and prophet. They were witnesses of true religion—Protestants in spirit, if not in name—and the Port-Royal became one of the strongest and purest spiritual forces of the period. Jesuitic Probabilism was the enemy against which this movement directed itself, but in doing so, it was a return to pure religion, both in doctrine and life. It is a cold heart which cannot be touched with these earnest men striving like Pascal "to renounce all pleasure and superfluities," and to copy originally like St. Francis the portrait of the Master. Port-Royal was a religious house, fettered by no vows, was held together voluntarily, and was at once a religious seminary, a missionary centre, a literary academy and a pastoral college. Agricultural

labours were undertaken, handicrafts were engaged in, but the principal occupation was literature, addressed to the nation in a popular form. The inmates were always advised to study the Holy Scripture itself, without any commentary and with the single aim of edification.¹ "They began" says Ranke, "by translating the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church and Latin Prayer-books. In these labours they were happily careful to avoid the old Frankish forms which had previously disfigured works of this character, and expressed themselves with an attractive clearness; an educational institution, which they established at Port-Royal, gave them occasion to compose school books in ancient and modern languages, logic and geometry. Works of a different character were also produced at intervals; as for example, controversial writings, the acuteness and precision of which reduced their enemies to silence; with others of the most profound piety, such for example as the *Heures de Port-royal*, which were received with an eager welcome, and even after the lapse of a century were as much valued and sought for as on the first day. From this society proceeded men of scientific eminence, such as Pascal; of high distinction in poetry, such as Racine; or of the most comprehensive range in learning, such as Tillemont. . . . They exercised an extensive and beneficial influence on the literature of France, and through that medium on the whole of Europe. To Port-Royal the literary splendour of the age of Louis XIV may in some measure be safely attributed."²

This Society of Port-Royal made its influence felt through the whole nation in the seventeenth century, and had adherents among the parochial clergy of France who had an abhorrence of the confessional system of the Jesuits. Sometimes it had friends among the dignitaries of the Church; it spread to the Netherlands and Spain, and a Jansenist Divine

¹ Schimmelpenninck's *Memoirs of Port-Royal*, vol. i. 151,

² Ranke, vol. ii. pp. 404, 405.

(Honorato Herzan) was cited before the holy office to answer for a sermon at Rome in which he defended the opinion of Jansenius, and upheld him to be the only expositor of St. Augustine. St. Cyran had founded a school in which his own doctrines and those of Jansen of Ypres were regarded and felt as a living gospel. "His disciples," said one of the body, "go forth like young eagles from under his wings ; heirs of his virtue and piety, what they had received from him they transmitted to others ; Elijah has left behind him many an Elisha, who continue to prosecute his work." Singlin, a follower of St. Cyran and a popular preacher at Paris, was an active upholder of the cause, and maintained it with overpowering eloquence. He was said to have been able only with difficulty to express himself in the common affairs of life, but in the pulpit to have been a burning orator ; he attached many to himself and sent them to Port-Royal, where they were warmly welcomed. They included young gentlemen clergymen and scholars, wealthy merchants, eminent physicians, members of distinguished families and religious orders, who all took the step under the guidance of a spontaneous impulse, evoked by Singlin's preaching. Port-Royal gave the presentation of an Evangelical Religion within the Catholic Church.

St. Cyran agreed with Jansen's teaching and was led to consider penance. He felt that the pure days of the Church were in the past, that gospel-truth had been obscured, and thus there arose within him dissatisfaction with the ordinances of the Church. But in criticising he did not depart from a severe rigour in discipline. "To humble oneself,¹ to suffer and to

¹ The Jansenists learned from Pascal to denote themselves in French by *on*, and one of their adversaries averred that by this mark he could tell that an anonymous work which he refuted was to be attributed to them. Pascal thought that an honest man ought to shun the naming of himself and the use of the words I and me, as Christian piety annihilates the human *me*, while civility ought to conceal and suppress it (Bayle's *Dictionary*, iv. 153, 154). Students of Leighton will recognize how much of this spirit of self-effacement was in him,

depend wholly on God—this makes up the whole Christian life.” His conviction of the necessity of an inward change was strong, and grace to him preceded repentance. “When it is the will of God to save a soul, the work is commenced from within ; when the heart is once changed, then is true repentance first experienced : all else follows. Absolution can do no more than indicate the first beam of grace. As a physician must observe and be guided by the movements and internal operations of nature only, so must the physician of the soul proceed according to the working of grace.” St. Cyran’s religion was founded on personal experience, although he maintained a calm exterior and communicated himself to few. What Jowett said of Greek literature was applicable to him : “*under the marble exterior was concealed a soul thrilling with spiritual emotion,*” although St. Cyran’s few words and serene expression could not altogether hide the inner grace nor occasionally the inner fire of holy devotion. Memoirs tell us that “since his whole soul was filled with the truth of what he uttered, and as he always awaited the proper occasion and a befitting frame of mind, both in himself and others, so the impressions he produced were irresistible, his hearers felt themselves affected by an involuntary change, tears sometimes burst from their eyes before they could think of repressing them.”

Jansenius died on May 6, 1638, before his *Augustinus* was published, and eight days after his colleague’s death, St. Cyran was imprisoned in the dungeon of Vincennes for heresy by Richelieu at the instigation of the Jesuits. But neither Jansenius’s death nor St. Cyran’s imprisonment prevented the diffusion of the doctrines, and although St. Cyran was confined for five years and only survived his release at the death of Richelieu in 1643 for a few months, an impulse was given to piety and a religious storm ensued from the conflict with the Jesuits. *Augustinus* was still in manuscript at its author’s death, but Jansenius’s friends proceeded with its

publication. It was a task of difficulty and risk, for the Jesuits obtained possession of sheets as they passed through the press, and denounced the work both at Rome and to the Faculty of Theology at Louvain, as contravening the injunction of Sixtus V against the maintenance of controversies with respect to grace. But before steps could be taken against it, the printers, with the connivance of the University, completed the work and *Augustinus* was published at Louvain in 1640—the centenary year of the Jesuit order—and was reprinted shortly afterwards at Paris and Rouen. The *Augustinus* struck at the Jesuits and its sting lay mainly in the epilogue, which draws a parallel between the errors of the Massilians and those *recentiorum quorundam*—the Jesuits being referred to. The Jesuits did a very shrewd thing, and although, the persons assailed, assumed the offensive;¹ for the *Augustinus* contained pure Augustinianism—Augustine's doctrine of sin, grace and predestination being reproduced in it—while no concessions were made to Protestantism. Jansenius made interference from the Curia possible, however, for in the third book he adverts to a position laid down by St. Augustine which he could not but admit to have been condemned by the court of Rome. He hesitates whom he should follow—the Father of the Church or the Pope but recalling that the Roman See sometimes condemned a doctrine merely for the sake of peace, without intending to declare such doctrine absolutely false, he determines in favour of St. Augustine. The Jesuits availed themselves of this passage, pointed to it as an attack on the papal infallibility, and through their influence with the Curia obtained from Pope Urban VIII a bull, which, after referring to the censure pronounced upon Bajus, confirmed the prohibition of the book on the ground of it containing heresies. This, while effecting very little as a declaration, gave new zeal to the Jansenist cause, which rapidly spread, and France became a scene of

¹ Harnack, vii. p. 93.

religious upheaval. In 1643, the year after Urban's bull, Dr. Antoine Arnauld, a member of Port-Royal, published his treatise *De la fréquente Communion*, based on Jansen's views. His legal training suggested the distinction of "de facto" and "de jure" which afterwards acquired importance. The book was at once denounced by the Jesuits and the same year by Urban VIII. Arnauld,¹ while he taught the necessity of spiritual preparation for Communion, had also suggested that the Church of Rome had a two-fold head in St. Peter and St. Paul. Arnauld yielded to the storm by retiring into private life, but only to exercise his pen in the Jansenist cause (1649). The Jesuits now saw that the source of the movement—the *Augustinus*—must be dealt with, in order to draw forth a more decided condemnation from Rome. They drew up five propositions and required Pope Innocent X to pronounce upon them judgment. Investigation was formally entered upon at Rome, but there arose a diversity of opinion among the cardinals and theological consultors regarding them. Nine out of the thirteen were in favour of the condemnation, while four, including the general of the Augustinian order, regarded the condemnation as unadvisable. Cardinal Chigi pressed the hesitating Pope, and on July 1, 1653, Innocent X published his bull in which he condemned the opinions as heretical, blasphemous and accursed—declared his hope thereby to restore the peace of the Church, and his wish to see its bark sailing onward as in tranquil waters, and arriving at the haven of salvation! The five propositions which were condemned and at the same time represented, though not with entire clearness, as propositions of Jansen were these:—(1) Some precepts of God cannot be fulfilled by good men, whose wish and effort are according to the measure of strength they at present possess; they have the further need of grace that shall render obedience possible.

¹ He was author of the *Port-Royal Logic*: see translation by Professor Baynes.

(2) Inward grace is never resisted in the state of fallen nature. (3) In order to the existence of merit and demerit in the state of fallen nature there is not required in man a liberty that is the absence of necessity : it is enough if there be the liberty that is the absence of constraint. (4) Semi-Pelagians admitted the necessity of inner prevenient grace for single acts, also for the origination of faith, and they were heretical in this, that they wished that grace to be of such a kind that it should be possible for the human will to resist or obey. (5) It is semi-Pelagian to say that Christ died, or that He shed His blood for all men without exception." A struggle thence ensued about *religion* itself, combined with another for rights of personal conviction against Papal despotism ; the Jansenists raised the *question du fait*, and denying that such doctrines were taught by Jansen, required proof that they were. They perceived at once the subtlety of the Jesuits, whose real aim, as Harnack avers, "was to separate off the extreme conclusions of Augustinianism and give them an isolated formulation, that thereby it might be possible to reject them without touching Augustine, but that thereby also Augustinianism might be slain."¹ The Jansenists were placed in a very unfavourable position, because as Catholics they would not openly question the Pope's authority in questions of doctrine, but to the mortification of the Jesuits the Jansenists declared their willingness to sign the condemnation, but averring at the same time that the propositions in the sense which the Jesuits fixed to them were not to be found in the writings of Jansen at all. The Jesuits were thus checked and the Jansenists took advantage of their ignorance to publish *anonymously* an Epistle of St. Prosper (a scholar of St. Augustine) to Ruffinus against Pelagius. The Jesuits pronounced this a piece of Jansenist heresy, and when they perceived the snare into which they had been led declared that the doctrine was true when under-

¹ Vol. vii. p. 95.

stood in an orthodox sense. Soon there arose the distinction of *droit* and *fait* in the controversy, the Jansenists maintaining that the Pope was guided infallibly in questions of doctrine, and showing from several historical instances that the Pope had erred in matters of fact. The false position in which the Pope had placed himself now became apparent, and the French bishops were urgent for a declaration that those propositions already condemned were condemned in the sense given them by Jansen. Chigi, who was now Pope Alexander VII, was unwilling to refuse this, and the notorious bull of 1656 (*Ad sanctam b. Petri sedem*) was issued: "*We determine and declare that those five propositions extracted from the aforementioned book of Cornelius Jansen, and understood in the sense intended by the same Cornelius Jansen, have been condemned.*" The Jansenists still replied that a declaration of such a character was beyond the Papal power and that the Pope's infallibility did not extend to a judgment respecting *facts*. But the Pope was not to be set aside, and when he had declared that he had not only to decide doctrine, but also had the right to decide *in what sense such doctrine had been understood by some one*, what objection could be raised by pious Catholics if there was the general admission made of absolute authority? Where is the line to be drawn between *droit* and *fait*, between questions of *right* and questions of *fact*? Accordingly the Pope took a further step still, and in 1664 issued a formula for subscription, in which all clerics and teachers and nuns were required both to reject the *five* propositions and to confess upon oath that these were condemned "as meant to be understood by the same author." Here was indeed a lordship over conscience, although two centuries more had to pass before the papal infallibility could be proclaimed. The Jansenists did not hesitate to condemn the five propositions, which admitted of a heterodox interpretation; they refused to acknowledge by an unconditional subscription that the tenets condemned were contained in the

Augustinus, or that they were the doctrines of their master. No prosecution could extract from them a contrary admission, and the effect of their steadfastness was such that their numbers and their credit increased, and defenders of their opinions were to be found even among the bishops themselves.¹ Persecution and the filling of the Bastille with those who refused to violate their conscience by subscription touched the people, and before them was the strange sight that is worthy of supreme admiration—on the one side the most absolute monarch in Europe, the despotism of Rome, the unscrupulous Jesuits all bent on crushing, and on the other a few weak women at Port-Royal, strong in their conviction of truth and loyalty and refusing to yield. King Christ in them at last conquered. In 1668 Clement VII was forced by the popularity of Port-Royal and of Jansenism, to give relief to the Jansenists so far by remaining satisfied with “submissive silence.” He also contented himself with a condemnation of the five propositions in general, without insisting on their actually being taught by Jansen. The second article of pacification states: “We declare that it would be offering insult to the Church to comprehend, among those opinions condemned in the five propositions, the doctrine of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, concerning grace as efficacious of itself, necessary to all the actions of Christian piety, and to the free predestination of the elect.” This concession on the part of the Curia not only waived its claim to decide the matter of fact (*fait*) but was also an acquiescence that its sentence against Jansenism should remain without effect. The society continued to flourish and its religion and literary activity was felt on the nation. But with its progress there grew within it an opposition to the Roman See, as was inevitable from its ideal. Very thin was the partition wall between Jansenism and Protestantism—a fact which was always clear to the Jesuits. Clement XI in

¹ Ranke, vol. ii. p. 409.

the bull, "Vineam Domini Sabaoth" (1705), gave fresh confirmation to all the severe bulls of his predecessors against Jansenism and made the demand that there should be a recognition of the definition of Jansen's intention given by Alexander VII. Port-Royal was forcibly broken up, its inmates expelled and the cemetery desecrated.

So fared the endeavour of earnest men and women to reform the Roman Church in France from within, and so passed away a constructive movement of great potency. Professor Harnack's words regarding it are very striking and solemn ones, but they are the interpretation of history:—"The French Church exterminated the Huguenots and Jansenists: it received in place of them the atheists and Jesuits." ¹ The rejection of Jansenism is another instance from many of the *immobilis* inertia in great institutions to apply the pruning knife to old abuses and corruptions, and adapt themselves to new life. How frequently would the course of history been different had they done so!

Jansenism interests us here chiefly because in its early development it was a movement in which Robert Leighton was directly interested and the progress of which he watched with the eyes of a contemporary. In after years the interest did not lessen, but just now we are brought face to face with it as one of the important influences that surrounded him during his impressionable years in France and prior to his ordination as minister of Newbattle. It is impossible to read his sermons and his university lectures without perceiving how closely he was in sympathy with the teaching of Jansen and St. Cyran: it is impossible also not to perceive how deeply he was indebted to the old Catholic sources of piety—St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, St. Bernard and others, whom the Jansenists sought to restore as the true Fathers of the Church. The young Scotch Calvinist unquestionably received from the Jansenists, ideals

¹ *History of Dogma*, vol. iii. p. 238.

and impulses which certainly modified his early position, and which he treasured throughout life, while remaining a loyal Protestant. In his case we can aver in a sense purely *religious* what Lecky avers in a more restricted form—that whatever widens the imagination and enables it to realize the actual experience of other men, is a powerful agent of *ethical* advance. Leighton's contact with the Jansenists and his admiration for the piety of St. Cyran and Port-Royal certainly widened his horizon no less than his sympathy, and he returned to Scotland different from what he left it in 1631. He had been impressed with the *spirituality* of a movement that was Protestantism within the Roman Catholic Church, that was an endeavour to bring back that Church to purer and simpler days and to beliefs more in accordance with its true ideal as a spiritual institution and not as a temporal power. He saw an effort to restore the Church from within, thwarted and baffled by an officialdom that was incapable of beholding the day of its visitation, and like every great reformation, this effort was centred at first in the conscience and protest of individuals like Jansen and St. Cyran whom he could reverence as men of outstanding saintliness. Notwithstanding Jesuit casuistry and intrigue, he could still see in the old mediaeval Church a piety which neither could extinguish—a piety enforced as the highest attainment of Christian life by Thomas and Bonaventura, by Eckhart, Suso, Tauler, Thomas à Kempis, and all the active witnesses to personal religion in the centuries before the Reformation. From these streams of fresh intuition Leighton drank with heart-felt delight and could see the true spirit of the Catholic Church not in the worldly papacy of his day, but in St. Bernard's mystic devotion to the bridegroom of his soul, in the Jesus-love of a St. Francis of Assisi or a St. Clare. Not dogma, but *devotion*—not organization but *piety* was what he saw and heard from the past as the true Church because the true Spirit of Christ—

creative of sweet graces, unquenchable aspirations and immortal ideals in human souls. From that Leighton never severed himself and in connecting himself with it he was a true Protestant, for Protestantism does not claim to be infallible, and must allow that some part of the truth can be found with those who are its adversaries. Protestantism rests on the great principle of spiritual freedom and in setting aside that which is external and concrete and in accepting that which is inward and spiritual, it discovered a spiritual basis in consciousness, which could attract all from *any* source that was not alien to itself, that was on the line of its own direction, and had to it an elective affinity. And this is Leighton's *greatness* in his own time—for common as it may be now, it was a rare feature in the seventeenth century, when no underlying identity in spiritual life was accepted, beneath and beyond the differences. He would never regard the names of Roman and Catholic as identical, nor would he regard the Catholic Church and Catholicism as convertible terms. To Leighton's mind *Catholic* is applicable to the Christian spirit within the Catholic Church as it welled up in its pious literature and the pious spirits within its communion, but not to the papacy or the papal officialism. And so while loyal to his Protestantism, he could learn much from another communion, and could nourish his spiritual life from sources that were eternal because inspired and permeated by a deep God-consciousness. He could say with St. Bernard, "I love God that I may love Him : I love that I may love Him more." "Let there be no limit, save that of life, to the pursuit of my Lord." He could with St. Francis invoke the sun and all creation to join the praise he could never sufficiently express for his soul's sweet Saviour, and say "My God is my All." He could say with *St. Teresa*, "All that is not of God is nought," and with *Tauler*, "I found God wherever I lost myself, and wherever I found myself there I lost God "; with *St. Gregory*, "Humility is

sorely perilled by honours, purity by pleasure and moderation by riches" ; with *St. Denys*, " God as Sovereign Beauty is the Author of all the beautiful adaptation, all the brilliancy, all the grace we find " ; with *St. Bruno*, " O goodness of God, ever old and ever new " ; with *St. Catherine of Sienna* as she heard the heavenly voice, " Think thou of me and I will think for Thee " ; with the *Founder of the Brothers Minor*, " Intercourse with God in solitude is far better than the teeming crowds of this world, amid their reckless cares their endless weariness, their ceaseless importunity " ; with *St. Augustine*, " Oh Christ, hope of our race, God of God, our refuge and our strength, whose light beams on our eyes from afar, as a star shining through the heavy clouds of storm that thickly roll over the sea, pilot, Lord, our ship by the helm of Thy cross that we perish not in the waves : let no tempest overwhelm us with its billows, let not the deep engulf us, but draw us from this sea to Thyself, our only solace, whom through our tear-dimmed eyes we descry afar off as the Morning Star and Sun of Righteousness waiting to receive us on the shore of the heavenly country " ; he could unite with the *Abbot of Clairvaux*, " O Lord, I pray Thee that the sweet and fiery strength of Thy crucified Love may so absorb my heart, that I may die for love of Thy love, O Redeemer of my soul, who hast deigned to die for love of my love." These and similar elements of spiritual culture helped to shape the young Scottish Leighton and to lead him to the conception of the Christian Church as a spiritual temple, where all holy souls meet in God, in which the spirits of the just made perfect can be spoken of, not as former, but as actual members ; in which the present and the past blend in a unity that transcends distinction and its members are characterized by Christ-like character, Christ-like aspiration, Christ-like service. Neither death nor time-division create within it any wall of separation, and it includes both the communion of saints and of sages. In

thus believing, he was true to the spirit of the Westminster Confession.”¹ “The Catholic or Universal Church, which is *invisible*, consists of the whole number of the elect which have been or shall be, gathered into one under Christ the Head thereof, and is the spouse, the body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.” He anticipated the breadth of view of Prevost Paradol: “I belong to that Church which has no name, but of which the members recognize each other wherever they meet. Leighton’s Church had a “*blank shield with no device of sect or party*,” and it was the society of the faithful in present and past. His Church was the Church of the German legend, the pathway to which had been closed by the war of sects, but still its sight and sound did not wholly forsake the eyes and ears of men. For as the legend tells, the casual wanderer in the deep silent twilight still hears the tones of strange far-off bells borne floating in the evening air, and in the misty grey of the deepening shadows some wanderers have suddenly found themselves in the gloom of the forest standing before it, its white pinnacles gleaming like spirits in the light of the moon and stars. There was no sound of human voices, although round the shrine bowed the forms of venerable men, while the tones of the organ mingled with the soft and silvery sound of bells, and a reverent and hallowed light trembled on every nook and crypt and corbel.

Leighton’s ideal, like that of those whom he loved as teachers, arose from the intensity of his religious life, and from the spiritual eye that enabled him to

“Gaze one moment on the Face, whose Beauty
Wakes the world’s great hymn :
Feel it one unutterable moment,
Bent in love o’er him :

¹ First clause in 25th Article.

In that look feel heaven, earth, men and angels,
Distant grow and dim :
In that look feel heaven, earth, men and angels,
Nearer grow through Him."

During the years of his residence abroad, another influence must be taken into account—the *De Imitatione*. Wodrow distinctly tells us that Robert Leighton regarded this as one of the best books that ever was written next to the inspired writers (p. 72). While such a judgment will be generally accepted now, it was a unique one in the Scotland of the seventeenth century, and one not unlikely to be followed with serious ecclesiastical consequences. Anything that was "Popish" was deeply and inveterately suspected or disliked. Leighton's favourite poet in later years was George Herbert,¹ and his favourite manual of devotion throughout life was Thomas à Kempis, but the *De Imitatione*, as it was the earlier in time, was also the more potent and creative in his thought. It suited the poetic mysticism of his own mind, and gave an impulse to its own spontaneous direction. It made clearer the Figure that his own heart loved, and ever turned toward, and became the basis for spiritual discipline and striving. It unfolded that love which makes the soul become the bride of Christ and gives true insight. Thomas, like Dante, realized that it is not thought alone, but thought aided by *love* that leads to the Beatific Vision. Beatrice leads but to the highest tier of the celestial theatre, and fixing her eyes upon the face of God moves them not again. Theology in her has done its work, only to hand her disciple to St. Bernard, the genius of mystic love, who takes Dante by the hand to the

¹ Dr. Walter Smith has the following note to *The Bishop's Walk*: "Mr. Burgon states in his *Life of P. F. Tytler* that a copy of Herbert's Poems, with notes by Leighton, once existed in the library at Dunblane. It certainly is not there now, and I take this opportunity of again advertising all whom it may concern, that, if they do not return it, all literature will *persecute* them" (p. 138). Where is the offender?

Holy of Holies, where the outline of the triune human form appears, and where the beatific vision of the Deity who made man in His Own image is accorded to the poet. And Thomas à Kempis was to Leighton the apostle of this mystic love—the love that withdraws from all vile thoughts—the love that dwells in heaven and makes the angels exclaim, when a stranger comes, “see one who will increase our love.”¹ But Thomas was no less the apostle of faith in its *inwardness*—as the *eye* of the newborn soul, whereby every believer “seeth Him who is invisible”; as the *ear* of the soul, whereby the sinner “hears the voice of the Son of God and lives”; as the *palate* of the soul, whereby a believer “tastes the good words and the power of the world to come”; as the *feeling* of the soul, whereby “through the power of the Highest overshadowing him . . . he feels the love of God shed abroad in his heart.” This faith that works by *regenerating* love is what both Leighton and Wesley realized at the same period of their lives, and when each was studying the same *De Imitatione*. And did not Wesley write in 1738 and in doing so voice what Robert Leighton felt just about a hundred years before?

“O grant that nothing in my soul
May dwell but Thy pure love alone!
O may Thy love possess me whole,
My joy, my treasure, and my crown,
Strange flames, far from my heart remove!
My very act, thought, word be love.”

And as Robert Leighton studied this book and the literature of the “Brothers of the Common Lot,” he could not think, as men of his period so generally thought, that there had been no Church history before the Reformation but the record of Antichrist. Nay, it was through the teaching of such witnesses that the Reformation became possible, and if Leighton could say, as Erasmus is reported to have said after

¹ Dante.

reviewing the different sections of Protestantism, *sit mea anima cum Puritanis Anglicanis*, would he not also read even *their* spiritual testimony in the deep utterances that came from the teachers of the mediaeval Church, like John of Goch, John of Wesel, Tauler, Gerhard Groot, John Wessel, Thomas à Kempis, and the army of unknown witnesses who aimed at piety and spirituality amid worldliness and monastic corruption, and made the Reformation possible in Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands. These were among the theologians who paved the way for the Reformation, by implanting in men's minds the sense of *inward religion*, which ultimately in the Reformation acquired importance in history.

There was much in common, too, between Thomas à Kempis and Robert Leighton: there was the same elective affinity of disposition, and the same attraction felt toward the meditative contemplative life as the best preparation for religious service. The narrow cell, lighted up by the love of God and Christ was to Thomas, and would have been to Leighton, had it been possible in his day, heaven on earth and a joy that he would have exchanged for nothing but heaven above. Leighton, too, could endorse the words which Franciscus Polensis once saw as a characteristic motto on the picture of Thomas: "I have sought rest everywhere and found it nowhere, save in solitude and books" (*In omnibus requiem quaesivi, sed non inveni, nisi in Hoexkens ende Boexkens: hoc est, in abditis recessibus et libellulis.*)

The words were applied to one who sought to write the life of a spiritual genius, whom he was incapable of understanding: "Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with and the well is deep." But this could not be said of Robert Leighton in his relation to Thomas à Kempis. It was a spiritual splendour interpreting a like spiritual splendour—two souls meeting whose light was kindled from the same heavenly fire—the interpreter and the interpreted were of the one spiritual

mould. Robert Leighton was born a Protestant, while Thomas à Kempis was born a Roman Catholic and directly impugned nothing that had received the authority of his Church, but notwithstanding this difference, there existed a similarity of disposition between them, and both were united in the desire to follow the Divine Figure, and have His lineaments traced upon their souls. It is not the hood which makes the monk, but the inward frame of mind, and Leighton was as willing to accept as Thomas was glad ever to repeat the law of life : " Rise early, watch, pray, labour, read, write, be silent, sigh, and bravely endure all adversity." Robert Leighton, in writing to the Earl of Lothian after he had been appointed Bishop of Dunblane, said, " I shall live as *monastically* as ever I did," and the words afford a key that explains the spirit of his life. *Within* the Reformed Church he maintained the strict discipline and self-denial of monasticism in its purest days, and always upheld as his binding law spirituality and rigour. How much there always was in him of Thomas' asceticism may be seen by comparing his life with the model that Thomas portrayed, and with which he was at this time familiar :—

"Sustine vim patiens,
Tace ut sis sapiens,
Mores rege, aures tege,
Saepe ora, saepe lege,
Omni die, omni hora,
Te resigna sine mora."

The chief rules for the "Brethren of the Common Lot," besides transcribing the Scriptures, circulating them among the people, and preaching the gospel, were : " Prompt obedience, frequent prayer, devout meditation, diligence in labour, fondness for study, the avoidance of conversation, and a relish for solitude—these are what makes a good monk and give a peaceful mind." " The things which are above all necessary and profitable both for a man's own advancement in virtue and for the edification of others, are solitude, silence, manual

labour, prayer, reading, meditating upon the Scriptures, poverty, temperance, oblivion of one's native country, flying from the world, the quiet of a monastery, frequenting the choir, and remaining in the cell."

While to Leighton there was much in all this that reflected its source, and was phenomenal; while it manifested its *monastic* environment and thereby received a limitation, there can be no doubt that he was much moulded by it as a spiritual pattern, and received much inspiration from it for his life. While he would not say, as the pious monk did of his cell—

"O beata solitudo
O sola beatitudo,"

while he realized that it is the duty of the Christian to be in the world and thereby to help in making the world better by his influence; while he saw in the *De Imitatione* and the *Vita Boni Monachi* the picture of all that was purest in the cloistered life, he yet felt, as his after life showed, that to him abstinence from action was not Christian, and that our Saviour went into the desert only that He might find in prayer and communion with the Heavenly Father the inspiration and strength necessary for keeping up the struggle against evil, and that far from avoiding the multitude, He sought to enlighten, console and convert them. In this light monasticism appeared as disguised selfishness, and the truth flashed out that only in saving others can one save himself. Leighton saw all this, and while there was ever something attractive to him in the life of retirement, he remained a true Protestant by uniting to it the life of action as a duty, not even infrequently against his own natural inclination. In this retirement, whether at Newbattle, Edinburgh, Dunblane or during his occasional visits throughout life to his Jansenist friends at Douay, Leighton loved to be for a time, and to live on those deep spiritual manuals that come from the past, and reveal that spiritual identity beneath differences so well

described by Principal Caird : "The irresistible conviction is winning its way into all candid and tolerant minds that the essential spirit of religion may exist under wide theological divergencies ; and that though good men may differ, and differ greatly, in doctrinal forms of belief, there is something deeper which unites them. The essence of religion is something more catholic than its creeds. . . . And could we get at that something—call it spiritual life, godliness, holiness, self-abnegation, surrender of the soul to God, or better still, love and loyalty to Christ as the one only Redeemer and Lord of the Spirit—could we, I say, pierce deeper than the notion of the understanding to that strange, sweet, all-subduing temper and habit of spirit, *that climate and atmosphere of heaven in a human breast*, would not the essence of religion lie in that, and not in the superficial distinctions which kept these men apart?"¹

Probably at this period Leighton arrived at the idea—although later years and subsequent revisits to the continent deepened it—"that the great and fatal error of the Reformation was that more of those (monastic) houses and of that course of life, free from the entanglement of vows and other mixtures, were not preserved ; so that the Protestant churches had neither places of education nor retreat for men of mortified tempers."² It is not unlikely that he was impressed with the religious and literary men who lived at Port-Royal, and were not bound by any monastic vows ; it is not improbable, too, that he had learned much regarding the Friends of God³ and Houses of the Brethren

¹ *University Sermons*, pp. 22, 23.

² Burnet's *History*, vol. i. p. 246.

³ They were so called from their sense of having entered into a living personal union with God, from their sense of a yearning pity for sinners and their desire to bring them into the same blessed state of life that they themselves had attained. The "Friends" were characterized by a thorough self-surrender to God, and a forsaking all things to follow God alone. With this ideal they formed associations, and far from

of the Common Lot, which represented the very blossom of monasticism, as at Mount St. Agnes (where Thomas à Kempis had been an inmate), Deventer, Windesheim. Imitating the Church of Jerusalem, and prompted by brotherly affection, they shared each others' property or earnings. Rich members consecrated their fortunes to the use of the community. "From this source, and from donations and legacies made to them," says Professor Ullmann, "arose the Brother-Houses, in each of which a certain number of members lived together, subjected, it is true, in dress, diet and general way of life, to an appointed rule, *but yet not conventually sequestered from the world, with which they maintained constant intercourse, and in such a way as, in opposition to Monachism, to preserve the principle of individual liberty.* Their whole rule was to be observed, not from constraint, but from the sole motive of goodwill constantly renewed, and all obedience, even the most unconditional, was to be paid freely and affectionately, and for God's sake."¹ Those again, like Thomas à Kempis, who excelled as penmen, executed beautiful manuscripts of the Bible and other theological works, while others copied useful books for indigent

regarding the events around them with passive indifference they believed themselves called on to exercise a positive influence upon them. It has been said, "They seem to have entered into that intense appreciation of the evil of sin mingled with endless grief and compassion for its slaves which could overwhelm the Saviour's mind with agony." Introduction to Tauler's *Sermons*, p. 120.

They did not surrender all their *individual possessions* to the good of the house—renunciation of the world did not involve to them the absolute giving up of earthly possessions, nor the violent rending asunder of social ties. "These Friends of God do not appear," says Miss Winkworth, "to have renounced all control over their property, but merely to have thrown what they regarded as superfluous into a common stock, which was applied to the building of their house and church, to purposes of charity, to defray the expenses of their missionary journeys." *Ibid.* p. 158.

¹ Professor Ullmann's *Reformers Before the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 71.

scholars, or religious tracts for the people. In each house attention was paid to peculiarities of character, and each individual was treated according to his kind and allowed to cultivate fully his own particular talent. But all the houses were united in their best days with one aim to realize the Spirit of the Master as the goal and inspiration of all striving. The *De Imitatione* was their common manual, and while Thomas conceived the Image of Jesus in its totality, he uses it even to the minutest point as a pattern for himself and others. He even seeks in Christ a precedent for transcribing books, and in preaching on that passage of the Gospel which tells us that Jesus "stooped down and with His finger wrote on the ground," he says: "It is pleasing to hear that Jesus could read and write, to the end that the art of writing and zeal in reading pious books may delight us the more. Take pleasure then in imitating Him, even in reading and writing, for it is a good, meritorious and pious work to write such books as Jesus loves, and in which He is confessed and made known, and to keep them with the utmost care." Thus each brother was to keep the example of Christ before him in all the occurrences of life, to mould himself in uniformity with it, and according to the measure of human weakness repeat Christ in his own person.

It was such houses as these that Robert Leighton would have desired to be connected with the Church reformed, and not a few after his own mind, would like to have them still. Free from vows, and moulded after the Protestant pattern, they would possess many advantages for the training of clergy and for helping to transform the wastes in our great cities.¹ They would supply what is a want

¹ Then the late Archbishop Magee said: "How greatly the Church has suffered by the dissolution of her monastic orders, though they too had inflicted greivous mischief on her before their destruction. But I should like to see a score or two of Anglican and Protestant monks,

within Presbyterian Protestantism at least, and would exist as houses of spiritual culture, as centres of religious work and beneficent service. They would afford what the theological seminaries, with their lectures alone, do not give, and would exist for the advance of piety, spiritual life and devotion among those who were to be the future ministers and missionaries of the Church, as well as for those who desired to give themselves to distinctly religious work apart from ordination. Leighton desired them as "places of education" and "retreats for men of *mortified* tempers," but such a limitation was no doubt produced by the controversial spirit of the time in which he lived, and from which his nature shrank. But the idea of wider service could be connected with them, and the "social problem" of to-day, in its religious aspect, affords much which they could help to solve, and to which they could present a united front. Here assuredly Robert Leighton was an anticipator of what the Home Mission of the Church is undoubtedly bringing more and more to the front, as well as what is being forced upon the Church as a practical necessity. Hitherto the methods of Protestantism have been too stereotyped, and have been devoid of elasticity, if not of inventiveness to meet the new needs; in recoiling from the corruptions of monasticism it has surrendered the *purified* idea of the orders, and the principle upon which they rested. But a society of men, apart from monastic vows, while living under strict rule, with definite hours for study, service, prayer—even for healthy recreations—in a crowded district of a great city, would be a movement fraught with great good to men, and one that would attract many who are impressed with the incompleteness of the present methods.

It is to be remembered that in ancient times the monks if such a composite creation could exist, at work, in Northampton and Leicester, and our other large towns." *Life*, vol. ii. p. 190.

established themselves in wild and not easily accessible places which were left to them precisely because they were uncultivated, and no one was willing to undertake the task of clearing them. It is also certain that generally the lands granted to monasteries were of no value, and such as the donors did not think worth keeping for themselves.¹ Notwithstanding such difficulties they taught the industries, became the best of landlords, while the people liked to live under their merciful rule. *Cruce et aratro*—by preaching the Cross of the Redeemer, and ploughing the land, the monks did their best work. They educated at one and the same time the people, and were pioneers of agriculture, and to them, notwithstanding later corruptions, the world owes very much as the outcome of their palmy days.

If we are "to stand upon the old paths," not to copy them literally, but that "we may look out for new ones," there is surely much in this past to teach the present—and not least of all in its endeavour to redeem and restore the great waste in the crowded cities. The congregational and parochial idea needs a new organization to realize the larger mission of the Church that has arisen from the new enthusiasm of humanity created by the Christian faith. Robert Leighton's idea² of "brotherhoods" and "sisterhoods"

¹ Cf. *Monks of the West*, vol. vi. p. 254.

² In an old Scottish work, *The Reformed Bishop*, by Philarchaios (James Gordon, Parson of Banchory), the same idea was expressed in a slightly different form. While the old bishops were blamed as frequently "ambitious, avaritious, and luxurious persons" (p. 1), it is stated "necessary reformations might have repurged *monasteries*, as well as the Church, without abolishing of them; and they might have been still Houses of Religion, *without any dependence upon Rome*. . . . To take off the groundless odium of the name, let those habitations be also termed Hospitals" (pp. 27, 28). Among other reforms the reformed bishop is to achieve is "the building of monasteries for contemplative souls yet without any bond upon the convenience (as it is in some convents of Germany) save that of serving God more strictly in their speculative retirements" (p. 23). This work was published in 1680, and gave much concern to Bishop Paterson, of Edinburgh. *Lauderdale Papers*, iii. 189.

connected with the Reformed Church is not without suggestiveness. It seems also to be one towards which Protestantism is striving.

We have endeavoured to reach an estimate of the new elements with which Robert Leighton was conversant during these years on the continent, and by which his early Calvinism was modified. He remained throughout life a loyal Protestant, but his Protestantism had a wider outlook than that of his contemporaries, was certainly less controversial, and was more rooted in the old pieties. Notwithstanding his early upbringing, the old Catholic tradition was in his blood, and he could not but recall with pride the bishops and abbots who were connected with his family in the best days of mediaeval Scotland, and especially the good bishop who restored Elgin cathedral, erected the two western towers of St. Machar's, Aberdeen, and did other beneficent work (pp. 5, 6, 7). The new forces aroused old memories, bound the present to the past, led him to find the element of unity in different ages, and to trace a continuity beneath different forms.

We shall see more of this in later chapters, but Leighton certainly returned to Scotland more attached to the old forms of faith and more persuaded that the Word of God abides for ever with us to renew the world and make it young again, and to call forth from death a new and more glorious life. How often has a single word formed an epoch in a man's life; how often has contact with other forms of religion and earnest faith modified an early creed; how often has retirement gathered together the latent forces of the soul for new efforts! John Bunyan could write of the years spent in retirement at Bedford Gaol (1660-1672): "I never had in all my life so great an inlet into the Word of God as now. The Scriptures that I saw nothing in before are made in this place to shine upon me. Jesus Christ also was never more real and apparent than now.

Here I have seen Him and felt Him indeed. I have seen *that* here which I am persuaded I shall never while in this world be able to express. I never knew what it was for God to stand by me at all turns, and at every offer of Satan to afflict me as I have found Him since I came in hither. . . . Many more of the dealings of God towards me, I might relate, but these out of the spoils won in battle have I dedicated to maintain the house of God."

These ten years were to Robert Leighton, amid quiet Douay and its neighbourhood, a time of deep, silent growth that manifested its results in later years. We have part of them in his ministry at Newbattle, Midlothian, where he was ordained in 1641, and one cannot but think that it was well for him to have been apart and away from the bitter controversies and civil war that history has to relate between 1631, the year of his departure abroad, and 1641, the year of his ordination. Had he been embroiled in them he could not have been what he afterwards was, and it was well that in his retirement he could study his Thomas à Kempis, and be brought into contact with such a spiritual movement as Jansenism. He returned with new aims and visions, with new convictions and hopes to serve the Church of his fathers, for then as afterwards "*he retained a particular inclination to Scotland.*"¹

That we may know the Scotland he found, we must consider the national struggles, as they were centred round the kirk, and it is the history of a storm.

¹ Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. ii. p. 428.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLES OF SCOTTISH PRESBYTERY WITH PRELACY UP TO THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was in reality a Commons' House of Parliament discussing the most varied interests of the country and giving effect to the popular, or at least the middle-class feeling, on all the topics of the day. . . . The clergy and barons with them felt they were powerful against any combination of their enemies. The Sovereign and great nobles knew that in the face of these Assemblies they could never hold the country by the old feudal bonds of government. It was a life-and-death contention on either side ; and Scottish Presbytery became then, in the very circumstances of its origin, and still more in the progress of its history, intensely political, and could not help being so."—PRINCIPAL TULLOCH.

THE Scottish Reformation gave the Church of Scotland a Calvinistic theology and a Presbyterian form of Church government, and no external force has ever been able to modify its polity with any general acceptance among the Scottish people or take it away from the type that John Knox impressed upon it. Nationality and spiritual independence are the two prominent aspects of its history, and nowhere are they more conspicuously visible than in the struggles of the Church of Scotland with the Stuart kings.

It was the desire of King James from the time he crossed the Tweed to break the neck of Scottish Presbytery and remodel the Kirk somewhat at least after the English pattern. In 1606 Episcopacy was restored by the Scottish Parliament, in so far as the investiture of thirteen parish ministers with the titles and the recoverable temporalities of the old Catholic bishops could be regarded as a restorative. In 1610 after these

officials had carried their empty honours amid a scoffing people, the General Assembly was prevailed upon to adopt them ecclesiastically, by constituting them moderators of Synods and giving them the jurisdiction that such offices implied. Two courts of ecclesiastical commission were appointed—each under the presidency of an archbishop—one at St. Andrews and the other at Glasgow. In 1618 King James gained another victory in the Five Articles of Perth by the adoption of which the Church consented to allow kneeling at the sacrament, private communion, private baptism, confirmation by the bishops, and the observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, and Pentecost. In all this—with the two new-made Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow and the eleven subordinate bishops—and the adoption of the ceremonies, the Kirk had apparently ceased to be Presbyterian, and had travelled far from the ideal of the Reformers. But it was not so. The country was indomitably Presbyterian. “Though these (the thirteen bishops) were bishops in name,” says Clarendon, “the whole jurisdiction and they themselves were subject to an Assembly which was purely Presbyterian : no form of religion in practice, no liturgy, nor the least appearance of any beauty of holiness.”¹ The Scottish clergy could not be called respectful to the bishops : insisted that they were still presbyters, although *primi inter pares*. The Scottish people were restless, regarded the new ceremonies with horror, and called the day on which they received their final ratification and became law—Saturday, August 4, 1621 —“the black Saturday”—one of the darkest and stormiest days, say the chronicles, ever known in Scotland. Had an Oxford or a Cambridge man settled in a Fifeshire or a Perthshire parish, he would have felt ill at ease, and would not have taken kindly to a Church, Calvinistic in creed, without a liturgy,² with few ceremonies and only capable of

¹ i. 63.

² Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. i. pp. 375, 651.

being called Episcopal in so far as an apparatus of bishops had been screwed down upon its Presbyterian polity, and that not as a movement from within but one forced from without. Notwithstanding all the apparent changes, and to no little degree because of them, the Church was Presbyterian in spirit and adhered to the Geneva model as its ideal for worship. The Presbyterian clergy represented the popular element in the nation, exercised an extraordinary personal liberty in the pulpit and a power of influence out of it ; and lay elders, representing the people, within the Church courts and along with the clergy, made the collective will felt, and whereas in England the bishops had a party (lay and clerical) behind them, in Scotland they were mere instruments of the King to keep the clergy, as the leaders of the people, quiet.

Charles was more eager than his father to alter the worship of the Scottish Church, and Laud found in him a coadjutor more willing to follow his plans. King James had in 1624 declined to be led by Laud's proposal for a new Scottish Liturgy, but in 1632 Charles was not unwilling. Charles was crowned in Holyrood Abbey on June 18, 1633, and the arrangements for the coronation service were made by Laud, who was also sworn a member of the Scotch Privy Council. During the five weeks of their residence in Scotland much had been done to indicate what was to follow. When the King attended public worship in St. Giles' church, it was observed that Mr. John Maxwell, one of the Edinburgh ministers, and Bishop of Ross elect, came down from the King's loft, and caused the minister who was reading in Scotch fashion to remove from his place. Two English chaplains, clad in their surplices, officiated for him and read the English service ; the Bishop of Moray thereafter entered the Pulpit and preached a sermon also in a surplice—"a thing whilk had never been seen in St. Giles's Kirk sin' the Reformation." The people began to fear "an inbringing of Popery" through the agency of Scottish bishops. Laud

astonished the natives by his remarks at Dunblane. When he was at the kirk of Dunblane he affirmed that it was a goodly church. "Yes, my Lord," said one standing by, "this was a brave kirk before the Reformation." "What, fellow," said the bishop: *Deformation*, not *Reformation*."¹

When King and bishop returned to England the impression had spread far and wide that a plan was in the air to extirpate Presbyterianism, and the impression was soon verified. In October, 1633, two letters came on ecclesiastical business: one was to the Dean of the Chapel-Royal (Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane) giving directions as to the forms and ceremonies to be used at Holyrood—the Dean being commanded to make a yearly report to the King, of the Lords of the Privy Council, the Lords of Session, the Writers to the Signet and all the other official people in Edinburgh, who refused to attend communion in Holyrood at least once a year and receive it kneeling.² The second letter contained instructions as to the dress of the clergy, descending even to the particulars of head-gear.³ Laud's introduction to the Privy Council gave him an official concern in Scottish affairs, and it was strengthened by the introduction of nine of the Scottish prelates. A new bishopric was created for Edinburgh, and the bishopric was conferred (Jan. 26, 1634) on William Forbes, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, while St. Giles' was altered so as to serve for a cathedral.

About thirty or more persons formed the Privy Council, and, while managing ordinary Scotch business at their discretion, received all important instructions direct from Edinburgh through the sixpenny post—all the ecclesiastical instructions coming from Laud.

By royal warrant dated "Hampton Court, October 21, 1634," there was established a Court of High Commission for Scotland, with a view of strengthening the bishops against

¹ Row's *History*, p. 369.

² Rushworth, ii. 205.

³ *Acts of Scottish Parliament*, vol. v.

an ill-fated opposition to two final measures which were in reserve—the promulgation of a Book of Canons and the introduction of the new Liturgy. With this new organization fully equipped, it is necessary to recall the opposition it had to face. Almost all the lay colleagues of the Council were probably of the private opinion of Lord Napier: “That churchmen have a competency is agreeable to the Law of God and man, but to invest them into great estates, and principal offices of the State is neither convenient for the Church, for the King, nor for the State,” and there were not wanting those in the Council who were disposed to question the new method of governing Scotland by orders from Lambeth. But what was at the metropolis only reflected in faint degree the forces that existed in the provinces. (1) Among the nobles and lairds (about seventy of the former and one thousand of the latter) there were many dissentients, some from distinctive Presbyterian feelings and others from hereditary jealousy¹ of the prelates, whose order their ancestors had robbed, and whose rise to power brought about a fear that rich abbacies raised into temporal lordships and fat church lands might require to be restored. The lesser barons were not so anti-prelatic as the peers, but among them were strong Presbyterians, like Archibald Johnson, of Warriston, who afterwards became the most earnest, prompt

¹ The plans mentioned by Burnet for recovering the bishops' lands and purchasing the tithes for the better maintenance of the clergy were in the opinion of the Earl of Clarendon the real grounds for the Scottish rebellion (“by lessening the authority and independence of the nobility and great men”). *Rebellion*, i. 174. “These were the concealed and private grounds,” says the *Bella Scot-Anglica* Tract of 1648; “the open and avowed causes were the introduction of our Liturgy, the Book of Canons, Ordination, and Consecration, with the High Commission Court among them; and it hath been found since, that those things were introduced by the cunning of those discontented spirits, that thereby there might be some ground to suscite the people to rise, which plot of theirs took place.” But if this explains the opposition of the nobles, it cannot explain that of the clergy, who were the mainspring of the movement and of the body of the people generally.

and prudent of the laymen when the crisis demanded it. (2) As to the Scottish clergy—the eight or nine hundred parish ministers, along with the probationers and divinity students and professors, formed the body over which the bishops presided. It is probably true to say that the majority of them accepted as an institution the form of church-government that has been already indicated in this chapter. It is probably also true to say that but for the interference of Charles and Laud, the two elements of presbytery and a modified episcopacy might have united more permanently, become an organic growth and adapted themselves to the national life. But that was now hopeless. Interference created an antagonism, and the two forms of Church government were to separate each on its own way. Kingly and priestly absolutism were too much for a high-spirited people like the Scotch, and the strong sense of nationality opposed any antagonism from English sources to what was native to Scotland. It was still held by many of the clergy that prelacy “had never been allowed as a standing office in the Church by any lawful assembly in Scotland,” and with that as a widespread condition it required the greatest caution to prevent even a moderate episcopacy from being questioned at any moment. Presbyterianism was aroused in the clergy by the very antagonism of the force that was bent on its destruction. But men were keenly watching and waiting the hour to testify for their independence. “It was not,” says Professor Masson, “in the metropolis, however, but in a few remote country parishes and small country towns over Scotland that the men were in training who were to come forth as the chief leaders of their brethren.”¹ Alexander Henderson was at Leuchars; David Dickson was at Irvine; Robert Baillie was at Kilwinning; Andrew Cant was at Pitsligo; Samuel Rutherford was “at fair Anwoth by the Solway,” and could say, “woods, trees, meadows and hills are my witnesses

¹ *Life of Milton*, vol. i. p. 666.

that I drew on a fair match betwixt Christ and Anwoth"; George Gillespie was chaplain to the Earl of Cassilis. These were to be the leaders of the latent Presbyterianism that was soon to burst forth. (3) As to the people, it may be truly said that in opposition to prelacy they outstripped the clergy, that wives, mothers and sisters were more earnest even than their husbands, sons and brothers in their zeal against the innovations and the ceremonies; that making every allowance for lingering Catholicism and rooted Episcopacy, "nineteen-twentieths of the Scottish population were, in as far as crowds can be conscious of a creed, Presbyterian Calvinists."¹ From the blue-bonneted and plaided peasantry of the shires to the provosts and councillors of the burghs, with the intermediate sections of the population, there arose a great sense of personal responsibility in connexion with the principles and government of Presbytery. Patriotism and religion were felt to be for Scotland bound up in its cause; civil and religious freedom was involved in their struggle, and the people perceived that in making a stand for religious freedom they were also advancing the cause of civil freedom. "True religion," says a classic of the Scotch Church, "and national liberty are like Hippocrates' twins—they weep or laugh, they live or die together. There is a great sibness between the Church and the Commonwealth. They depend one upon the other, and either is advanced by the prosperity and success of the other." At this time it is true to say that the Presbyterian Church was the nation; that it was loyal to the spirit of the Reformation, which in Scotland, if anywhere, had simplification as its key-note; that it identified itself with the national struggle for liberty.

(4) Yet deep beneath all classes in Scotland, reconciling differences and creating a unity that transcended them, was the national Calvinism that John Knox had succeeded in impress-

¹ *Ibid.* p. 667.

ing on the people. Here, if anywhere, was the spiritual weapon of the struggle, as far as Scotland was concerned.

Calvin had claimed for the spiritual power at Geneva independence of the temporal, and although with a different religious organization, he did it with no less vehemence than the Pope did at Rome. Without positively excluding bishops, he certainly favoured the system in which the spiritual power was vested in a council of presbyters and laymen. This was the form of government that Knox's genius had impressed on Scotland, and this was the scheme that in Elizabeth's time was the subject of dispute between Cartwright and Whitgift and was the main contention of that famous admonition of 1572, in which Puritanism is generally regarded to have first taken its rise.

To displace this Calvinism and its ecclesiastical system to match, Laud perceived that a new spiritual basis was needed, and this he found in the doctrines of the Dutch Arminius. Arminianism was to Laud the key-stone of the falling arch in Church and State, and to the rising Anglo-Catholic school which surrounded him it became the half-way house between Catholicism and Calvinism, a *via media* to those who disliked Rome and Geneva alike. Arminianism "became in England the corner-stone of faith in a hierarchy, a ceremonial Church, and a monarchy."¹ And it is historically true to say that Prelacy with Arminianism from the south united themselves against Presbytery with Calvinism from the north. Baillie distinctly tells us in his letters that when Minister of Kilwinning he would have been willing to live under a moderate Episcopacy, but that the increase of "Arminianism and Papistry" was causing him much anxiety.²

Calvinism was the force in Puritanism, and in Scotland it had its stronghold. With its dominant, all-pervading sense of God, with its supreme consciousness of His Majesty over

¹ Morley's *Cromwell*, p. 55.

² Laing's Memoir, prefixed to his *Letters*, I. xxix., xxx,

the conscience and will, with its conviction that man exists for the advancement of God's purposes and the fulfilment of God's will, with its assurance that each is a spiritual being before God, with rights that cannot be ignored before man—Calvinism was the living inspiration within the Scottish mind, and brought to it a deep vision of the Invisible. And how real the piety of Scotland was is known to all who sympathize with the heroes it created and the heroism it evoked. The revival at Shotts in 1630 and the revival at Stewarton the same year—that extraordinary "outletting of the Spirit"¹ which overflowed the district, advancing from place to place "like a spreading moor-burn"—are symptoms of the deep religious earnestness, associated with Presbytery, that brought Presbytery close to the hearts of the people and proved its Calvinism to be then so real.

The people again suspected Episcopacy, because it meant to them the restoration of Romanism. Their battle cry latterly became one against "Popery, Prelacy, and Arbitrary Power," and behind *Prelacy* it was ever the dark shadow of Popery that daunted and maddened them. "Busk, busk, busk him as bonnilie as ye can," said John Davidson at Prestonpans, in 1598, when the Parliament had agreed to the reintroduction of Kirkmen, "and fetche him in as fearlie as ye will, we sie him weel aneuche; we sie the hornes of his mytre."² This was the source of the deep dislike to the Episcopal system, and while it may seem to-day both irrational and without foundation, many who say so would have taken their place with the Scotch Covenanters had they lived amid their circumstances. In enjoying the civil and religious liberty to-day (which is the fruit of their struggles and without which it could not have been) it is also right to take the true historical perspective. Recall their memories at

¹ It was under Dickson's preaching, and was profanely known as "The Stewarton Sickness."

² Melville's *Diary*, p. 289.

this period, and indifference will no longer smile at their fears. They could not forget the Jesuit order, which had pledged itself (and as history had shown) with the arm of the flesh, to reconquer Christendom for the Papacy. They could not forget the burning of George Wishart and Patrick Hamilton, nor Mary Tudor and the Protestant martyrs. In 1567 Alva set up his court of blood in the Netherlands. In 1572 took place the terrible and blood-curdling massacre of St. Bartholomew, and in 1588, the Spanish Armada appeared in the English Channel to conquer England and reverse Protestantism. In 1605, Guy Fawkes and his powder barrels were found in the vaults of the House of Lords, and there were not wanting indications that new combinations (with less violent means) were existing and working to reinstate the Pope with his old authority in Scotland and England. Such facts were fresh in the memory of the period and justify the fears that brought the new resistance to the policy of Laud on the ground that, if accepted, it would have led to something further. The native instinct recognized this, and the dreaded apprehension added fuel to the fires that were already burning. The Scottish people associated Episcopacy with the ultimate restoration of Popery, and in resisting the former they did it on the ground that they were opposing the latter. Events, too, in the light of the subsequent policy of Charles II, who was a concealed Papist, and James VII, who was an open one, showed that the hidden fear was not a dream, and it is true to say that the union of Scotch Presbytery with English Puritanism saved the Protestantism of the country.

Such was the feeling that pervaded all the parties in Scotland already described ; such was the Calvinism that gave to Scotland its fibre and force ; such was the dread that possessed the Scottish mind when Laud with the Privy Council and Court of High Commission, and as ignorant as a foreigner could be of the internal forces at work, sought to govern Scotland ecclesiastically by the sixpenny post. His

correspondence with the Scottish bishops is chiefly concerned about the new Book of Canons and the new Service Book, and the arrangement was that the Scottish bishops (who were rather the chief ecclesiastical officers of the Sovereign than divinely constituted advisers of the Church), should prepare both books, and that when revised and amended by Laud, Juxon of London, Wren of Norwich, and such other prelates as the King might appoint, they should be imposed on the Scotch by royal authority.

The Book of Canons was first established by royal decree on May 23, 1635, and was received in Scotland with dumb amazement. The bishops seem to have thought that the canons after approval from the King were to be submitted to the Scottish clergy, for the title prefixed to the original draft was "Canons agreed on to be proposed to the several Synods of the Kirk of Scotland"—a title which Laud altered into "Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical ordained to be observed by the Clergy."¹ The matter of the book was chiefly objected to, for it asserted the absolute prerogative of the King over the Kirk and denied the right of meeting to the General Assembly without the King's authority. Private meetings of the clergy for the exposition of Scripture were strictly prohibited, and among the minor enactments were such as these: that the forthcoming Service Book should be used, in all its parts, as the only directory of worship; that there should be no prayers except according to the forms there printed; that the sacrament should be received kneeling; that every ecclesiastical person should leave part of his property to the Church; that no presbyter should reveal anything told him in confession except in cases where concealment would forfeit his own life by law. These enactments along with other articles relating to "fonts, chancels, communion tables," etc., gave the im-

¹ Wharton's *Laud*, p. 101.

pression that the King was subverting the constitution of the Church and favouring Popery.¹

There was delay in the appearance of the Prayer Book, but the Canons of 1635 justified the acceptance of it as already existing. It did not appear till May, 1637, although the Privy Council made public proclamation of it on December 20, 1636. The book was pronounced "Popish in its frame and forms," to contain "many Popish errors and ceremonies, and the seeds of manifold and gross superstitions and idolatries," to be more objectionable than the English Service Book would have been, and "was counted little better than the mass." On July 23, 1637, the new Service Book was introduced into St. Giles' Cathedral, and no sooner had the Dean begun to read the collect for the day, than a stall-woman, Jenny Geddes by name, is said to have thrown a stool at his head and to have cried out, "Out, thou false thief! dost thou say the mass at my lug?" She was backed by the wilder element in the congregation, and the service broke up with an uproar and riven benches. "Efter that Sunday's work," says Spalding, "the haill kirk-doors of Edinburgh were lockit and no more preaching heard," the zealous people going "ilk Sunday to hear devotion in Fife." From all parts of Scotland came the same popular response. "Supplices" or petitions were addressed to the Privy Council; one grand "supplicate" was addressed to the King. The Council was kept in a state of permanent siege: the four committees or "Tables" were appointed to look after the business—one for the nobles, consisting of a few nobles named by the rest; another for the gentry, consisting of two gentlemen from each shire; a third for the burghs, consisting of a commissioner from each burgh; a fourth from the clergy, consisting of a minister from each Presbytery.

These "Tables" representing the "supplicants" were to be convened in Edinburgh on any emergency, but there

¹ Burnet's *History*, edited by Osmund Airy, vol. i. p. 40.

was to be one supreme permanent "Table" in Edinburgh, consisting of twelve members, and acting under the authority of written commissions from the rest.

The missive from the King and Laud at last comes accusing the "supplicants" and nonconformists of treason, refusing redress and advising all His Majesty's subjects to trust to his good intentions. Scotland responded in no uncertain tones and in its own decisive way. The "Tables" resolved to frame a National Covenant, and it was carried, Henderson and Dickson being present to advise. The signing commenced on March 1, 1638, in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh, and was done by "all the nobles who were then in Scotland except the Lords of the Privy Council and four or five others; commissioners from all the shires within Scotland and from every burgh except Aberdeen, St. Andrews and Crail; and other gentlemen and ministers whose zeal had brought them up."¹ The leading parts of this important document are as follows:

"We all, and every one of us underwritten, do protest, that, after long and due examination of our own consciences in matter of true and false Religion, we are now thoroughly resolved of the truth by the Word and Spirit of God, and therefore we believe with our hearts, confess with our mouths, and subscribe with our hands, and constantly affirm before God and the whole world, that this only is the true Christian Faith and Religion, pleasing to God and bringing salvation to man, which is now by the mercy of God revealed to the world by the preaching of the blessed Evangel, and received, believed, and defended by many and sundry notable Kirks and realms, but chiefly by the Kirk of Scotland, the King's Majesty, and three Estates of this Realm, as God's eternal truth and only ground of our salvation: as more particularly is expressed in the Confession of our Faith, established and publicly confirmed by sundry Acts of Parliament, and now of a long time hath been openly professed by the King's Majesty, and whole body of this realm, both in burgh and land . . . And, therefore, we abhor and detest all contrary Religion and doctrine, but chiefly all kind of

¹ Stevenson, ii. 291-2.

Papistry in general and particular head, even as they are now damned and confuted by the Word of God and Kirk of Scotland."

(Here follows a statement of doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome repudiated and condemned.)

"Finally we detest all his (the pope's) vain allegories, rites, signs, and traditions brought into the Kirk without or against the Word of God and doctrine of the true Reformed Kirk: To which we join ourselves willingly in doctrine, religion, faith, discipline, and use of the holy sacraments, as lively members of the same in Christ our Head: promising and swearing, by the great name of the Lord our God, that we shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this Kirk, and shall defend the same, according to our vocation and power, all the days of our lives, under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful judgment."

(After a recitation of previous statutes and Acts of Parliament, there follows the *special* part for the occasion.)

"We, Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers and Commons underscribing, considering divers times before, and especially at this time, the danger of the true Reformed Religion, of the King's honour, and of the public peace of the Kingdom, by the manifold innovations and evils generally contained and particularly mentioned in our late Supplications, Complaints, and Protestations, do hereby profess, and before God, his Angels, and the World solemnly declare, that, with our whole hearts, we agree and resolve all the days of our life constantly to adhere unto and defend the foresaid true Religion, and, forbearing the practice of all innovations already introduced in the matters of the worship of God, or approbation of the corruptions of the public government of the Kirk, or civil plans and powers of Kirkmen, till they be tried and allowed in free Assemblies and in Parliaments, to labour by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel, as it was established and professed before the said novations. . . . And, in like manner, with the same heart, we declare before God and men that we have no intention or desire to attempt anything that may turn to the dishonour of God or the diminution of the King's

greatness and authority : but, on the contrary, we promise and swear, That we shall to the utmost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread sovereign, the King's Majesty, his person and authority, in the defence and preservation of the foresaid true Religion, liberties, and laws of the Kingdom. As, also, to the mutual defence and assistance every one of us of another in the same cause . . . so that whatsoever shall be done to the least of us for that cause shall be taken as done to us all in general and to every one of us in particular ; and that we shall neither directly nor indirectly suffer ourselves to be divided or withdrawn by whatsoever suggestion, combination, allurements or terror from this blessed and loyal conjunction . . .

“ Neither do we fear the foul aspersions of *Rebellion, Combination*, or whatever else our adversaries, from their craft and malice, would put upon us, seeing, etc. . . .

“ In witness whereof we have subscribed with our hands all these premises.”

The “ signing of the Covenant ” was continued throughout Scotland for many weeks, became the text for pulpits and the subject of conversation in all homes. Men flocked to sign it—the swearing took place in many cases *en masse*—while congregations stood up and raised their hands in affirmation, as the minister read the Covenant. In Aberdeen alone was there any lukewarmness or opposition manifested. While the ministers of St. Andrew formally condemned it, the clergy of Aberdeen averred their determination to support the King's policy.

By the end of April, 1638, all Scotland was pledged to the Covenant, and in the presence of the Scottish revolt Charles was forced either to crush or concede. The first alternative was thought of, but the latter was adopted, and the Marquis of Hamilton was sent north as a special commissioner from the King with power to treat with the Covenanters. Negotiations were proceeded with, but the Covenanters refused to acknowledge any “ prelimitation ” of the business of the Assembly or an exclusion of the lay

element. Neither would they accept from the King a new covenant or the renewal of a particular Bond or Covenant against Papists which had been annexed in 1590 by James to the "Short Confession of 1580." "Only one thing frays us," says Baillie, "the subscription of ane other covenant." For about two months there was a struggle over the two Covenants throughout the whole country: the Covenanters were not satisfied with the reserves of the King: the whole country was in a blaze, and the King ultimately sanctioned the holding of Assembly on November 21, 1638, the Marquis of Hamilton being Lord High Commissioner. The "Tables" had issued instructions to their supporters as to their attendance at the Assembly, and had also prepared a general form of complaint or "libel" against the bishops, which libel, with special charges of immorality against several of them, was transmitted to the Presbyteries, within whose bounds lay the cathedral-seats or residences, so that the Presbyteries might judge the accused themselves or refer the trial to the Assembly. The latter course was adopted, and the necessary preparations were made with a business-like talent with which the King's side had nothing comparable.

The Assembly met in the Cathedral of Glasgow on the 21st of November, and so great was the crowd that it was difficult for members to get to their places. The Marquis of Hamilton as royal commissioner occupied a chair of state under a canopy, and was surrounded by the chief officers of state. In front was the table for the moderator and clerk. The peers and barons who attended as lay elders sat on a long table running down the centre of the church,¹ while round it on seats placed one above the other were the ministers and commissioners of burghs. Above, in one of the aisles, sat young noblemen and men of rank who were non-members, and the galleries were filled with

¹ *Council Records*, edited by Sir James Marwick, i. p. 392.

members of all classes, among whom were many ladies. One or two ministers wore gowns, the rest appeared in cloaks. The lay members wore their ordinary dress and the noblemen and gentry carried their swords. Alexander Henderson was appointed moderator and Archibald Johnston, of Warriston, clerk. The Assembly consisted of one hundred and forty ecclesiastics and one hundred laymen, but no bishops or church dignitaries were present. The Commissioner urged that the declaration of the bishops should be read, but this was not done till the 27th, when a document signed by the Archbishops of St. Andrew and Glasgow and by the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Ross and Brechin, with their reasons of dissent and protest, was read. The Bishops of Dunkeld, Orkney, Caithness, Argyle, Dunblane, Aberdeen, Moray, and the Isles had not subscribed it. On the 28th a discussion took place as to the bishops' declinature, after which the moderator declared that he would take the vote of the Assembly as to whether they could lawfully decide on the accusation of the bishops, notwithstanding the reasons contained in their declinature. Upon this the Commissioner addressed the Assembly, and in name and by authority of the King commanded it not to proceed further: "I stand to the King's prerogative as supreme judge over all causes, civil and ecclesiastic: to him the Lords of the Clergy have appealed, and therefore I will not suffer their cause to be farther reasoned here." The Commissioner with his retinue of Privy Councillors left the Assembly, and only one Privy Councillor remained behind—the Earl of Argyle, who intimated his sympathy with the Assembly's proceedings.

Next day there was a proclamation by the Marquis of Hamilton dissolving the Assembly on pain of treason, but the Assembly refused to comply. Through other nineteen sittings they proceeded with their business, the last or twenty-sixth sitting being on Thursday, the 20th of

December. On 4th December the Assembly declared the last six Assemblies to have been unfree, unlawful and null. On the 6th it condemned the Service Book, the Book of Canons, the Book of Ordination, and the Court of High Commission. The two archbishops and the four bishops who had signed the declinatures were then deposed and excommunicated. Likewise the Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblane. The Bishops of Moray, Orkney, Argyle, and the Isles, Dunkeld and Caithness were also deposed, but were to be excommunicated only in the event of their not professing repentance and submitting themselves to the Assembly. On the 8th the Assembly declared Episcopacy to have been abjured by the Confession of Faith, 1580, and ordered it to be removed out of the Kirk. On the 10th a similar declaration and order were passed regarding the Articles of Perth. On the 11th the judicatories of the Kirk were restored and several former acts were revived and ratified. Among other acts passed were—(1) that of 18th December ordaining Presbyteries to proceed with the censures of the Kirk, and excommunicate those ministers who, being deposed by the Assembly, did not acquiesce in their sentences, but still exercised ministerial functions. (2) That of the 19th against the civil power and places of Kirkmen. (3) That of the 20th, asserting the right of the Kirk to have yearly assemblies, and oftener, *pro re nata*, and appointing the next General Assembly to be held on the third Wednesday of July in the following year, and (4) another act of the 20th appointed a humble supplication to be transmitted to the King, craving his approval and ratification of its proceedings.¹

Civil war was now imminent, and both the King and Covenanters had for several months been anticipating and making preparations for it. The Covenanters appointed their "War Committee," and as early as February, 1638,

¹ *Acts of the General Assembly, 1638-1842*, p. 1-35.

projected the levying of a contribution to meet the expenses of resisting the royal authority. The King, too, was making preparations for war, and on January 26, 1639, intimated his resolution to march against the Scots in person. Soon there commenced the first "Bishops' War." General Leslie was the Covenanting general—"a little, crooked and rather battered military veteran," who had served under Gustavus Adolphus and a brave soldier—and the arrangements necessary for the campaign were superintended by a Central Council in Edinburgh, which as a new edition of the "Tables" adapted itself to the warlike emergency. The Castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dumbarton, Dalkeith Palace, and all the border strongholds (except Caerlaverock) were seized or secured, and the Covenanting army under Montrose, Marischal, Kinghorn and Leslie obliged Huntly to flee from Aberdeen and leave the city to their mercy. The Episcopal and Royalist inhabitants sought safety in flight, and the Marquis of Huntly himself, pursued into Strathbogie and obliged to surrender, was sent to Edinburgh with his eldest son, Lord Gordon, and imprisoned in the castle. The "Trot of Turriff" (May 14, 1639), though a small affair in itself, is memorable as the first field action in the Civil War. A number of Covenanting lairds with Lord Fraser and the Master of Forbes at their head, having announced that they would hold a demonstration for the Covenant at Turriff and having assembled with their retainers to the number of 1,200 men, were attacked there by an equal force of the opposite party, who had with them field pieces. The Covenanters fled, and the Royalists gained a small success. This and the Royalist movements in the north led to the return of Montrose to Aberdeen on 25th May with an army—the army having retired to the south on 12th April under Leslie, leaving only a garrison behind. Montrose imposed a fine of 10,000 merks and passed on to the Gordon country, but on receipt of informa-

tion, which proved to be false, he broke up his camp and retreated southwards. Emboldened by the retreat the Royalists took possession of Aberdeen in the beginning of June, and Montrose was again dispatched to the north in the middle of that month. On his way he was met by the Royalists between Dunottar and Muchalls, but they were signally defeated. Pushing forward Montrose forced the bridge over the Dee, and took possession of Aberdeen on 19th June.

It was the King's plan that he should remain with his army at Newcastle till Hamilton's fleet from the Thames had passed the coast of Berwickshire and begun operations. The fleet did so on the 2nd of May, and the King awaited the result with anxiety, but the result was next to nothing. The Covenanters having secured Aberdeen and taken Huntly prisoner, the fleet had to confine itself to demonstrations in the Firth of Forth. Hamilton lost his chance by not turning the Turriff incident to advantage, and all that he could do was to capture a trading vessel or two, and his men began to die of small-pox.

The Scots were anxious to avoid open war and made their last effort for peace. But the King resolved that it would be best to overawe them by his near personal presence. He arrived at Berwick on the 28th of May, and the number of the troops besides the garrison of Berwick was 19,614 foot and 3,260 horse. Leslie and his army had their headquarters at Dunglass, but the Scottish territory having been invaded, Leslie raised his camp at Dunglass and encamped on the 4th of June on Dunse Law. Of the confusion and demoralization of his own army the King could have no doubt, but the Scots were fighting for their religious liberty, and religion is the power that makes the best soldiers. "Every company," says Baillie, "had flying at the captain's tent-door a brand new colour, stamped with the Scottish arms, and this inscription, 'For Christ's Crown and Covenant,' in golden letters." The

soldiers "were all lusty and full of courage, the most of them stout young ploughmen." . . . "Every one encouraged another; the sight of their nobles and their beloved pastors daily raised their hearts." . . . There were "the good sermons and prayers, morning and even, under the roof of heaven, to which the drums did call them for bells," and "the remonstrances very frequent of the goodness of their cause and of their conduct by a hand clearly Divine."¹ Leslie was over all "like a Great Solyman." Hope was on the side of the Scots, and despair on that of the King, and Charles concluded that a reconciliation with the Scots would be advisable. Negotiations began, and issued on the 18th of June in a formal pacification.

The "Pacification of the Birks" was embodied in two documents. One was the Royal Declaration, in which while guarding himself against approval with the "pretended Assembly" of Glasgow and the "pretended Tables," the King practically promised all that was claimed. He promised the future regulation of all affairs in Church and State by free General Assembly and free Parliament: the Assembly to be held on 6th August and the Parliament on 20th August, at both of which the King hoped to be present. The "Articles of Pacification" related to the immediate disbanding of the armies and mutual restoration of property seized during the campaign. The King's concessions very soon changed themselves into reproaches, and the terms "pretended Assembly" and "pretended Tables" created discontent in Scotland. From the too great advantages seemingly given to the King it was found necessary to accompany the proclamations in certain Scottish towns with "informations regarding the same," and these Charles described as "seditious glosses." At all events he left Scotland on the 29th of July, appointed Tracquair as Commissioner, and declined to go personally to Edinburgh and open the Assembly.

¹i. 211-214.

The General Assembly met from 12th to 30th August, and Tracquair appeared as the Lord High Commissioner to give to its proceedings the stamp of royal authority. As Charles declined to acknowledge in full the Assembly of 1638, this Assembly of 1639 did all its work over again. It declared the Assemblies of 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616 and 1618 to be no Assemblies; it condemned the Book of Canons and the Service Book; it declared the Episcopal Government, with the civil powers and places of Kirkmen as "unlawful in this Kirk," and revived the Presbyterian polity. Tracquair gave his sanction to everything that was done, and thought the phrase, "unlawful in this Kirk," would satisfy the King; but the King argued that this was quite different from the words which he wished: "contrary to the constitution of this Kirk," and dreaded that if Episcopacy were allowed to be unlawful in the Church of Scotland it might be held to be unlawful in the Church of England as well. Charles in fact still clung to the hope of being able to restore Episcopacy, and did not wish to commit himself further than he could help. It would have been far wiser for him at once to have yielded to the wish of his people, and had he done so would have ultimately saved both his life and his crown. He did not do so, and the revolt of the Scots spread like fire through his kingdom.¹ War between the King and the Scots became inevitable, and it was the very necessities of this war that led to the first step in saving the freedom of England—the calling of the Long Parliament.

Episcopacy had existed in Scotland for upwards of thirty

¹ Parliament met the next day after the rising of the Assembly, was prorogued 24th October and again on 14th November to 2nd June, 1640. When it met on 2nd June without the King's Commissioner it passed important Acts ratifying the proceedings of the Assembly of 1639 and named a Committee to transact business. Like the Reformation Parliament of 1560 the Covenant Parliament of 1640 marks a distinct stage in Scottish constitutional history. From 1641 to 1650 Scotland was ruled by the Scottish Parliament acting in conjunction with the Assembly. Cf. Rait's *Scottish Parliament before the Union of the Crowns*, pp. 103, 104.

years, and three-fourths of the Scottish clergy up to 1638 must have entered the Church during its existence and received ordination from the bishops, while the remaining fourth must have acknowledged its jurisdiction, although some of the older ministers must have looked back with longing to the "former days." A permanent fusion of the two elements would have been possible but for the absolutism of Charles, and the high-handed as well as unjustifiable interference of Laud. Both these influences henceforth associated the cause of Episcopacy in the minds of the people with despotism and the loss of national independence, and Presbytery with religious and civil freedom as well as with the very existence of the Scottish nation *as a nation*. The struggles of Presbytery involved constitutional government and liberty of conscience in Scotland, and notwithstanding subsequent intolerance this was its *vis vivida*. It was impossible for a high-spirited people like the Scotch to submit without renouncing their past and being disloyal to their own best. That they did resist under the circumstances is their glory, and as in England liberty depended on a free Parliament, in Scotland its foundation was a free Assembly.¹ The Scottish Parliament was a mere court for registering royal decrees, and restricted by the Lords of the Articles it was but a tool of the party in power. Scottish history from the Reformation to the Revolution is really the history of the General Assembly.

¹ "The General Assembly," says Dean Stanley, "was itself a kind of Parliament. Its forms were borrowed not from the Councils of the Church, but from the Scottish Parliament. The *ouvertures* of the Parliament are the *ouvertures* of the Assembly. It was a very different body then from that to which by successive purifications of the lay element, it has since been reduced. The King, the Regent, the Privy Councillors, the Barons, had a seat and a vote in it when they chose to exercise them. The qualification of King as elder was not insisted on. When the great laymen came in any numbers the ministers were compelled to sit outside the bar. The presence of the Regent and the nobility was felt in the Assembly itself to be "most comfortable and most earnestly wished by all, and their absence most dolorous and lamentable." *Church of Scotland*, p. 100.

It was in the Assembly of the Kirk that patriotism expressed itself, and the Scottish Presbyterians in struggling for a free Assembly were fighting the same battle as the English Puritans for the privileges of the House of Commons. In witnessing to the rights of their General Assembly, the Scottish Covenanters declared that Scotland wanted to be herself and not to be moulded by the exigencies of her wealthy neighbour and the absolutism of the King and his accomplices. And in the very act of doing so, Scottish Presbytery with a Calvinistic creed as iron in its blood, was associated with the past struggles of Wallace and of Bruce ; was loyal to the national instincts ; was on the line of the nation's historical development ; became and has ever remained the symbol of the national independence. It is the characteristic of all great movements that they shall be spontaneous and win their way by inward conviction, not by the authority of the State. Presbytery satisfied these conditions, and there is no sufficient explanation of its victory but the strength of national conviction that was behind it. No doubt the nobles, whose incomes had been enlarged by the confiscation of church property, dreaded the bishops of Charles I, and believed that their hold upon the property was endangered by the policy of the King, while they resented the competition of the bishops for offices in the State. Their discontent was a factor in the case ; no Henry VIII had humbled them and they still possessed heritable jurisdictions which invested them with the power of life and death over criminals on their estates. This was but a secondary cause, however, in the Presbyterian triumph of 1638 ; the efficient cause was the national spirit which withstood government by unqualified prerogative, and it was inspired by the Calvinistic creed with the accompanying organization that Protestantism has assumed when on its defence. In fact so intensely national was the movement that the Calvinistic creed and Presbyterian discipline were afterwards offered to the world not as temporary

expedients, but as eternal pillars of the Divine Temple, without which no real Christianity could exist and which must be imposed on all even contrary to their wishes. Clad in this armour, the Church of 1638 did its work, and its subsequent intolerance is to be explained by the fierce Calvinism which pervaded it.

It was at the close of this struggle, and during the period when victorious Presbytery wielded its influence on Church and State both, that Robert Leighton was minister of Newbattle. How he regarded its subsequent development we shall see in the following pages.

CHAPTER VIII

ROBERT LEIGHTON, MINISTER OF NEWBATTLE
(1641-1653)

" . . . The high saint
Who with mild heat of holy oratory
Subdued me somewhat to that gentleness
Which, when it weds with manhood, makes a man."—TENNYSON.

"The Tale of the Divine pity was never yet believed from lips that were not felt to be moved by human pity."—GEORGE ELIOT.

"The Divine nature of Christ is a magnet that draws unto itself all spirits and hearts that bear its likeness, and daily unites them to itself through love."

"A pure heart is one which finds its whole and only satisfaction in God, which relishes and desires nothing but God, whose thoughts and intents are ever occupied with God, to which all that is not of God is strange and jarring, which keeps itself as far as possible apart from all unworthy images, and joys, and griefs, and all outward cares and anxieties, and makes all these work together for good ; for to the pure all things are pure, and to the gentle is nothing bitter."

"Now, as the loadstone draws the iron after itself, so doth Christ draw all hearts after Himself which have once been touched by Him ; and as when the iron is impregnated with the energy of the loadstone that has touched it, it follows the stone uphill although that is contrary to its nature, and cannot rest in its own proper place, but strives to rise above itself on high ; so all the souls which have been touched by this loadstone, Christ, can neither be chained down by joy nor grief, but are ever rising up to God out of themselves. They forget their own nature, and follow after the touch of God, and follow it the more easily and directly, the more noble is their nature than that of other men, and the more they are touched by God's finger."—From Sermons of Doctor John Tauler of Strasbourg (1291-1361).

DOCTOR ALEXANDER LEIGHTON was released in 1640 from his imprisonment, and Robert Leighton seems to have settled in Scotland about the same year. He

was presented to Newbattle by the Earl of Lothian, and ordained by the Presbytery of Dalkeith, on December 16, 1641. On July 15, 1641, he had been ordered by his Presbytery "to bring a testimonial from Edinburgh the next day." Among those present on his ordination day was Robert Douglas, then minister at Edinburgh, and with him Leighton seems to have maintained a long and intimate friendship. Douglas was a man after Leighton's own heart, was at this time a staunch Presbyterian and full of zeal for the Covenant. He lived on gracious terms with his opponents, and of one, with whom he was at variance, he could say, "I love him as my own soul." He served as chaplain in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, and that great King is reported to have said of him, when he took leave, "There is a man who, for wisdom and prudence, might be counsellor to any prince in Europe; he might be a moderator to a General Council, and even for military skill I could very freely trust any army to his conduct."¹ Douglas was popularly believed to be of royal descent, and Bishop Burnet says of him, "There was an air of greatness in Douglas that made all that saw him inclined enough to believe he was of no ordinary descent. He was a reserved man; he had the Scriptures by heart, to the exactness of a Jew, for he was as a concordance; he was too calm and grave for the furious men, but yet he was much depended on for his prudence."² Douglas was the leader of the "Resolutioners" in the Church—the party to which Leighton afterwards belonged.

Leighton's immediate predecessor at Newbattle was Andrew Cant, who had been translated to Aberdeen, where he had been known about 1638 as one of "the Apostles of the Covenant."

It is interesting to observe that all the churches which Leighton served were ancient ecclesiastical centres; about

¹ *The Church of Scotland*, p. 104.

² *History of His own Time*: edited by Osmund Airy, vol. i. pp. 55, 56.

every one of them, as well as of his ancestral home at Usan there was much

“That rung to an old chime
And bore the mark of time.”

Every one of them recalled the old pieties, and spoke reverently of the past. Newbattle had the ruins of a Cistercian monastery about it—a house belonging to the order that claimed St. Bernard of Clairvaux as its great saint, whose writings Robert Leighton knew well, frequently quoted and earnestly studied. The Cistercians were originally among the purest and strictest of the orders, and their early aspirations may well be described as issuing in a spirituality as pure as anything on this side of time can be. Robert Leighton in many respects recalls St. Bernard; his mysticism, piety, devotion, love of solitude, are not unlike those of this early saint, but on the other hand, like St. Bernard, he did overcome his natural tendency to live apart, dedicating his soul entirely to the bridegroom, and stepped into the arena with the passion to heal the breaches of the Church. Like him, too, he restored in practice, if not in name, the famous motto which that great churchman assumed as the guiding-star of his life, and with which he is represented in art—*sustine et abstine* (bear and forbear). The little, too, that remained of the old abbey at Newbattle was at Leighton's time sufficient, as it is still sufficient to recall that peculiar and undefinable tenderness which the Cistercians expressed in all their religious structures that were always situated in secluded river valleys. No place could be more attractive, historically as well as for its natural situation and beauty, than Newbattle to Robert Leighton. “Its situation,” says Dr. Cosmo Innes, the editor of its chartulary, “is of that kind which the Cistercian most of all affected. The South Esk, escaped from the green hills of Temple and the woody ravines of Dalhousie, widens its valley a little to give room for a long range of level ‘haughs.’ At the very head of these meadows, and close to

the brook, the abbey stands. Behind, to the north, are the remains of the ancient monkish village, and occupied by the hinds and shepherds of the convent, but separated from the abbey gardens by a massive stone wall, ascribed to the time and the personal care of William the Lion, which still forms the boundary of the park on that side. Across the little river the bank rises abruptly, broken into fantastic ravines, closely wooded, which only upon examination are discovered to be the remains of the ancient coal-workings of the monks, of a period when the operation was more a sort of quarrying than like modern coal-mining. The abbey was not placed to command a prospect. The river banks have probably always been covered with a growth of native oak. What was the clothing of the level lawn of old we can only conjecture. As it is, situated at the bottom of its narrow valley, close by the brook, hidden among beeches and venerable sycamores, it gives an idea of religious seclusion such as Saint Bernard sought at Cîteaux.”¹

The abbey was founded in 1140 or 1141 by David I for monks of the Cistercian order, who were brought to Neubottle (or new residence) from Melrose. The first abbot was Ralph, described as a person of beautiful presence, occupied continually in divine meditation, who from his youth had loved his Creator with all his heart. The second abbot, Alfred, was a benefactor of the abbey, and adorned the chapter-house and cloisters. The dedication of the abbey church took place in 1233, the service being conducted by Andrew de Moravia, a predecessor of Leighton’s ancestral relative in the old Scottish See of Moray. The fabric seems to have been far advanced in 1241, and Mary de Couci, Queen of Alexander II, was buried within its church in 1271. The death of Abbot Waldeve in 1275 is thus described in the old chronicle of Melrose:—“Waldeve of pious memory and holy conversation, Abbot of Neubottle, going the way of all flesh,

¹ Introduction to *Registrum de Neubottle*, pp. xiii., xiv.

with blessed end departed to the Lord, *leaving his house in full peace and excellent condition, both in its spiritual and its temporal affairs* in the third year of his government, on the 3d day of February, 1275 : whose body was interred with due reverence, as became one holding the office of Father Abbot, on the eve of Agatha, Virgin and Martyr." About the middle of the fourteenth century the abbey was in a fairly complete state, but it was burnt by the English about 1385. The restoration was proceeded with, and in 1544 it was partially destroyed by the Earl of Hertford. The last abbot was Mark Ker, who is styled in 1560 as "Commendator of Neubottle," and was one of those who ratified and confirmed the Scottish Confession of Faith. The lordship of Neubottle was conferred on his son, and has remained with his descendants to the present day.¹

The abbey itself appears to have been almost completely demolished shortly after the Reformation, the only parts of the monastic buildings allowed to remain being the frater and portions of the chapter-house, which were incorporated with the mansion house. It was said of the Commendator and his oldest son that they "do so metamorphose the building that it cannot be known that ever it did belong to the Church, by reason of the fair new fabrick and stately edifices built thereon." The importance of the great Cistercian abbey of Newbattle may be realized by recalling that the total length of the church, within the walls, was 239 feet, and on the exterior 253 feet ; the interior width was 57 feet, and the exterior (excluding the buttresses) 66 feet. The nave contained ten bays, had a length of 161 feet, its central aisle a width of 31 feet, the side aisles being 13 feet. The choir and presbytery comprised one bay and a half, and had two large piers, each ten feet in diameter. The crossing had four similar large piers, and measured 41 feet 9 inches over the piers. The piers supported a tower over the crossing. The transept was

¹ Introduction to *Register*, pp. 1-30.

117 feet in length from north to south, and had an eastern aisle making the width 45 feet. The north transept had enormous angle buttresses and a square pier, while the large piers and flat angle buttresses of the choir indicate early work, probably Norman.¹

All this great church was but a memory in Robert Leighton's time, but a memory fresher and more vivid than it is to-day. To one, too, with his family traditions of pious bishops and abbots, to one with his naturally fine instincts and training abroad, it was a memory full of potency and creative of fine thought. This Cistercian abbey recalled a time and spoke of a reform, when if ever ideals were carried out in the world and gained ascendancy over souls, it was then, and when the world "cast aside its old garment and clothed itself in the white robe of the Church." The culture of its age bore "the pained look of world-renunciation on the one hand, and the look of strong character suggesting world-conquest on the other."² It was the time immediately before the period of St. Francis, whose ideal was "Go sell all that thou hast," whose joy was in a richness of soul, possessing nothing but the Saviour, and whose life, the most loveable and tender, fully realized what he preached. This Cistercian abbey of Newbattle, recalled him, who was the forerunner of St. Francis, as well as the saint of the Cistercian order—St. Bernard of Clairvaux. And what a splendid figure arose in thought of the retiring monk, who in the quiet of his cell spoke a new language of devotion, dedicated his soul to the Heavenly Bridegroom, wrote the sweetest of hymns (*Jesu dulcis memoria*) and yet urged Christendom to forsake the world, warned the Pope that he was called to the chair of St. Peter not to rule but to serve, yea to be the *servus servorum*—and withal led the policy of the world-ruling church.

Newbattle was a parish suited for the meditative nature of

¹ *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 255.

² Cf. Harnack's *History of Dogma*, vi. 7 : *Monasticism*, pp. 90-98.

Robert Leighton, nourishing to his piety and quickening to his family traditions of former days, when his family gave worthy abbots and bishops to the Scottish Church. But its quiet and lovely landscapes were no less restful and restorative to his spirit amid the stormy times, when he passed his ministry there, and Scott has commemorated the neighbourhood in one of his stanzas :—

“Who knows not Melville’s beechy grove
And Roslin’s rocky glen,
Dalkeith, which all the virtues love,
And classic Hawthornden?”

Newbattle Abbey to-day is simply a large and commodious building with a castellated front. The present parish church, restored and renovated in 1895, is a quaint edifice of 1727 ; the former church where Leighton preached was within the old wall, called Monkland Wall, enclosing Newbattle grounds, and about a bow-shot from the abbey. The church of to-day contains one link of association with Leighton’s period in having the old oak pulpit from which he preached. A part of the present manse was the house which Leighton occupied, and was built in 1625 during the ministry of the Rev. John Aird. Over one of the windows there is an inscription, *Evangelio et posteris*, and there is a hand-bell kept in the manse with the date 1616. There are also four silver communion cups which were “presented to the kirk of Neubotle 29th May, 1646.”

“The town of Newbattle” of Leighton’s day is now a hamlet of a few old houses along the road to Galashiels facing the abbey-wall and originating the proverb “A’ to ae side like Newbattle,” but the old path, the old bridge, the old mill and the old manse are the features of the locality that remain very much as they were in Leighton’s time.¹

The latest editor of Leighton’s works (Mr. West) has placed them in their chronological order. With the exception of his

¹ Cf. Blair’s *Archbishop Leighton*, p. 52.

Latin works (the University Lectures) they had been formerly assigned to the period after the Restoration, whereas there are scarcely any remains of his written after he became a bishop. "As I proceeded with a careful study of Leighton's life and times, my eyes became more and more opened to the fact that the received chronology of the works was wrong, and that, with scarcely an exception, they belonged to the Presbyterian period of his life. . . . The right chronology is most necessary for a right understanding of Leighton's writings. It throws a new light upon the whole, and makes us aware that these writings, so long read and received as the works of a churchman and prelate, are really the works of a *Presbyterian and a Covenanter*, though, it must be confessed, a most abnormal and exceptional one, for the contrast between Leighton and the representative Presbyterians of the time, such as Blair, Cant, Baillie, Dickson, Warriston, Rutherford, etc., is immense."¹ All his writings—his commentary on St. Peter and his sermons—belong predominatingly to the Newbattle period of his life, when he was a Presbyterian minister, and it is a relieving feature, amid the then stern conditions of Scotland, to find such utterances of spiritual truth, with their breadth, depth and sweetness, coming from a pulpit of the Church of Scotland. Professor Flint has said of them, and of the man behind them:—"As far as I can judge, a purer, humbler, holier spirit than that of Robert Leighton never tabernacled in Scottish clay. He was 'like a star which dwelt apart' while the storm raged below; or like a fair flower of Paradise dropped amidst the thorn and thistle on some bleak mountain-side. His character was of an almost ideal excellence, and so divinely beautiful, that men, while attracted by it, were also awed by it, as beyond what imitation could hope to reach in the earthly state of being. His works, owing to the marvellous fullness and perfection of the spiritual life which pervades them, are worth many times

¹ West's Edition of Leighton's Works, *Remains*, vol. vii. pp. 352-4.

over all the writings of all his Scottish contemporaries. There is nothing nearly equal to them in our devotional literature from its rise until now."¹ Robert Leighton was for twelve years a Presbyterian minister, and was nominally a Presbyterian during the years of his principalship at Edinburgh, so that all his writings, with the exception of several letters and synodal addresses, belong to the period when he was in Presbyterian orders. All the churches can claim him as their saint, but it is only historically true to aver that the writings by which his name is known belong to the Presbyterian period of his life.

What then are the prominent features that distinguish these writings of his and make them so unique in the spiritual literature of the Church?

Their predominant feature is spirituality. Behind them all is the background of the Unseen, and the man who wrote them is felt to be one to whom God was a real Presence, known in experience. The preacher has found his own rest in God, and from the repose which he himself has felt, speaks humbly but with a sincerity that is irresistible. He has penetrated beyond the storms of his age to that serene region or climate of the soul where peace reigns, and he speaks as one who has entered into spiritual repose, and has within him as certainty that to which he bears witness. There is no mistaking it, for his utterances are both consciously and unconsciously full of it. The spiritual consciousness gives its amen to the message, and the man behind it and who speaks through it, is known as one who has breathed the serene air of the Mount of Vision, and was a friend of God. Both the message and the messenger are felt to be spiritual through and through—to be permeated and possessed by God. The dews of heaven have fallen on his soul, and the window within is ever open through which there comes the light from the Hill of God. Leighton's sermons are the

¹ St. Giles' *Lectures*, p. 204.

utterances of one who breathed here and now the air of paradise, and if ever on Scottish soil Eckhart's aspiration was realized, it was surely in Robert Leighton. "The storm cannot cease moving till it touch the earth ; the fire rises up to heaven ; then a loving soul can never rest but in God, and so we say God has given to all things their proper place—to the fish the water, to the bird the air, to the beast the earth, to the soul the Godhead." "Simple people conceive that we are to see God, as if He stood on that side and we on this. It is not so : *God and I are one in the act of my perceiving Him.*"

Another characteristic is their timelessness, and in this respect they stand forth in contrast to their period. The atmosphere was heated both politically and ecclesiastically, and politics and religion were blended together. Strong men had strong battles to fight, and the issues at stake were vast and far-reaching. The pulpits were in those days the free press as well as the religious forces of the country, and could not help being so. The preachers were patriots and formed public opinion on politics as well as religion, for there were then no daily newspapers, no political leaders and no special correspondents. The ministers had to inform as well as inspire, and the parish pulpit shaped public opinion, not least of all on the affairs of Church and State. The Scottish burghers and rural population would sit for hours while the preacher declaimed against the vices of kings and statesmen, against the backsliding of those disloyal to the Covenant, or described the marching of the Covenanted army, deplored the victories of Montrose, or gave thanks to God for his defeat at Philiphaugh. They preached up the times and to the times, educated the people, were on the side of liberty and morality, and could not be charged with time-serving. Now Leighton from the very mould of his mind was the opposite of this. The references to the "times" are very slight, and events, when referred to, are always interpreted in the light of a

religious message which he emphasizes—a call to God, a summons to repentance, the vanity of earthly things apart from God, the supremacy of God as the All of life. Leighton evidently felt that he served the times best by witnessing to eternity—as the rounded whole that completes the broken arch. There is a story that has had a long tradition now, and whether historical or not contains a truth that is Leightonian, and is at least founded on some utterance of his, known to his contemporaries. It is told of him that when minister of Newbattle he was publicly reprimanded at a meeting of Synod for not “preaching up the times,” and that, on asking who did so and being answered “All the brethren,” he rejoined, “Then if all of you preach up the times, you may surely allow one poor brother to *preach up Christ and eternity*.” Preaching up Christ and eternity are the two prominent aspects of Leighton’s sermons, and this in an age when controversies made life full of bitterness. Hurricanes are said to revolve around a region of perfect calm—outside there is turmoil, within there is peace. So in seasons of theological and civil strife there are some spirits whom the controversies never reach, and who hear beyond the storms the voice of the Master whispering peace. Robert Leighton was one of such, and if ever a disciple realized religion as eternal life in the midst of time by the strength and under the eye of God, it was surely he. This is what stamps his utterances with eternity and makes them an heirloom for the Church. For if others attain importance by a temporary form of opinion, they as invariably sink with the wave by which they rose ; but that which is founded on the eternal survives all vicissitudes and contingencies. In this respect Leighton’s utterances will endure, for there is a timelessness about them. Just as it would not be difficult to imagine Tauler’s sermons as preached by Leighton, so it is not less strange to say that Leighton’s could have been preached by Tauler in the church of Strasburg. Both reflect the same

spirit: both come from the same pure climate of the inner life: both express the same sense of sin, the same passion for union with God, the same quenchless aspiration after perfection in fellowship with God. As one compares them, too, with those of Thomas-à-Kempis, the sense of the now and the then disappears. We are impressed with the fact that the truly catholic spirits of all ages agree more than they differ—that in their spirits all is of eternity, and the eternal has an elective affinity to all that is kindred to itself in every age.

Dean Stanley speaks of Rutherford as “the true Saint of the Covenant,” and the Covenant, as Principal Tulloch put it, marks the limitations of his sphere and saintliness. But Leighton belongs to no party, and his name is an inheritance to Christendom. There is nothing in him of the “bitter and bigoted controversialist,” and to ask for an embodiment of catholicity is to turn at once to his message. In Rutherford we have spirituality united with keen controversial power: from the former come his *Letters*, and from the latter the *Lex Rex*, which has been pronounced by Dr. Taylor Innes as one of the few important books on constitutional law which Scotland has produced.¹ In Leighton all the time elements are subdued by the Eternal, which is his native air, and he is instinctively admitted into the Pantheon of the truly catholic saints.

His sermons combine the Catholic with the Puritan spirit— unite in thought a Puritanism which he received from his father with that Catholicism which he inherited from the past of his family, and which was deepened and enlarged by the influence of the Jansenists. It is not without importance that before he was a parish minister, a principal and a bishop, Leighton had been in contact with that unconscious Protestantism in a catholic form which these noble men represented in France. The spirit—the quiet, meditative,

¹ *The Evangelical Succession*, p. 127.

mystic spirit of the cloister had penetrated him, and had given a lovely flavour to the manly Protestantism of his Church. It is a climate—an atmosphere, more to be felt than described, more to be breathed than analysed—but still it exists as an element distinguishing Robert Leighton from the other writers of his day, and gives him no little of the spell he wields. There is the same atmosphere in Newman—in fact Newman and he are in many respects spirits akin. Both of them represent the same block of spiritual substance, but the kindredness exists with a difference. Both Newman and Leighton seem ever to be saying with St. Philip Neri—the genial saint of the sixteenth century—“Oh God, seeing that Thou art so infinitely loveable, why hast Thou given us but one heart to love Thee with, and this so little and so narrow.” Both united the same Puritanism with a mystical Catholicism, but on the question of the Church they each held different views. Let us follow the point a little further. Newman tells us that Scott, Romaine, Newton, Milner were the chief books given him by his mother to read, and that the principles which he borrowed from Scott as to “the scope and issue of his doctrine” were “*holiness before peace*” and “*growth the only evidence of life*.” He tells us, too, that from the *Analogy of Religion* he received two principles. (1) That the less certain aspects of what is called natural religion are to be interpreted in the sense of revealed religion and not vice versa—in other words that we must take the sacramental system of revealed religion as the key to natural religion, and look at material phenomena as intended to convey and actually conveying spiritual influences. (2) That while “probability is the law of life” we cannot accept this as satisfactory in religious belief—that we cannot pray to a Being about whose existence we are seriously in doubt, and that reason which only amounts to probabilities must be transformed into certitude by the action of the Divine Will. Newman thus

accepted the teaching of the *Analogy* as displaying the rational preparation for belief, but rejected it so far as it suggested that any doubt as to the highest truths might remain. He thus derived both his earliest religious convictions and philosophy from sources truly Puritan and Protestant, and this never left him, even after he had taken a step from which Robert Leighton would have recoiled. Yet with this Puritanism in thought and belief, Newman brings that climate and atmosphere, that mystical piety and self-abnegation, that recall the cloister, with its burning Jesus-love, and its resignation to the Bridegroom of the soul. This, too, Leighton had, but Newman added an article of belief to which Robert Leighton could not subscribe. Newman held that dogma is of the very essence of revelation and regarded an authoritative Church at least as important an element in revelation as a clearly defined doctrine. He never gave that pre-eminence to the *gradual unveiling of God's character* which is the subject-matter of revelation, and which can alone check and counteract any tendency to magnify the office of the priesthood. Revelation to Newman meant not merely, and not chiefly this, but as R. H. Hutton has put it, "the totality of the results to be produced by all the new agencies which Christianity set in motion, and of these of course he regarded an authoritative Church as by far the most important."¹ To him the Church was not a great organization which handed down the original testimonies to Christ, and which strove to embody Christ's teaching in the life and conduct of the world; it was the depository of the sacraments which Christ instituted, and thereby the only agency competent to impress on man those regenerate habits of mind that make its testimony effectual. Here Newman takes the step that makes his career—spiritual splendour as he was—so impressively pathetic. He did not rest satisfied that the unveiling of God could be accomplished

¹ *Cardinal Newman*, p. 51.

without the aid of any elaborate church system or any great network of doctrine. He did not see that neither has certainty attached to them in Scripture—that the unveiling of God in what Christ was and did, and its irresistible evidence in winning the soul of man—are the all in all of Christianity. Now Leighton held no such views on the Church. He regarded it as *the society of the faithful*, as the gathering together of men, penetrated by the Spirit of Christ, for worship, meditation and Christian service in the world. Revelation was the unveiling of God in Christ—“Christ is the medium through which we look upon God.”¹ What Christ did, was and suffered, brings God near man and man near God. He subscribed to the Protestant conviction—the Christian belongs to the Church because he belongs to Christ, not to Christ because he belongs to the Church. Leighton resented what he called “Rome’s conceit,”² and he was Protestant in his convictions to the very end of his life. He never wavered in this belief, nor had any doubt of its authoritative basis in God’s Word. But he never parted, on the other hand, with the spiritual element that appears in the old Catholic mystics, and their devotion and his Protestantism did not exist in Bacon’s phrase as iron and clay—“cleaving, but not incorporating”—they fused together, and in no writer of his time do we find a Protestantism so well incorporated in all that was good and holy in the past. He is at once loyal to the Reformation and loyal to St. Bernard and St. Francis in absorbed devotion to the Bridegroom of the soul. He is a St. Francis in a Scottish garb and speaking from a Scottish pulpit. He had all the unworldly purity and aspiration about him that shine from the cloister in its purest days. He is the true Scottish saint and catholic teacher. Newman and he are twin-brothers in their spirituality and self-abnegation, but

¹ West’s Edition of *Commentary on St. Peter*, vol. i. p. 140.

² *Ibid.* p. 3.

unlike Newman, Robert Leighton disbelieved in an authoritative Church as an element of revelation, or as ever existing in history.

His sermons exhibit a moderate Calvinism. Although emphasis has been laid upon the catholic element in Leighton, it is not to be inferred that this was inconsistent with the Calvinism which he inherited from his upbringing, his reading and his study. The two elements did not exist as parallel forces that did not touch each other at any point. On the contrary, and from the very nature of the case, they blended and enriched each other. Calvinism was the form which Protestantism always assumed when it was put on the defensive against *Roman Catholicism*, but Calvinism is not alien to Catholicism.¹ Augustine was left behind at the Reformation, but he helped to call that very Reformation into being. Without Augustine Luther is not to be understood, neither is *Calvin himself*, nor St. Bernard, nor Thomas Aquinas, nor Thomas à Kempis, nor Wyclif nor Wesel nor Wessel. Augustinianism has been the inspiration of all the mighty forces that have moved the Western Church, and Professor Harnack has put it—"Catholicism strove to stifle his surviving influence at the Council of Trent, in the contest with Jansenism, and by the Vatican Decrees. But he is, in spite of all, no dead force; what he has been to the Church of Christ will not vanish, and even to the Romish Church he will leave no rest."² The

¹ Professor Hastie thus refers to *Calvinism*: "We speak of it as the Theology of the Reformed Church as such—a Church which, unlike the Lutheran Church, has refused to be designated by any human name, however honoured, or to be confined within any one national designation or boundary, *and which claims to be more truly Catholic than the Roman Church*, because it is none other than the Reformed Church of Christ itself, now purged as such of its human corruptions and individual limitation, and elevated into the truly Catholic Universality of the Invisible Church, with immediate Divine Communion in all its members." *Theology and Science*, p. 65.

² *Confessions of St. Augustine*, p. 171.

doctrines of *grace* which Calvin, Jansen, and St. Cyran warmly espoused were derived from St. Augustine as the interpreter of St. Paul. All sought to awaken them in the Christian consciousness—Calvin within the Protestant branch of the Catholic Church and the Jansenists within the very bosom of the Roman Church itself. Both had the one aim, with this difference, that Calvin led to new forms of church-life, and the Jansenists sought to embody the doctrine of grace within the old mediaeval Church itself. Leighton formed this *synthesis* between the two, and felt no difficulty in thereby being ordained minister of a Church that was predominantly Calvinistic in its theology. And so his Protestantism was enriched and softened by the refreshing stream of the old and *pure* catholic spirit. Leighton's early training was not undone by the later influence, and it is to be recalled that this character of rare beauty and holiness grew up in Calvinistic soil, that Calvinism as a *living* system of thought and belief moulded him and shaped his religion. To say this is but to say that the principle of *grace*, which Calvin rediscovered, became the inspiration of his religious life as well as the basis of his Christian experience, and that he lived under the revelation, power and conscious knowledge of God, as a God of Grace in Christ Jesus.

But we have named his doctrine as a *moderate* Calvinism, for he did not, as some Calvinistic teachers did, annihilate the *human* in the divine. He co-ordinated the two necessary factors in the religious life—God and the soul. He emphasized God as a God of Grace, but the Grace did not crush or eliminate the human factor. It orbbed it into a purer, fairer form. There are present in his teaching the "I" and the "not I" of St. Paul: if he felt so profoundly "Christ liveth within me," he also felt in this Christ-consciousness "I also live." He realized at one and the same time the Spiritual Prince from whom the truth came and the spiritual faculty in man as an

active faculty to which it was addressed, *in* which and *by* which it was to be realized. He harmonized at once the Divine Sovereignty, which seems to crush man and regard him as clay in the hands of the potter, by its very assertion, and human freedom which realizes itself in the very act of surrendering itself to God, and inherits a new sweetness and power in the very act of doing so. In experience he realized that God is the All and the in all, working within us both to will and to do of His own good pleasure, and yet that man *as* man is not extinguished in the Immanent God, but raised to a new life. God is all—but it is also true, *Ich bin ein Ich*,—man is a personality realizing himself as man in the very act of knowing this experience.

In doing so, Leighton kept himself free from a one-sided theology and philosophy that were current in his day, and which arose from the very same consciousness that the Reformation as *spiritual emancipation* had brought. Both the philosophy and religion of the period, springing from a common origin, exhibit a similar course of development through which they passed—a development manifesting an apparent inconsistency with its origin. Freedom is the common origin of both, and yet it passes into a doctrine of absolutism which is the very denial of freedom. In religion the assertion of the right of private judgment in religious matters gave rise to a theology of predestination and “irresistible grace.” In philosophy the theory of Descartes, which may be compared to the first assertion of religious liberty by the Reformers, led to the philosophy of Spinoza, in which God was felt to be the All and the individual to be absorbed in Him. Predestination in religion corresponds with pantheism in philosophy, and in both God is so conceived as to leave to the world and man no independence or reality.

Now it is not to be doubted that Leighton was partially, and if not permanently yet occasionally, under this religious view of the world; but, upon the whole, he reconciles both

factors in the religious life, and in such a way as to leave room for the realization of the human in communion with the Divine. If "to will as God wills" is the whole of religion, yet in that submission there is much more involved: the soul of man thereby attains to a true consciousness of itself, to a new and higher freedom—the freedom of a life in God. In dying it has lived; in renouncing itself it has gained itself; in setting aside its own aims it has realized them in a nobler form in God. The thought and will to which it has resigned itself are recognized as infinitely above it, yet spiritually its own; and in making the surrender the soul of man has passed into a new activity in which it has become a "fellow-labourer" with God. This reconciliation is well expressed in Tennyson's "Human Cry":—

"We feel we are nothing—for all is Thou and in Thee;
We feel we are something—*that* also has come from Thee:
We know we are nothing—but Thou wilt *help* us to be:
Hallowed be Thy Name—Hallelujah!"

This was felt in experience by Leighton. Religion was at once to him a free act and a feeling of dependence; it was a communion, and the creation of a new inner activity through it—a surrender and the birth of a new life by it. He realized reverently the Sovereign Grace of God as the predominant element of religion, but as a spiritual power to be known in his own spiritual nature as well as in that of his hearers, and so he could emphasize so strongly these three directions as the sum of religion:—

Remember always the Presence of God;
Rejoice always in the Will of God;
Seek always the Glory of God;

but yet as a "remembering," a "rejoicing," a "seeking" which involved not the absorption of the soul in God, but a new life, of spiritual activity with God. Piety, he would say with Pascal is God sensible TO the heart, and the revelation of God within the soul is through the very faculty God has given it as a

gift, and through the new inspiration God continually imparts to the faculty when it draws nigh to Him in meditation and prayer. Revelation becomes the response of God to the prayer of man. The Father does not exist without the children, and in the Sovereign Law is the gracious love that invites the children to a new life of sonship in the Fatherhood. Man's sonship is his response to God's Fatherhood. Leighton saw this, and so his religion, while Calvinistic in its basis, was saved from the extreme that Calvinism has assumed.

Again, Leighton's religious teaching reconciles the inner consciousness with the authority of Scripture. He never asserted the spiritual nature of man as an absolute authority apart from Scripture, nor Scripture as an absolute authority apart from the spiritual faculty in man to which it was addressed. He thereby avoided the danger of early Protestantism; for, as Professor Hastie has said, "the theology of the Reformation took on a distinctively *subjective* character from its turning away from the false objectivity of Romanism into the inward depths of faith."¹ Leighton heard God speaking in the message of Scripture, but he also saw in the spiritual consciousness of man a pre-established harmony to that message, which contained within itself the possibility of a response—knew that response as ultimately certain, for the God of Grace who gave the message also created the spiritual faculty to assimilate it. And, like St. Paul, he sought to commend the authority of Scripture "to every man's conscience in the sight of God." The idea of a covenant-relationship between God and man through the Bible is one prominent in his thought, but he does not make it rest upon an external supernatural revelation, but on one commending itself to man's *original* spiritual nature—to that primary, universal, and indestructible element in man's own constitution. He maintained the innateness or naturalness of religion along with its spiritual authority in Scripture, appealing to it; and

if on the one hand he heard heaven's music in the Bible, he sought on the other hand to find in man's spirit the chords that vibrate to it. To expound and commend Scripture to the *acceptance* of his hearers—to secure from the religious consciousness a cordial welcome to what he brought from the Scripture storehouse—was the end of his preaching, and an end that makes his message perpetually fresh. Amid the bitter controversies and parties of his day, his pre-eminent glory is that he recognized the relationship of man to God to be a *personal* one in thought and love, and knew that until man attains *personal* communion with God in the inwardness of his own life man remains a stranger to the eternal and divine. This to Leighton was religion; this religion he sought to commend to others; and it is the constant pleading for it that makes him such a grand figure amid the stormy contentions of his age.

Founded on his intense consciousness of God in Christ was his toleration. In fact, Leighton stands forth in Scottish history of the seventeenth century as the one man who knew what tolerance was and exhibited it constantly in his own attitude. Beholding the Vision on the Mount, with eyes ever fixed on the Unseen Face, he regarded the questions over which men wrangled as secondary ones, and not worthy of the fever that they engendered. His is one of the solitary names in Scotland that transcends the difference of parties and unites them. Presbyterians and Episcopalians both can claim him, and his name may yet become the rallying point of the future. His Church was the union of the faithful, and his heart ever rested in that element which unites the good of every church and age. His life affords the evidence, of which John McLeod Campbell testified when he wrote: "True, pure toleration towards others is as sure an accompaniment of being consciously taught of God as humility is as to ourselves."¹ His possession of truth, while it

¹ *Thoughts on Revelation*, p. 45.

humbled himself, also created a due reverence for conscience in others. "Leighton belonged," says Professor Blaikie, "to a broad church in the best sense of that term. His toleration was not the kind that rebukes the bitterness of theologians in that very spirit of bitterness which it affects to rebuke. His charity was not that which laments the divisions of Christendom in that scornful tone which only serves to increase them."¹ While his catholicity did not make him latitudinarian, nor his charity make him indifferent to the majesty of truth and its imperious claims over the conscience, Leighton recognized as brethren all who loved the Lord Jesus, claimed an affinity to the good that was in every system, and could say all good men must unite, for they are already one in God. As in church movements he sought to be guided more by the way of reform than of revolution, so in doctrine he would recommend unity in all that is essential, liberty in all that is doubtful, and in all things charity. He, supremely and in the best sense, deserved the name—tolerant.² While he was a Protestant, he at the same time found that principle expressing itself in all the best movements and the best minds of the mediaeval Church—in a St. Bernard or St. Francis as well as Luther, in a Thomas à Kempis as well as Calvin, in a Tauler as well as a Knox. Beneath and beyond all differences, Leighton had still the vision of the

¹ *The Evangelical Succession*, p. 207.

² John McLeod Campbell has the following statement on the intolerance of the Reformers: "At first sight nothing can look more inconsistent than the conduct of the Reformed Churches, persecuting in their turn their persecutors, and then persecuting one another. As to this seeming inconsistency, it must be remembered that it was not of the use of power on the part of the Church of Rome to enforce *conformity* that the Reformers complained, but of that use to enforce conformity to *error*. The same use of power they were therefore ready, and without inconsistency, to justify and practise in the interest of truth. It was a prejudice of their education, an error which they took with them out of the Church of Rome, to think that the knowledge of truth conferred a right so to act, or that the interests of truth could at all thus be promoted." *Thoughts on Revelation*, pp. 43, 44.

Church of Christ, as essentially one and catholic, and as being continued by those who exhibited the grace and faith of the Christian life. He was persuaded, too, that difference disappeared in a renewed consciousness or assurance of God, and to this he dedicated his life.

His sermons are the expression of himself, and it is the man within them that imparts the fascination. What he utters was part of himself—the very vital substance of his being. To read these utterances is to be brought into contact with one to whom the spiritual world was ever present as the background of life and to whom the spiritual had become as the natural—to whom the assurance of God in Christ and the aspiration after moral perfection were the predominating elements of religion. To read them is to breathe an atmosphere—the atmosphere created by one who was possessed at once by a deep, habitual seriousness and a prevailing ideality of character, who felt his own sinfulness and God's grace, who was chastened, gladdened and purified by the well-known Presence, who sought to raise his hearers to the Mount of Communion, where he himself lived. It was said of Tauler by one who heard him often¹:—"that the Spirit of God breathes through him, as sweet music through a lute," and the same can be said of Robert Leighton. One hears the Divine harmonies reaching this world through him, and if ever any one reiterated the cry of Francis Xavier as he appealed to men—"Oh, rock, rock, when wilt thou open to my Master?"—it was surely this prophet in a Scottish garb and from a Scottish pulpit.

Archbishop Magee divided preachers into three classes : (1) the preacher you can't listen to, (2) the preacher you can listen to, and (3) the preacher you cannot help listening to.² Leighton, both by his matter and his manner, belonged to the third class. The angelic strains of eloquence and

¹ Christina, Abbess of Eugenthal.

² *Life*, vol. ii. p. 17.

devotion, with the low, sweet voice, lingered in the memory of his hearers to their "dying day," and gave the impression of a unique man. The following is a tribute to his preaching as it comes from the pen of Bishop Burnet, who heard him often : "His preaching had a sublimity both of thought and expression in it ; and, above all, the grace and gravity of his pronounciation was such that few heard him without a very sensible emotion : I am sure I never did. It was so different from all others, and indeed from everything that one could hope to rise up to, that it gave a man an indignation at himself and all others. It was a very sensible humiliation to me, and for some time after I heard him I could not bear the thought of my own performances, and was out of countenance when I was forced to think of preaching. His style was rather too fine, but there was a majesty and a beauty in it that left so deep an impression that I cannot yet forget the sermons I heard him preach *thirty years ago*. And yet with all this he seemed to look on himself as so ordinary a preacher that while he had a cure he was ready to employ all others, *and when he was a bishop he chose to preach to small auditories, and would never give notice beforehand*. He had indeed a very low voice, and so could not be heard by a great crowd." ¹

Although Leighton never wrote for the press, his preaching marks a new era in the literary history of the Scottish pulpit. He set aside the old orthodox method of pulpit utterance—formal division, uses, applications—and, along with Binning and Gray, he adopted or led the new form which was known as "the haranguing way."² Discarding the multitudinous

¹ *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. p. 241.

² Referring to Andrew Gray (who became Gillespie's successor as minister of the Outer High Church, Glasgow, in 1653, but died of fever, 1656) Baillie says :—"He has the new guyse of preaching, which Mr. Hew Benning and Mr. Robert Leighton began, contemning the ordinarie way of expounding and dividing a text, of raising doctrines and uses, bot runs out in a discourse on some common head, in a high, romancing,

divisions, he made the text in its parts the key-note of his method, and although like Emerson he was an intuitionist, indulging frequently in aphorisms that embody a marvellous richness of truth and insight, there is a subtle logical coherence pervading the whole treatment of a text. His writings reveal an unaffected flow; his language is that of a scholar and a man of high literary taste; he is free from the mystical raptures and the luscious sensuousness that come out in the Scottish practical theology of the seventeenth century. It is to be regretted that no perfectly satisfactory edition of his works exists, and perhaps it is now impossible to have one as the manuscripts are no longer *in whole* to be had, and he has suffered so much from later editors. Dr. Fall's edition may with some drawbacks be pronounced as by far the best. Later editors have reduced the good, archaic, nervous language which appears still so prominently in his letters,¹ to the bald feebleness of modern phraseology. They have acted the part of schoolmasters, correcting the style of a school-boy's essay, and so Leighton's quaint language has been much impaired.

Still such as the text now is, Leighton's diction is more elegant and his English style more free and flexible than that of any contemporaneous preachers, and throughout it are unscriptural style, tickling the ear for the present, and moving the affections in some, but leaving, as he confesses, little or nought to the memorie and understanding. This we must misken, for we cannot help it." *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. pp. 258, 259. Wodrow preserves for us also the impression Leighton's preaching made on William Guthrie, afterwards minister of Fenwick, the author of *The Christian's Great Interest*, and cousin of the celebrated martyr, James Guthrie. He, like Baillie, did not approve of the new method. "Mr. William Guthrie, upon the fame of Mr. Leighton's affecting manner of preaching, when at Edinburgh, used sometimes to go to New Botle, where Mr. Leighton was minister, and hear him. And his remark was, that, in the time of hearing him, *he was as in heaven*, but he could not bring one word with him, almost, out of the Church dores; referring to his har-ranging way of preaching without heads." *Analecta*, vol. ii. 348, 349.

¹ E.g. those in the Lauderdale Correspondence, edited by Mr. Osmund Airy. See chaps. xi. and xii.

felt the refining influence of scholarship and a wide knowledge of English, French, and Latin authors. It is freed from the uncouth language of the period, and indicates a distinct advance in literary attainment.

The style of the Scottish preachers was formed out of three languages, Latin, Scotch and English.¹ Latin was the language of the Universities, Scotch of conversation, and English of the press, but it was not till the eighteenth century that Scotch preachers generally came to be familiar with the English language. Leighton's style² was much improved by his frequent visits to England and his knowledge of French literature, and so it as well as his thought tend to preserve his influence. Special emphasis must here be given to his aphorisms, which are classic in a supreme degree. Take the following examples from the many that occur throughout his works :—

“The grace of God in the heart of man is a tender plant in a strange, unkindly soil.” “The grief of the saints here is not so much for the changes of outward things as of their inward comforts.” “Worldly mirth is so far from ending spiritual grief that even worldly grief, where it is great and takes deep root, is not allayed but increased by it.” “The love of our heavenly Father is beyond the love of mothers in tenderness, and yet beyond the love of fathers (who are usually said to love more wisely) in point of wisdom.” “The true and genuine beauty of the Church is to grow in spirituality, and so to be liker itself, and to have more of the presence of God and His glory filling it as a cloud.” “In times of peace the Church may dilate more, and build as it were into breadth, but in times of trouble it arises more in height: it is then built upwards, as in cities where men are straitened they build usually higher than

¹ Cf. Blaikie's *Preachers of Scotland*.

² Coleridge says as to Leighton's style :—“Ask yourselves, therefore, *what you would be at*, and with what disposition you come to this most sacred table.” In an age of colloquial idioms, when to write in a loose slang had become a mark of loyalty, this is the only L'Estrange vulgarism I have met with in Leighton. *Notes on English Divines*, p. 120.

in the country.”¹ “Oh, there is nothing in myself but matter of shame, but yet, in Christ there is more matter of glorying, who endured shame that we might not be ashamed.” “God shall communicate Himself unto you, the *light of whose countenance* feeds and satisfies the glorified spirits that are about His throne.” “Art imitates nature ; and the nearer it comes to nature in its effects the more excellent it is.” “To be the sons of God is not a style without an estate, an empty title. No, He who makes us sons, makes us heirs likewise ; *sons*, we are, *in Christ* and *co-heirs with Christ*.” “The visible Church is but a little parcel, a kingdom chosen out of the world ; but the truly godly, who are alone the subjects of the inward kingdom of grace, are but a small part of that part, a choice part of the visible Church, as *it* is a choice part of the visible world.”

Referring to the Lord's Prayer, Leighton says :—

“Oh, the spirit of this prayer would make rare Christians.”

In reference to the Psalter he adds :—

“A bundle of myrrh that ought to lie day and night in the bosom.” “The highest beauty of the soul, the very image of God upon it, is holiness.”

Philip Doddridge in a preface to Leighton's works (1748) expresses his own estimate of the sermons by quoting the words of a friend :—

“There is a spirit in Archbishop Leighton I never met with in any human writings ; nor can I read many lines in them without being moved.”

But he also adds the following tribute :—

“The style wonderfully suits the sentiments ; and however destitute of the flights of oratory, has such a dignity and force mingled with that simplicity, which is to be sure its chief characteristic ; so that on the whole, it has often reminded me of that soft and sweet eloquence of Ulysses, which Homer describes as *falling like flakes of snow* ; and if I might be allowed to pursue the similitude, I could add, like that, it

¹ Probably suggested by the high blocks of buildings in Old Edinburgh.

penetrates deep into the mind too, and tends to enrich and fructify it."

Sermons which could draw such a tribute from Doddridge and this one from Coleridge :¹ "Surely if ever work not in the Sacred Canon might suggest a belief of inspiration, of something more than human, this² it is"—deserve to be placed amongst the national religious works and regarded as classics. And in a volume which seeks to interpret the mind of the author as well as record the facts of his life, so far as they can be known, passages illustrative of his distinctive thought and style are both appropriate and necessary for the full view of the man. Let us take the following.

Comparison of Christ's Life with the lives of famous men.

"God has set His stamp on all other things, but most of all on man ; and as He intended (man's happiness) in the first creation, so also in the second, which in some respect is greater, and does show forth more wonderfully His power, goodness, and wisdom. But that which overtops the rest, though all be great, is His Goodness, which the Apostle could not stay till he had spoken of the rest, but cast it in between the other two : *That He might show forth the exceeding riches of His grace in His kindness toward us through Christ Jesus* ; and it still exceeds all that can be spoken. In the history of the life of former famous men and reigns of kings, what shall we find, for the most part, but unnatural jealousies, treacheries, and murders one of another ; and for the poor people that are under their command, the sacrificing them as sheep to their own passions and pride in needless wars ? And if anything of affections, it is usually of unhappy lusts. Yet men can take delight in turning over such lives ! But O the sweet history of the Gospel ! which is all love, most rare, most pure : the love of God to sinners ; the sending forth of His only begotten Son, and He no less willingly and sweetly giving Himself for us, to come down and die with men and for men, that they might live, and be quickened, and be glorious. Were it but simply

¹ "Next to the inspired Scriptures—yea, and as the vibration of that once-struck hour remaining on the air, stands Leighton's *Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Peter*. *Notes on English Divines*, p. 120.

² *Ibid.*

to have been delivered and no more but that, O what love and what mercy is in that, to be set free from everlasting burning, and to be out of pain and at ease! But to have this added, to be raised from so low to so high a dignity, lifted up to heaven from hell! Not only is our *life redeemed from destruction*, but we are *crowned with loving-kindness and mercy*; being once adjudged to lie under the wrath of God for ever, not only to have this taken off, but to be taken in and embraced of God to all eternity! Think what love is this! . . . Now amidst the disasters of these times, it cannot be denied, but that yet we may be happy; that God has made the Gospel shine here and entreats us to accept it. And the more unhappy we if we do not: that lies in ourselves, it is not in the power of the times: that makes us unhappy if we were not in the best days of the world. O how dismal were they without this report of this grace that is revealed in Jesus Christ! And this may fill our hearts with comfort in the midst of trouble."

Man's union with God in Christ.

"Man is knit to God in the person of Christ so close that there is no possibility of dividing them any more; and this union of our nature in His person is made the ground of the union of our persons with God. We find our own flesh in Christ catch hold of a man, and in that man may find God, and are made one with Him by our faith in Christ. And this all the powers of hell cannot dissolve. Our life none can cut off from His, more than a man can cut a beam from off the sun. We are and subsist of God *in Christ*. This is an unknown mystery, but, were it known, it would prove a depth of rich, inexhaustible consolation. The world doth not know what Christians are. This is no wonder, for truly they know not themselves, or but very little. How would it elevate their spirits, but not in pride! Oh, nothing is more humbling than this, as the Apostle here implies. But it would raise them above the world, and suit their desires and their actions to their condition, having all under foot that the world accounts great, walking as heirs of heaven, led and moved by the Spirit of Christ in them; thinking, when solicited to any base or sinful way, How doth this become the son of God? Shall one who lives in Christ degrade himself so much as to borrow comfort or pleasure from any sin, for the killing and destruction whereof He laid down His precious life?

"Oh, my brethren, that this divine ambition were kindled in your

breasts, to partake of this high and happy being, and leave all other pursuits to follow this, restless till you be in Christ! For solid, abiding rest, sure I am, out of Him there is none. And then, being in Him, remember where you are and what you are. *Walk in Christ*, and live like Him, as one with Him indeed; let His thoughts and desires be yours. What was His work, yea, what His refreshment, His meat and drink? To do His Father's will. Oh, when shall we find ourselves so minded, and, as the Apostle's word is, *have the same mind in us that was in Christ?*"

Faith in the Fatherly Providence of God.

"Amidst all disorders, He is ordering all wisely and justly, and to them who love Him, graciously; therefore we ought not to be dismayed. Let us calm our thoughts with this, remember who it is that rules all, and disposes of peace and war and all affairs, and we cannot wish them in a better hand. I am persuaded that in all the commotions of the world, when a believer thinks on this, it cannot but calm and compose his spirit exceedingly: *My Father rules all*. Let this so quiet our fears as that withal it quicken our prayers, and stir us up to the work of the day—repentant, humble, seeking unto God; seeing all is in His hands, our peace, our liberties, and our *enemies* that threaten to bereave us of both. Oh! that the effect of all our troubles and dangers were to drive us more to God, to make us throng more about the throne of grace, to draw forth our King for our help! Oh, our impenitence and unreformedness! That turns Him to be our enemy; that only is sad. Men are nothing. And now in so great straits, yet so little calling on Him! Oh, my brethren, what are we doing? O! pray, pray. It is our God that commands all, and we may say it upon His own warrant, *it is prayer that commands Him*."

The Endeavour after the Christian Life, with the accompanying sense of Sin.

"The most purified Christians are they that are most sensible of their impurity. Therefore I called not this a universal freedom from pollution, but a universal detestation of it. They that are then pure are daily defiled with many sins, but they cannot be in love with any sin at all, nor do they willingly dispense with (indulge in) the smallest sins which a natural man either sees not to be sin (though his dim moonlight discover grosser evils), or, if he do see

them, yet he judges it too much niceness to choose a great inconvenience rather than a little sin. Again, they differ in another particular; a natural man may be so far in love with virtue after his manner as to dislike his own faults and resolve to amend them, but yet he would think it a great weakness to sit down and mourn for sin, *and to afflict his soul*, as the Scripture speaks. The Christian's repentance goes not so lightly: there is a great deal more work in it. There is not only *indignation* against impurity, but it proceeds to *revenge*. 2 Cor. vii. 11. The saints we read of in Scripture were ashamed of their impurity, but never of their tears for it. Let the world enjoy their own thoughts, and account it folly, yet surely the Christian who delights in purity, seeing he cannot be freed from daily sin, when he retires himself at night, is then best contented when his eyes serve him most plentifully to weep out the stains of the by-past day: yet he knows withal that it is only his Redeemer's blood that takes away the guilt of them. This is the condition of those that are truly, though not yet fully, cleansed from the pollutions of the world by the Spirit of wisdom and purity. What mean they, then, who would argue themselves out of this number, because they find yet much dross left, and that they are not so defecated and refined as they would wish to be? On the contrary, this hatred of pollution testifies strongly that the contrary of it, *purity*, is there; and though its beginnings be small, doubt not it shall in the end be victorious. The *smoking* of this *flax* shows indeed that there is gross matter there, but it witnesseth likewise that there is fire in it too, and, though it be little, we have Christ's own word for it that it shall not be *quenched*; and if He favour it no other power shall be able to quench it. You find not, indeed, absolute holiness in your persons nor in your best performances, yet if you breathe and follow after it, if the pulse of the heart beat thus, if the main current of your affections be towards purity, if sin be in you as your disease and greatest grief, and not as your delight, then take courage: you are as pure as travellers can be; and notwithstanding that impure spirit, Satan, and the impurity of your own spirits, vex you daily with temptations, and often fail you, yet in despite of them all you shall arrive safe at home where perfection dwells."

Walking in the Light.

"Heat without light is the character of the fire of hell. . . . Aspire then to be *intelligent* Christians, and to know well what you

believe. Let your minds be *filled with knowledge*, as the Apostle speaks. But let it not stop there : it must have influence into the will. *Lux est vehiculum caloris* : True light conveys heat. All the knowledge that the natural man hath of Christ, not warming his affection to Christ, is but *ignis fatuus*, a vain light ; it shall never lead him to happiness. Saving light produces love, and by that acts. . . . Shine here in holiness. And do it with these qualifications : (1) Constantly ; (2) *Progressively*, gaining still more and more victory over darkness till you attain to the unmixed and perfect light ; (3) Shine humbly to His glory whose light you borrow. . . .”

In another sermon he adds :—

“Now this walking in the light is so truly the badge of this Light that it is the thing itself. It is a retreat of the soul to God. It is a retirement and retreat of the soul to repose the spirit upon God : not to that cloister and hermetical life so much commended, nor the relinquishing those things there required. Let us, says the Saviour, *go into the wilderness and rest awhile*—from thronging multitudes of people. There is a necessity for those intervals of retiring in unto God—we must have some fixed viewings of God and openings of our heart unto God—these sittings down to look upon His Infinite Beauty, and shutting out all other things beside Him. This soon doth assimilate the spirit of a man unto God, and does mortify the flesh and the affections of sin, and those lower desires that are struggling and wrestling within us. Many endeavours will not wrong us in this Fellowship with God. Though we cannot see that Light as it is, yet that light He hath set forth in the revealing of His will and of His nature. Christians ought to come forth from these recessions as Moses from the Mount, their faces shining and the tables of the law in their heads, the writings of the law and the power of it in their hearts, and in their actions holiness and love. This is *to walk in the light*, and this is to have *Fellowship with God*. It is the evidence of this that clearly testifies unto the soul that it is translated from the power of darkness by the almighty power of God, Who is Light, into the Kingdom of His dear Son.”

Fellowship with God.

“My beloved, I desire that you may be inflamed with an ardent desire for this blessed privilege, and whatsoever way the Lord shall be pleased to dispose all things that are about us, yet this may be

our great and daily business to study this communion with God. The heights of princes and great men in all their greatness is nothing to this. Those that are raised to the highest converse and society with men that are at the top of the world—what is it all that they attain to? For as in their height and greatness they can easily despise the vulgar persons that are meaner than themselves, so doth a Christian despise all that they account highest. For a Christian is conversant with angels, he is walking daily in the streets of the New Jerusalem, and there is not any person so mean or inconsiderable or despicable in the world that is shut out from this great advantage and this so high a privilege.”

The Evidence of Election.

“The great evidence of thy election is love. Thy love to Him gives certain testimony of His preceding eternal love to thee : so are the elect here designated, *they that love God*. Thy choosing Him is both the effect and evidence of His choosing thee. Now, this is not laborious, nor needs to be disputed. Amidst all thy frailties, feel the pulse of thine affection, which way it beats, and ask thy heart whether thou love Him or not : in this thou hast the character of thy election.”

Religion as Imitation of Christ.

“The chief study of a Christian, and the very thing that makes him to be a Christian, is, conformity to Christ. *Summa religionis est imitari quem colis* : This is the sum of religion (said that wise heathen Pythagoras) *to be like Him whom thou worshippest*. But this example being in itself too sublime, is brought down to our view in Christ : the brightness of God is veiled, and veiled in our own flesh, that we may be able to look on it. The inaccessible light of the *Deity* is so attempered in the humanity of Christ that we may read one lesson by it in Him, and may direct our walk by it. And that truly is our only way : there is nothing but wandering and perishing in all other ways, nothing but darkness and misery out of Him : but *he that follows Me, saith He, shall not walk in darkness*, John viii. 12. And therefore is He set before us in the Gospel in so clear and lively colours, that we may make this our whole endeavour, to be like Him.”

Loving God as the Enlargement of the Heart.

“As the Devil’s work is division, Christ’s work is Union. . . . He

741
22
1-8

came to make all friends : to re-collect and re-unite all men to God, and man to man. . . . Loving of God makes us one with God, and so gives us an impression of His Divine bounty in His Spirit. And His love, the proper work of His Spirit, dwelling in the heart, enlarges and dilates it, as self-love contracts and straitens it ; so that as self-love is the perfect opposite to the love of God, it is likewise so to brotherly love : it shuts out and undoes both ; and where the love of God is rekindled and enters the heart, it destroys and burns up self-love, and so carries the affection up to Himself, and in Him forth to our brethren. . . . That Spirit of Christ, which is all sweetness and love, so calms and composes the heart, that peace with God, and that unspeakably blessed correspondence of love with Him, do so fill the soul with loving kindness and sweetness, that it can breathe nothing else. It hates nothing but sin, it pities the sinner, and carries towards the worst that love of good will, desiring their return and salvation. *But as for those in whom appears the image of their Father, their heart cleaves to them as brethren indeed.* But as for those in whom appears the image of their Father, their heart cleaves to them as brethren indeed. No natural advantages of birth, of beauty, or of wit, draw a Christian's love so much as the resemblance of Christ : wherever that is found, it is comely and lovely to a soul that loves Him."

Faith as Contemplation of Christ.

"Faith looks so steadfastly on its suffering Saviour, that as they say *Intellectus fit illud quod intelligit*, the mind becomes that which it contemplates. It makes the soul like Him, assimilates and *conforms it to His death* as the Apostle speaks. Phil. iii. 10. That which Rome fables of some of her saints, that they received the impression of the wounds of Christ in their body, is true, in a spiritual sense, of the soul of every one that is indeed a saint and a believer : it takes the very print of His death by beholding Him, and *dies to sin*, and then takes that of His rising again, and *lives to righteousness*. As it applies it to *justify*, so to *mortify*, drawing virtue from it. Thus said one, 'Christ aimed at this in all those sufferings which, with so much love, He went through ; and shall I disappoint Him, and not serve His end ?'"

Eternity.

"One thought of Eternity drowns the whole time of the world's

duration, which is but as one instant, or twinkling of an eye, betwixt Eternity before and Eternity after : how much less is any short life (and the small part of it that is spent in sufferings), yea, what is it, though it were all sufferings without interruption, which yet it is not ! When I look forward to the crown, all vanishes, and I think it *less than nothing*."

In another passage :—

"Oh, Eternity, Eternity ! Oh, that we did believe it !"

Educative Power of Suffering.

"If we trace the lives of the most eminent saints, shall we not find every notable step that is recorded marked with a new cross, one trouble following another, *velut unda pellitur unda*, as the waves do, in an incessant succession?" Is not this manifest in the life of Abraham, and of Jacob, and the rest of God's worthies in the Scriptures? And doth not this make it an unreasonable, absurd thought, to dream of an exemption? Would any one have a new untrodden way cut out for him, free of thorns and strewed with flowers all along? Does he expect to meet with no contradictions, nor hard measure from the world, or imagine that there may be such a dexterity necessary as to keep its goodwill and the friendship of God too? This cannot be; and it is a universal conclusion. All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution. 2 Tim. iii. 12. This is the path to the Kingdom, that which all the sons of God, the heirs of it, have gone in, even Christ, according to that well-known word, one Son without sin, but not one without suffering : *Christ also suffered*.

"The example and company of the saints in suffering is very considerable, but that of Christ is more so than any other, yea, than all the rest together. Therefore the Apostle, having represented the former at large, ends in this, as the top of all. Heb. xii. 1, 2. *There is a race set before us*, it is to be run, and *run with patience*, and *without fainting*; now, he tells us of a *cloud of witnesses*, a cloud made up of instances of believers suffering before us, and the heat of the day wherein we run is somewhat cooled even by that cloud compassing us : but the main strength of our comfort here lies in *looking to Jesus*, in the eyeing of His sufferings and their issue. The considering and contemplating of Him will be the strongest cordial, will keep you from wearying and fainting in the way."

The following preserves the memory of quiet Sundays at Newbattle :—

“This is the loveliest, brightest day in all the week to a spiritual mind. These *rests* refresh the soul in God, that finds nothing but turmoil in the creature. Should not this day be welcome to the soul, that sets it free to mind its own business, which is on other days to attend the business of its servant the body? And these are a certain pledge to it of that expected freedom, when it shall enter into an eternal Sabbath, and rest in Him for ever, who is the only rest of the soul.”

With regard to Leighton's doctrinal teaching in a special sense, the following may be taken :—

The Sacraments.

“The end of Baptism, *to save us*. This is the great common end of all the ordinances of God ; that one high mark they all aim at. And the great and common mistake in regard to them is, that they are not so understood and used. We come and sit awhile, and, if we can keep awake, give the Word the hearing ; but how few of us receive it as the *engrafted Word that is able to save our souls* ! Were it thus taken, what sweetness would be found in it, which most who hear and read it are strangers to ! How precious would those lines be if we looked on them thus, and saw them meeting and concentrating in salvation as their end ! Then, likewise, were the *Sacraments* considered indeed as seals of this Inheritance, annexed to the great charter of it, seals of Salvation, this would powerfully beget a fit appetite for the Lord's Supper, when we are invited to it, and would beget a due esteem of Baptism : would teach you more frequent and fruitful thoughts of your own baptism, and more pious considerations of it when you require it for your children. A natural eye looks upon bread, and wine, and water, and sees the outward difference of their use there, that they are set apart and differenced (as is evident from external circumstances) from their common use ; but the main of the difference, wherein their excellency lies, it sees not, as the eye of faith above that espies salvation under them. And oh, what a different thing are they to it from what they are to a formal user of them ! We should aspire to know the hidden rich things of God, that are wrapped up in His ordin-

ances. We stick in the shell and surface of them, and seek no further : that makes them unbeautiful and unsavoury to us, and that use of them turns into an empty custom. Let us be more earnest with Him who hath appointed them, and made this their end, *to save us*, that He would clear up the eye of our souls, to see them thus under this relation, and to see how they are suited to this their end, and tend to it. And let us seriously seek salvation in them from His own hand, and we shall find it. . . .

“ . . . That Baptism hath a power is clear, in that it is so expressly said, *it doth save us* ; what kind of power is equally clear from the way it is here expressed ; not by a natural force of the element ; though adapted and sacramentally used, it only can wash away the filth of the body ; its physical efficacy or power reaches no further ; but it is in the hand of the Spirit of God, as other Sacraments are, and as the Word itself is, to purify the conscience, and convey grace and salvation to the soul, by the reference it hath to, and union with, that which it represents. It saves *by the answer of a good conscience unto God*, and it affords that, *by the Resurrection of Jesus from the dead*.

“ Thus, then, we have a true account of the power of this, and so of other Sacraments, and a discovery of the error of two extremes : (1) Of those who ascribe too much to them, as if they wrought by a natural inherent virtue, and carried grace in them inseparably ; (2) Of those who ascribe too little to them, making them only signs and badges of our profession. *Signs they are, but more than signs merely representing : they are means exhibiting, and seals conferring grace to the faithful*. But the working of faith, and the conveying of Christ into the soul to be received by faith is not a thing put into them to do of themselves, but still in the Supreme hand that appointed them : and He indeed both causes the souls of His own to receive these His seals with faith, and makes them effectual to confirm that faith which receives them so. They are then, in a word, neither empty signs to them who believe, nor effectual causes of grace to them who believe not.

“ The mistake, on both sides, arises from the want of duly considering the relative nature of these seals, and that kind of union that is betwixt them and the grace they represent, which is real, though not natural or physical, as they speak : so that, though they do not save all who partake of them, yet they do really and effectually save believers (for whose salvation they are means) as the other

external ordinances of God do. Though they have not that power which is peculiar to the Author of them, yet a power they have such as befits their nature, and by reason of which they are truly said to sanctify and justify, and so to save, as the Apostle here avers of Baptism.

“Now, that which is intended for our help, our carnal minds are ready to turn into a hindrance and a disadvantage. The Lord representing invisible things to the eye, and confirming His promises even by visible seals, we are apt, from the grossness of our unspiritual hearts, instead of stepping up by that which is earthly to the Divine spiritual things represented, to stay in the outward element, and go no further. Therefore, the Apostle, to lead us into the inside of this seal of Baptism, is very clear in designating the effect and fruit of it: *Not* (says he) *the putting away the filth of the flesh* (and water, if you look no further, can do no more): there is an invisible impurity upon our nature, chiefly on our invisible part, our soul. This washing means the taking away of that, and where it reaches its true effect, it doth so purify the conscience, and makes it good, truly so, in the sight of God, who is the judge of it.”

The following utterance on *Christian Unanimity* in the Newbattle days, is not unimportant in the light of Leighton's later history.

“Concerning *Unanimity* we may safely conclude: 1. That Christians ought to have a clear and unanimous belief of the mysteries and principles of faith: to agree in those without controversy. 2. They ought to be diligent in the research of truth in all things that concern faith and religion; and withal to use all due means for the fullest consent and agreement in them all that possibly could be attained. 3. Perfect and universal consent in all, after all industry bestowed on it, for anything we know, is not here attainable, neither betwixt all churches nor all persons in one and the same church; and therefore, though church-meetings and synods, as the fittest and most effectual way to this Unity, should endeavour to bring the church to the fullest agreement that may be, yet they should beware lest the straining it too high in all things rather break it, and an over-diligence in appointing uniformities remove them further from it. Leaving a latitude and indifferency in things capable of it, is often a stronger preserver of peace and unity. But

this is by the way. We will rather give some few rules that may be of use to every particular Christian, towards this common Christian good of Unity of mind.

“1. Beware of two extremes, which often cause divisions—*captivity to custom* on the one hand, and *affectation of novelty* on the other.

“2. Labour for a stayed mind, that will not be tossed with every *wind of doctrine*, or appearance of reason, as some who, like vanes, are easily blowed to any side with mistakes of the Scriptures, either arising in their own minds, or suggested by others.

“3. In unclear and doubtful matters be not pertinacious, as the weakest minds are readiest to be upon seeming reason, which, when tried, will possibly fall to nothing ; yet they are most assured, and cannot suffer a different thought in any from their own. There is naturally this *Popeness* in every man’s mind, and most, I say, in the shallowest : a kind of fancied *infallibility* in themselves, which makes them *contentious*, contrary to the Apostle’s rule (Phil. ii. 3), *Let nothing be done through strife or vain glory*, and as earnest upon differing in the smallest punctilio as in a high article of faith. Stronger spirits are usually more patient of contradiction, and less violent, especially in doubtful things ; and they who see furthest are least peremptory in their determinations. The Apostle in his second Epistle to Timothy hath a word to the purpose, *the spirit of a sound mind* ; it is a good, sound constitution of mind not to feel every blast, either of seeming reason to be taken with it, or of cross opinions to be offended at it.

“4. Join that which is there, *the spirit of love* in this particular : not at all abating affection for every light difference. And this the most are a little to blame in : whereas the abundance of that should rather fill up the gap of these petty disagreements, that they do not appear nor be at all sensibly to be found. No more disaffection ought to follow this than the difference of our faces and complexions or feature of body, which cannot be found in any two alike in all things.”

Leighton, we know from contemporaneous literature, was suspected to be “Popish and Jesuisted”—to be “such an offence to the godly, so there is none who by his way, practise and expression, giveth greater suspicion of a *popish* affection, inclination and design” ! The “suspicion” has no

ground in facts, and was both an unworthy and an untrue one. He was throughout his whole life a loyal Protestant, and the following extracts from many throughout his writings indicate his views regarding the Papacy during the Newbattle period of his life, and from them he never wavered.

Referring to St. Peter, he says :—

“ By that which is spoken of him in divers passages of the Gospel, he is very remarkable amongst the Apostles, both for his graces and his failings ; eminent in zeal and courage, and yet stumbling oft in his forwardness, and once grossly falling. And these by the providence of God being recorded in Scripture, give a check to the excess of Rome’s conceit concerning this Apostle. Their extolling and exalting him above the rest, is not for his cause, much less to the honour of his Lord and Master Jesus Christ, for He is injured and dishonoured by it ; but it is in favour of themselves. As Alexander distinguished his two friends (Hephaestion and Craterus), that the one was a friend of *Alexander*, and the other a friend of the *King*, the preferment which they give this Apostle is not in good-will to Peter, but in the desire of *primacy*. But whatsoever he was, they would be much in pain to prove Rome’s right to it by succession. And if ever it had any such right, we may confidently say it has forfeited it long ago, by departing from St. Peter’s footsteps and from his faith, and retaining too much those things wherein he was faulty, namely :

“ His unwillingness to hear of and consent to Christ’s sufferings—his *Master, spare Thyself*, or *Far be it from Thee*—in those they are like him ; for thus they would disburden and exempt the Church from the cross, from the real cross of affliction, and, instead of that, have nothing but painted, or carved, or gilded crosses : these they are content to embrace, and worship too, but cannot endure to hear of the other. Instead of the cross of affliction, they make the *crown* or *mitre* the badge of their Church, and will have it known by prosperity and outward pomp ; and so turn the Church militant into the Church triumphant, not considering that it is Babylon’s voice, not the Church’s, I sit as a queen, and shall see no sorrow. Rev. xviii. 7.

“ Again, they are like him in his saying on the Mount at Christ’s Transfiguration, when he knew not what he said, *It is good to be here*.

So they have little of the true glory of Christ, but the false glory of that monarchy on their seven hills : *It is good to be here*, say they.

“Again, in their undue striking with the sword, not the enemies, as he, but the faithful friends and servants of Jesus Christ. But to proceed.

“We see here St. Peter’s office or title—*an Apostle* ; not *chief bishop*. Some in their glossing have been so impudent as to add that beside the text ; though in chap. v. ver. 4 he gives that title to Christ alone, and to himself only *fellow elder* ; and here, not *prince of the Apostles*, but *an Apostle*, restored and re-established after his fall, by repentance, and by Christ Himself after His own death and resurrection. Thus we have in our Apostle a singular instance of human frailty on the one side, and of the sweetness of divine grace on the other.”

Again :

“It is in His Word that Christ shines, and makes it a directing and convincing light, to discover all things that concern His Church and Himself, and to be known by its own brightness. How impertinent, then, is that question so much tossed by the Romish Church, How know you the Scriptures (say they) to be the Word of God, without the testimony of the Church ? I would ask one of them again, how they can know that it is day-light, except some one light a candle to let them see it. They are little versed in Holy Scripture, who know not that it is frequently called *light* ; and they are senseless who know not that light is seen and known by itself.” . . . “The very authority of the Church, which they obtrude so confidently, must be stopped and examined by these Scriptures, which they would make stand to its courtesy. Doctrines and worship must be tried by this light ; and what will not endure this trial must not be endured in the house of God.”

These extracts from Leighton’s *Commentary* and *Sermons*, belonging to the Newbattle period of his life, illustrate the matter of his teaching ; but there exists a sermon of his, delivered at an Ordination Service, which brings before us his ideal of a minister’s life and work. It is interesting here as revealing the principles by which he sought to guide and mould his own ministry at Newbattle, and in this autobio-

graphical light we seek to consider it. The minister is to him the ambassador of Christ, entreating men in Christ's stead to be reconciled to God. The office binds upon its holder four duties: 1. Piety; 2. Prudence; 3. Fidelity; 4. Magnanimity. The minister must be (1) a friend of God and inward with God; (2) he must quarter dove-like simplicity and serpent-like wisdom together, as the Master appointed who created the embassy; (3) he must declare the whole counsel of God, and neither add nor abate anything; (4) he must rise above the world, tread upon her frownings with the one foot and her deceitful smilings with the other—slight her proffers and despise her contempts.”¹ We may be certain—rather we know from existing evidence—that he who commended this ideal for another had first of all accepted it for himself, and that if any one ever in the ministry deserved the epithets of pious prudent, faithful, and magnanimous, it was indeed Robert Leighton.

But another point to be observed is that not only do his writings exhibit a covenanting spirit, but there is no ground to doubt his unfeigned attachment to moderate Presbytery during the Newbattle period of his life—at least before 1648. The extracts regarding his Newbattle ministry from the *Session and Presbytery Records*, published by the late Rev. Dr. Gordon, of Newbattle,² correct various mistakes into which Bishop Burnet and those misled by his words have fallen. Burnet states: “Leighton came and settled in Scotland, and had Presbyterian ordination; but he quickly broke through the prejudices of his education. . . . He soon came to see into the follies of the Presbyterians, and to hate their covenant, particularly the imposing it, and their fury against all who differed from them. He found they were not capable of large thoughts: theirs were narrow as their temper was sour. So he grew weary of mixing with them:

¹ Sermon on the “Worth and Work of the Ministry.”

² Proceedings, vol. iv. pp. 459-489, see pp. 220-241.

he scarce ever went to their meetings, and lived in great retirement, minding only the care of his own parish at Newbattle, near Edinburgh. Yet all the opposition that he made to them was, that he preached up a more universal charity, and a more exact rule of life than seemed to them consistent with human nature : but his own practice did even outshine his doctrine."¹ Now the historical evidence will not bear such an interpretation—in fact, says much to the contrary. Leighton is brought before us as one of the most faithful members of Presbytery, and one of the most regular in his attendance at the meetings. He preached often before the Presbytery of Dalkeith, occasionally before the Synod of Lothian and the Scottish Parliament. If he "disliked their covenant, particularly the imposing it," he signed the Solemn League and Covenant himself in 1643, and even so late as June 27, 1650, he administered it to Robert Kerr, who had been for twelve years previous in Germany. So far from "scarce going to their meetings, living in great retirement, and minding only the care of his own parish," he took a part in Presbytery work and was generally trusted. But anything that tends to illuminate the history of this great man at this period is interesting : the point is important, and we must take the details as they are brought before us by documents of unquestionable historical veracity.

Robert Leighton seems in general to have been more in accord with the position of the Earl of Lothian than with that of the poet Drummond of Hawthornden, in the neighbouring parish of Lasswade. The Earl was his lifelong friend, and at his house he would occasionally meet the Earl's relative—the great Earl and Marquis of Argyll, who took such an important part in the General Assemblies of the Church at this time. Newbattle Abbey was the residence of the Lothian family, and Annabella Campbell, sister of

¹ *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. pp. 240, 241.

the Earl of Argyll, had married Robert Kerr, second Earl of Lothian. The Countess became a widow by the death of her husband in 1624, and had gone to reside in France, and the Countess of Lothian in possession of the title and property during Leighton's ministry was her eldest daughter Anne. This lady—her father having left no male heir—was countess in her own right, and married, in 1631, William Kerr, eldest son of Sir Robert Kerr, of Ancram—a distant relative. In October of the same year William Kerr was created Earl of Lothian, and two years afterwards his father was created Earl of Ancram. This young nobleman—the third Earl of Lothian—had become a Covenanter, associated himself with his wife's uncle, the Earl of Argyle, and was the ruling or representative elder sent by the Presbytery of Dalkeith to the Glasgow Assembly. He took his place as a Covenanting leader, and to him more especially had been assigned the duty of looking after the interests of the Covenant in the region south of Edinburgh, lying round Newbattle and Dalkeith. Although his father, the Earl of Ancram, remained throughout life a devoted royalist and a faithful courtier of Charles, and the son, the Earl of Lothian, influenced by patriotic and high-minded principles appeared as a supporter of the popular party, neither of them, as their correspondence manifests, lost affectionate esteem for the other.¹ Ancram lived in England, while Lothian remained in Scotland as one of the prominent leaders in the Covenanting party and one of "the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, etc., who leagued themselves for the Defence of the Religion and Liberty of Scotland."

Now Leighton was more in accord with the policy of the Earl of Lothian his friend and parishioner, than with another whom he must have frequently met at Newbattle Abbey—Drummond of Hawthornden. "Call Drummond a passive

¹ See *Correspondence of the Earls of Ancram and the Earl of Lothian* (1616-1667), edited by David Laing.

or theoretical Montrose, and Montrose a rampant or practical Drummond, and you will have expressed very exactly the relationship of the two men to each other.”¹ Leighton sympathized at this period of his life neither with Drummond nor Montrose, although later reflection must have made him regard both somewhat differently. So far as he took an interest in or made a reference to the events of his day, he followed for about seven years the policy of the Church of Scotland, as stated by its Assembly, but at the same time his references to current events are very slight, and interpret them chiefly in a religious aspect. Let us examine somewhat more minutely the details.

Leighton's ordination was on December 16, 1641, and on June 30, 1642, he was appointed by the Presbytery of Dalkeith a Commissioner to the General Assembly, which met at St. Andrew's on July 28, 1642, “to promote the great work of unity in religion and uniformity in church government in all the three Kingdoms.” Leighton was present at this Assembly, and on the 5th of August the same year was appointed a member of Commission to carry out this scheme.² He was present at the Meeting of Commission on October 18, 1642, when Commissioners were *nominated* for the Westminster Assembly. There thus seems reason to conclude that immediately after his ordination Leighton sympathized with the project to establish Presbyterianism in England, to have the Church of England moulded after the model of the Church of Scotland, and both possessing the same catechism, confession and directory.

Soon after his ordination he celebrated the Church settlement, just completed with the authority of the King—the “Second Reformation” as it was called—under the name of “The Restoration of Zion's Glory : or God's Day of Mercy to His Church.”³ The sermon breathes a Covenanting spirit

¹ Masson's *Life of Drummond*, p. 346.

² Ct. Peterkin's Acts, p. 68.

³ West's Edition, vol. ii. p. 1.

and speaks against the undue adornment of worship. "It is the vanity of that Church (Rome) to think they adorn the worship of God when they dress it up with splendour in her service, which, though some magnify it so much, yet may most truly be called a glistening slavery and captivity. Then is the Church truly free, and wears her *crown*, when the ordinances of God are conformable to His own appointment. It is vanity in men, I say, when they dress it up with a multitude of gaudy ceremonies, and make it the smallest part of itself: whereas, indeed, its true glory consists not in pomp, but purity and simplicity."¹ The treaty between Charles I and the Scottish Parliament and Assembly in 1641 is thus referred to:—"Truly we have matter of thankfulness that the Lord hath in some measure inclined the royal heart of our Sovereign to the desires of his people."² He does not spare Covenanting excesses, especially groaning during prayer, which was a custom during this period.³ "This godly sorrow is always serious and sincere, and that is the other quality here remarkable in it. *It is not a histrionical weeping only in public*: for the speech is here directed to God, as a more frequent witness of these tears than any other, who is always the witness of the sincerity of them, even when they cannot be hid from the eyes of men."⁴ In the midst of these customs and the contentions of the day, he says, "It is the substance of religion to be like Him, whom we worship: man's end and perfection is likeness to God."⁵

He thus refers to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642 (St. Peter ii. 13, 14):—

"It is the pride and self-love of our nature that begets disobedience in inferiors and violence and injustice in superiors: that depraved humour which ties to every kind of government a pro-

¹ *Ibid.* p. 9.

² *Ibid.* p. 12.

³ *Mercurius Politicus*, October 12, 1650.

⁴ West's Edition, vol. ii. p. 78; cf. p. 43; also vol. iii. p. 341.

⁵ Vol. ii. p. 52.

pension to a particular disease: which makes royalty easily degenerate into *tyranny*, the government of nobles into *faction*, and popular government into *confusion*.

"As civil authority and subjection to it are the institutions of God, so the peaceable correspondence of these two, just government and disobedience, is the special gift of God's own hand, and a prime blessing to States and Kingdoms; and the troubling and interruption of their course is one of the highest public judgments by which the Lord punishes oftentimes the other sins both of rulers and people. And whatsoever be the cause, and on which side soever be the justice of the cause, it cannot be looked upon but as a *heavy plague*, and *the fruit of many and great provocations*, when Kings and their people, who should be a mutual blessing and honour to each other, are turned into scourges one to another, or into a devouring fire."¹

We now come to 1643, the year of the Solemn League and Covenant. Robert Leighton held different views regarding this document in later years: it became the stumbling-block against the realization of his favourite scheme of conciliation, but he signed it in 1643. The copy with his signature and those of William, Earl of Lothian, and Sir John Murray, dated Newbattle, 1643, is still existent in the Scottish Antiquarian Society's Museum.² He makes frequent reference to this document in his subsequent papers, and it is necessary to recall the essential parts of it for the sake of later reference:—"We, Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all sorts, in the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland . . . with our hands lifted up to the Most High God, do swear:—

"I. That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, against

¹ Vol. iii. p. 290.

² *Proceedings*, vol. iv. p. 487; *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. iii. p. 231.

our common enemies: (also) the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, *according to the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed Churches*,¹ and we shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in Religion, Confession and Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worship and Catechising, that we and our posterity after us may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

“II. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (i.e. Church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that Hierarchy), Superstition, Heresy, Schism, Profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness; lest we partake in other men’s sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one and His name one in the three Kingdoms.

“III. We shall with the same sincerity, reality and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments and the liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King’s Majesty’s person and authority in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms; that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty’s just power and greatness.

“IV. We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from

¹ The most important article is the First, pledging to a recognition and defence of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and to an endeavour after a Reformation of Religion in England and Ireland, “according to the Word of God,” with a view to uniformity in the three Kingdoms. The insertion of the caution “*according to the Word of God*,” is said to have been due to Vane, who did not desire to pre-commit the English too much to exact Scottish Presbytery. It is a phrase that Leighton refers to in his subsequent papers.

another, or making any faction or parties among the People contrary to the League and Covenant; that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment as the degree or their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

“V. And, whereas the happiness of a blessed Peace between these Kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall, each one of us, according to our places and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm Peace and Union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof in manner expressed in the precedent Article.

“VI. We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or give ourselves to a detestable indifferency and neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the Kingdoms, and the honour of the King; but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power against all lets and impediments whatsoever, and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: all which we shall do as in the sight of God. . . .”

Such is the remarkable document that explains Scottish Church History at this period. “The English were for a civil league, we for a religious covenant,” said Baillie, and the event has made the sentence memorable. It was after slight discussion accepted by the Westminster Divines, was signed by Lords and Commons in St. Margaret’s Church, by the Scottish Privy Council and by the people all over Scotland and England. Ecclesiastical censures and spoiling of goods

awaited those who refused to sign it, and intolerance of differences reigned supreme. The Scots had thus two Covenants—the *National Covenant* peculiar to themselves, and the *Solemn League and Covenant*, in which they were joined by the English Parliamentarians, and on which, as a basis of agreement, they sent as Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, Alexander Henderson, George Gillespie, Robert Baillie, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Douglas, Ministers; John, Earl of Lauderdale, John, Lord Balmerino, and Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, Elders.¹ This “will o’ the wisp” of covenanted uniformity led the Scottish Church into strange places, and its only ultimate results were the substitution in Scotland of the Westminster Confession of Faith, Catechism and Directory for Public Worship, in place of the older Scottish documents, and the approximation of Scottish Presbytery to English Puritanism, involving a distinct departure from the ideals of the Scottish Reformation, and the introduction into Scotland of a form of Sabbatarianism which has come to be regarded as distinctively Scottish, but which owes its origin historically to English Nonconformity.² Its immediate effects were the short-lived predominance of Presbytery in England, and the crossing of the Tweed in January, 1644, by a Scottish army in the pay of the English Parliament.

Yet as the subject is interesting here in the light of Leighton’s subsequent career, let us consider further important aspects of the case.

(1). A strong difference exists between the National Covenant of 1638 and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643. That two such documents, with only five years of time between them, should differ so widely in their whole scope and purpose is one of the most remarkable features in the history of the troubles. The later one indicates a most unfavourable change in the spirit and conduct of the leaders

¹ Peterkin’s *Record*, p. 450.

² Cf. Rait’s *Relations between England and Scotland*, p. 167.

of the Church party, and yet it stands so near to the earlier one in point of time. The National Covenant was constitutional and conservative—was a defence of the principles, rights and liberties of the Church of Scotland, while its end and aim was the preservation of the Church. The Solemn League and Covenant was revolutionary and aggressive, and instead of directing itself to the defence of the National Church in Scotland, had an obvious and undisguised object—the subversion of the Church of England, and the abolition of its government, worship and discipline. The one was a vigorous, manly declaration and defence of liberty: the other created a crusade of intolerance. The one was an endeavour of earnest men to secure liberty of conscience for themselves: the other was an open attempt to deny liberty of conscience to others. Perhaps the wisest of all the Commissioners was Robert Douglas, who never went to Westminster, and not least of all is it worthy to be recalled here that he was Robert Leighton's friend.

(2). The past of England made it impossible for the English mind to accept Presbytery as it was then at work in Scotland. The difference of English tradition at once made it apparent that the Solemn League and Covenant was not a medicine to heal the wounds of the Church, but a sword to divide it—that divisive as it was, this Covenant merely emphasized the divisions, which were harsh enough already.¹ It never occurred to Henderson and his coadjutors that the political development of England made the English people hostile to the strict Presbyterian inquisition into the moralities of domestic life, while their social organization made them intolerant of a masterful, ecclesiastical rule. They were the less likely, also, to pay attention to the essential difference in the character of the two people, since the English Parliament at Westminster, which had now implored their aid, was quite ready to accept Presbyterianism in its *more shadowy*, but in

¹ Cf. Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War*, vol. i. pp. 235, 236.

reality *less important* aspect. "No one," says Mr. Gardiner, "who had studied the Root-and-Branch Bill,¹ which was brought in and dropped in the summer of 1641, could doubt that the English Parliament would refuse to surrender that control over the clergy by the laity which had been the most abiding result of the Tudor rule, or would resist to the uttermost the ever-present despotism of the Presbyterian Church Courts. Yet, as every Scottish minister knew, it was in these two points, and not in the mere absence of bishops, that the essence of Scottish Presbyterianism was to be found."²

(3). The Solemn League and Covenant made conciliation between the parties represented in the Westminster Assembly impossible. It at once cleared away from the Assembly the Moderate or Broad Church party who, while attached to Episcopacy as entwined with English history, were ready for changes in the government and worship of the Church, and were persuaded that the hour for them had struck. These men were one in aiming at a limited Episcopacy and were prepared for a system that united Presbytery and

¹ The object of the Root-and-Branch Bill was the abolition of Episcopacy and the transference of jurisdiction to committees of laymen in each diocese. When it was being pushed steadily through committee in 1641, Vane's proposed frame of Church government was materially altered, and so determined were the Committee not to admit the clergy to power, that they rejected Vane's plan for placing Episcopal jurisdiction in the hands of Diocesan Boards, one half of which were to be clergymen, and substituted for it a scheme by which nine lay commissioners, to be named in the Bill, were to exercise jurisdiction in England in person or by deputy. Objections were raised to the competency of lay commissioners, but Selden, who usually supported the bishops, argued in favour of the new project, which at least had the merit in his eyes of taking authority from the hands of the clergy, and Selden carried the Committee with him. A few days later it was arranged that five ministers in each county should be charged with the work of *ordination*. It is thus clear that in rejecting Episcopacy, the House of Commons resolved not to establish Presbyterianism, and in the light of this the ideal of the Solemn League and Covenant was an impossible one. Cf. Gardiner's *History of England*, vol. iv. pp. 407, 408.

² *Ibid.* p. 228.

Episcopacy together: they represented a great party in England, and were quite distinct from the Laudian or High Church Party, who believed in the Divine Right of Episcopacy. They represented those who held that Episcopacy might be good for the *bene esse* of the Church, but was not necessary to its *esse*, and were willing to arrange a comprehensive scheme of unity. The effect of the Solemn League and Covenant was to make conciliation impossible, and Archbishop Usher, their great representative, at once left the Assembly. As he had departed from the policy of Laud, it was impossible for him to join with those who had become Laud's successors in spirit, by asserting the absolute Divine Right of Presbytery. Here assuredly was a great opportunity lost, for had the Scottish Commissioners united with Usher, an eirenicon might have been evolved that would have proved acceptable to the Church of Scotland, that would have given an embodiment of the comprehensive tolerance that was the ideal of Chillingworth and Hales, and saved from so much later strife. Usher ought to have been the one whom the Scottish Commissioners should have hailed as their best coadjutor, for as an Episcopalian he was ready to make concession, and even to bring back the Prayer Book to the ideal so attractively portrayed by Hales: "Were liturgies and public forms of service so framed as that they admitted not of particular and private fancies, but contained only such things as in which all Christians do agree, schism and opinion were utterly vanished. For consider of all the liturgies that are or ever have been, and remove from them whatsoever is scandalous to any party, and leave nothing but what all agree on, and the event shall be that the public service and honour of God shall no ways suffer: whereas to load our public forms with the private fancies upon which we differ is the most sovereign way to perpetuate schism unto the world's end. Prayer, confession, thanksgiving, reading of Scriptures, exposition of Scripture, administration of

sacraments in the plainest and simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a sufficient liturgy, though nothing either of private opinion, or of Church pomp, of garments, of prescribed gestures, of imagery, of music, of matter concerning the dead, of many superfluities, which creep into the Churches under the name of order and decency did interpose itself. For to charge Churches and liturgies with things unnecessary was the first beginning of all superstition, and when scruples of conscience began to be made or pretended, then schism began to break in." All this was represented in Usher, but the Covenant of 1643 parted ways: it caused the few Episcopalian members who had been originally nominated either to decline any part in the Assembly's deliberations or to be expelled upon charges of royalism, while of the lay-members only a few gave themselves the trouble to attend.

The Presbyterians were probably represented by 100 of the 105 remaining divines, but the Covenant even amongst them created a decisive line of demarcation. It divided, or rather brought to light, a pre-existent spirit that divided two parties, those who, like the prolocutor Dr. Twisse and Dr. Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, simply held that Presbytery was "lawful and agreeable to the Word of God," and those who, like the Scottish Commissioners, held that it was of Divine Right. The Covenant thus alienated Presbyterians from each other, but it no less alienated them from the Independents, Messrs. Goodwin, Burroughs, Nye, Simpson and Bridge, within the Assembly itself.

These men were the most mild of their order, and were the least removed from the Presbyterians, while toleration in some form would have satisfied them. Their independency consisted in the courageous assertion of the Congregationalist principle in the midst of an overpowering Presbyterianism, and in their claim that should the Presbyterian system be

established in England there should be at least "an indulgence" under that system for themselves and their adherents "in some lesser differences." These "lesser differences" were not theological, for in doctrine they were one with the Presbyterians—they were rather such as would arise from the conscientious perseverance of a minority in Congregational practices after Presbytery had been established. These were the true representative "Independents" who stood up for the rights of conscience in the Assembly, and who witnessed to their conviction that the early Church was a voluntary association of believers represented in the local congregation, managing its own affairs, choosing its own office-bearers, independent of neighbouring congregations, though holding occasional conferences with them and profiting by the collective advice. The error of the Presbyterians, to the Independents, lay in their retaining the Synodical tyranny, while they would throw off the Prelatic: Independency would be done with the Synodical as well as with the Prelatic power, and commit the duties of discipline to each particular Church or society of Christians in any one place. Like Robinson they abandoned the name of Brownists as "a mere nickname and brand for making them odious": like Robinson they witnessed to the "liberty of prophesying," and believed that it was part of their Church covenant "to be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known from the written Word of God."

Now the Solemn League and Covenant, with its assertion of the Divine Right of Presbytery, alienated the Independents no less than the moderate Episcopalians and Presbyterians. But, on the contrary, had greater autonomy been permitted to the individual congregation in matters of worship and discipline: had a Creed been formed, not statutory, but declaratory: had Scottish Presbyterianism been less rigid and more elastic; had toleration been declared; even the Independents might have been satisfied and been included in

a National Church, comprehensive in the best sense of the term. But Independency was to be crushed, not reconciled. The orthodox Independents were associated in the Presbyterian mind with the numerous and miscellaneous "sectaries" of the period—with the Baptists or Anabaptists, the old Brownists, Antinomians, Familists, Millenaries or Chiliasts, Seekers, Divorcers, Anti-Sabbatarians and Traskites, Soul-Sleepers or Mortalists, Arians, Socinians, Anti-Trinitarians, Anti-Scripturists, Sceptics, Atheists, etc.¹—and branded with a common hatred. Anti-toleration and the conformity of the whole nation to one Presbyterian Established Church, in which Independency and Toleration were to be strangled together, was the demand of the hour, and so the Solemn League and Covenant became not a balm to heal, but a sword to sunder differences that were wide enough before it. The Presbyterians had now succeeded the Laudians, and their intolerance was as great as that of those whom they had supplanted.

Neither again could the Presbyterian demands satisfy the Erastians of the Assembly, who held that the Church was a department of the State service or the State itself acting ecclesiastically, and that all power of discipline, civil and ecclesiastical, belonged ultimately to the State. This party was represented by Dr. Lightfoot, Mr. Coleman, and by lawyers and laymen like Bulstrode, Whitlocke, Oliver St. John and Selden. At more than one juncture they were brought into co-operation with the Independents, although the predilection of most of them was for a limited Episcopacy or Presbytery. They were the "critics" within the Assembly—"zig-zagging across the line of main division and causing complication of the main controversy"—seeking always to modify *jure divino* forms, and it can be quite easily understood how they regarded any uniformity as possible on the line of absolute Presbytery.

¹ Cf. Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. iii. pp. 146-159.

(4). Thus Scottish Presbytery in standing determinately to the necessary identity of Presbyterianism with absolute anti-toleration, lost the most magnificent opportunity for effecting unity that has ever presented itself to it in the course of history. Had the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland offered to England "Presbytery with a Toleration," it is impossible to conceive the great good to Christendom that would have ensued. But the "religious bond" meant to Baillie and Henderson an ecclesiastical one, and that was again a Scotch theocracy, moulded more after the Old Testament than the New Testament ideal. Of the possibles to the English mind—(a) Absolute liberty of conscience, and no National Church or State interference with religion of any kind whatsoever; (b) Unlimited Toleration around a National Church; (c) Limited Toleration around a National Church; (d) Anti-Toleration, or the absolute and entire conformity of the whole nation to one Established Church—the Scots unfortunately gave their predominating influence in favour of the last. O the pity of it! It separated as a consequence elements that might have been united, and, which united, would have made subsequent Church History so different. The English mind would not have accepted alternative (a) any more than it accepted alternative (d); but between (b) and (c) the solution of the problem lay, and (c) was the more likely of the two. Usher's reduction¹ with toleration for Independency, was the one that would have carried, but that it did not occur to Henderson, constituted his unfitness as a far-seeing leader for the crisis and was the one weakness of his career near its close. If Robert Leighton had been able by age and experience to have been leader of the Church at *this* time, the policy would have been different, but his hour had not yet come, and when it did come, the *situation* rendered a comprehensive solution impossible by the parties that had been created, to some extent both by

¹ Leighton afterwards accepted this.

what the Solemn League and Covenant had done and failed to do. Scottish Presbyterianism was more tolerant than the Church of England prior to 1640, but after that date a change had taken place in the spirit of the north,¹ and by 1644 and subsequent years the Presbyterians were Anti-Tolerationists, were possessed by an antipathy for Toleration (limited and unlimited), and by a desire to pinion Independency and Toleration together in one common death. The honour of being the first witnesses for Toleration must be assigned to the Independents in general and to the Baptists in particular, not to the Presbyterians. Even Presbyterians, possessed with the belief in Presbyterianism "as the inevitable future of the self-governing English race and of the Church universal,"² can sympathize with the indignant remonstrance in 1646 of John Milton:—

"Because you have thrown off your Prelate lord,
 And with stiff vows renounced his Liturgy,
 To seize the widowed whore Plurality
 From those whose sin ye envied, not abhorred,
 Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword
 To force our consciences that Christ set free,
 And ride us with a Classic Hierarchy,
 Taught ye by mere A. S.³ and Rutherford?⁴
 Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent
 Would have been held in high esteem with Paul,
 Must now be named and printed heretics
 By *shallow Edwards*,⁵ and *Scotch what d'ye call*.⁶
 But we do hope to find out all your tricks,
 Your plots and packing, worse than those of Trent,

¹ This is apparent in the answer of the General Assembly of 1641 to the Presbyterian Ministers of London regarding their inquiry as to the lawfulness of Independency in any form or degree.

² E.g. A. Taylor Innes in *Evangelical Succession Lectures*, p. 162.

³ Dr. Adam Steuart, who wrote on behalf of strict Presbytery and Anti-Toleration against the "Apologetic Narrative" of the Assembly Independents.

⁴ Samuel Rutherford.

⁵ Author of the *Gangraena*.

⁶ Masson identifies this individual as Baillie, whose *Dissuasive* had referred to Milton as one of the heretics of the time.

That so the Parliament
 May, with their wholesome and preventive shears,
 Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears,
 And succour our just fears,
 When they shall read this clearly in your charge—
New Presbyter is but old *Priest* writ large.”

Such was the effect of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643, in so far as England and the Westminster Assembly were concerned. But in Scotland to refuse to sign it was not merely to differ in belief from the multitude, but was also to be regarded as a traitor to the country. To hold out was not merely to be met with dark looks and threatening gestures, but was to render oneself liable to ecclesiastical censures and spoliation. Robert Leighton¹ like Robert Douglas signed it in 1643, but it is certain that the Presbytery they desired was one of the more shadowy and less important in its aspect—one more in harmony with “the Word of God” than with that of the “best Reformed Kirk” as that phrase was understood in 1643 and subsequent years. Leighton appears as one dwelling apart in his own meditation and parish work, but still obeying the injunctions of the Courts of the Church as he was bound by his ordination to do. This at least can be said that between him and Samuel Rutherford, as far as ecclesiastical policy was concerned, a great gulf was fixed, and he came afterwards to see that amid the circumstances of his time the uniformity, dreamt of, was impossible on the basis of Presbyterianism, as that basis was interpreted by the Scottish Commissioners and the Scottish General Assembly.²

¹ It is to be observed that the father, Dr. Alexander Leighton, was with his son at Newbattle when the latter signed the Covenant. He is the bearer of a letter from the Countess of Lothian to the Earl of Ancram who was then resident at London—the letter being dated Newbattle, December 26, 1643. *Correspondence of the Earl of Ancram and the Earl of Lothian*, vol. i. p. 158.

² While the Presbyterian scheme of uniformity has been here *historically* considered in its relation to the Westminster Assembly and with a view to a better understanding of Leighton’s position after the

Again Robert Leighton's loyalty to the edicts of the Assembly and his acquiescence in the Argyll policy blinded him at this time to Montrose, to whom he refers as "the sword of a cruel enemy,"¹ while the defeats of the Covenanters at Tippermuir and Aberdeen (Sept. 1 and Sept. 13, 1644) are thus referred to: "If we be not altogether dead, surely we shall be stirred with the voice of those late strokes of God's hand, and be driven to more humble and earnest prayer by it."² Leighton was not in a position to understand Montrose's true character and uses the *mildest* phrases regarding him in vogue amongst the Covenanters; yet it is also to be observed that in speaking of "Incendiaries," or those loyal to the king, he interprets the phrase in a purely spiritual sense—"Ungodly men, though they meddle not with public affairs at all, yea, though they be faithful and honest in meddling with them, yet, *by reason of their impious lives*, are traitors to their nation: *they are truly the incendiaries*³ of States and Kingdoms."⁴

The references are slight, and there is more of "eternity" in them than of the "times," but they are still sufficiently clear to show that Leighton followed the policy of the Kirk, but he did not regard Montrose as yet in the light that afterwards surrounded him to his thought. Montrose is a grand figure, and he was understood by Leighton's near neighbour

Restoration, it is not to be forgotten that with all their intolerance, the Presbyterian Clergy in Scotland kept Scotland in that crisis of British history firm to the cause of liberty and truth, because firm to the alliance with the English Parliament. This union fought out the battle of constitutional liberty, but ecclesiastically it had not the result that, allied with toleration, it might have achieved.

¹ West's Edition of the *Commentary*, iv. p. 495.

² *Ibid.* 403. Cf. also 425, vol. ii. pp. 57, 88, 102, 120.

³ The Scottish Chancellor Loudoun at a conference in Essex House (1644-5) said: "You may ken that by our law in Scotland we clepe him an *incendiary* whay kindleth coals of contention and raiseth differences in the State to the public damage." It came to mean any one who disagreed with the policy of the Earl of Argyll.

⁴ Vol. ii. p. 80.

Drummond, of Hawthornden, but not by the inmates of Newbattle House, nor by the minister at Newbattle Manse. "Call Drummond a passive or theoretical Montrose, and Montrose a rampant or practical Drummond, and you will have expressed very exactly the relationship of the two men to each other. They were perhaps the only two men of their time in Scotland that we should now unhesitatingly call men of genius, and it so happens that Scottish Conservatism or Royalism can claim them both. . . . It might even be a fair guess that the nobleman to whom we saw Drummond sending a copy of his *Irene* in the end of 1638, with the striking and subtle compliment, "Force hath less power over a great heart than duty" was no other than Montrose, then in his first ardour for the Covenant."¹ Drummond's *Irene* and *Skiamachia* but represent a view of the situation that Montrose arrived at independently, and acted upon. Both stood up for individual liberty as against collective liberty, but Montrose struck the blow for it, while Drummond remained the thinker. Montrose was the Scottish reaction to Scottish intolerance, and in that sense he is best to be understood. He believed in passive obedience to the King, but great idealist as he was, he pictured a King under whose wise and beneficent rule passive obedience should mean happy and prosperous quiescence in the secure enjoyment of religion and liberty. Although he became the champion of a lost cause and the martyr of an impossible loyalty to a King whose word could not be trusted, Montrose stands out in history as the opponent of Presbyterian Hildebrandism, and in strange contrast with those to whose arguing he could only say in his last hour, "I pray you, gentlemen, let me die in peace." He was too a sincere Presbyterian, but not an intolerant Presbyterian, and it was the intolerance of his former associates, headed by Argyll, that produced in him the reaction. The National Covenant he accepted, but the

¹ Masson's *Life*, p. 346.

Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 was too much for him. "The Covenant (1638) which I took, I own it and adhere to it. Bishops, I care not for them. I never intended to advance their interest. But when the King had granted you all your desires, and you were every one sitting under his vine and under his fig-tree, that then you should have taken a party in England by the hand, and entered into a League and Covenant with them against the King, was the thing I judged my duty to oppose to the yondermost. . . . I am very sorry that any actions of mine have been offensive to the Church of Scotland, and I would, with all my heart, be reconciled to the same. But since I cannot obtain it on any other term—unless I call that my sin which I account to have been my duty—I cannot for all the reason and conscience in the world."¹ These words uttered by Montrose in self-defence in 1650 shortly before his merciless execution for "breach with the Covenant" must have affected Leighton then in his time of dissatisfaction with the iron rule, and brought to light an ideal with which he had been in sympathy so far back as 1644, even more than he then knew. But Montrose dared—won six battles for the King, and had he not lost Philiphaugh, might have been the means of ending Argyll's rule in Scotland. He lost, but he was true to his own idea :—

"He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch,
To gain or lose it all."

It seems to me that Leighton, when he afterwards became conscious of what had been unconscious within him, came round to the position which Montrose assumed in 1643 : it certainly was Leighton's later standpoint. Let us briefly summarize it.

(a) Montrose was a loyal Presbyterian and up to about 1643 was in sympathy with the Church leaders whom he had learned to respect.

¹ Cf. *Memorials of Montrose and Life*, by Mowbray Morris.

(b) Throughout his whole career he maintained his adherence to the National Covenant of 1638 and upheld its constitutional principles.

(c) He regarded the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 as unconstitutional and rebellious and as bringing about a league with those who were unfriendly to Charles I, after the King had granted to the Scots all that they could legitimately in Montrose's opinion ask.

(d) He broke away from the extreme party that in 1643 and afterwards, arrogated exclusively to themselves the name of Covenanters, and were headed by the Earl, afterwards the Marquis of Argyll.

(e) He was deceived first by Charles I and afterwards by his son—beguiled by their false professions. To the service of both he devoted himself (especially to that of Charles I) under the conviction that the King was desirous to effect a reconciliation with the Church and that the only obstacle to this was the unreasonable obstinacy of the extreme Church party, headed by Argyll.

(f) His idea of passive obedience did not rest on the King's claim to absolute power, but on the faith that the King's only title of sovereignty was to rule according to law and the constitution of Church and State.¹ Montrose was in favour of constitutional liberty and limited monarchy: he disliked absolute monarchy with as much hatred as he did the principles and practices of the intolerant party, who had in 1643 usurped the name of Covenanters—a name which he legitimately applied to the heroes of 1638. These principles reveal the real Montrose and give an impression, certainly different from that which prevailed about 1644, and which still lingers in the popular estimate. Leighton must have modified his epithet in referring to Montrose in 1644 as "the sword of a cruel enemy" by later reflection—if he did not

¹ Cf. "Montrose and the Covenant of 1638," in *Blackwood's Magazine*, December, 1887, pp. 610-625.

even hesitate over it in his quiet moments at the Newbattle study. It is to be noted that Leighton was frequently absent from the Presbytery meetings in 1642, occasionally in 1643, at least six times in 1644, and the "seik" may indicate spiritual dissatisfaction as well as bodily infirmity. It was impossible for a man of his spiritual temperament, as revealed in his Newbattle sermons, to acquiesce unreservedly in the Presbyterian régime of his time, and when he did so, it must have been with the prayer, uttered or felt, that it would be over-ruled. Leighton's chief joy must have been in preaching and ministering to the sick and weary, and taking part as little as possible in the questions of the hour.

The following is another time-reference in his *Commentary*. After the taking of Newcastle in October, 1644, the plague entered Scotland where it lingered until the end of 1648, or the early part of 1649. But here as elsewhere the "time" ever merges in the "eternal" aspect. "We breathe in a corrupt infected air, and have need daily to *antidote* the heart against it."¹

"'I will raise them up at the last day.' This comfort we have even for the house of clay we lay down: and as for our more considerable part, our immortal souls, this His death and rising hath provided for them, at their dislodgement, an entrance into that glory where He is. Now, if these things were lively apprehended and laid hold on, Christ made ours, and the *first resurrection* manifest in us, were we quickened by His Spirit to newness of life, certainly there would not be a more welcome and refreshing thought, nor a sweeter discourse to us, than that of Death. And no matter for the kind of it. Were it a violent death, so was His. Were it what we account most judgment-like among diseases, *the Plague*, was not His death very painful? And was it not an accursed death? And by that curse endured by Him in His death is not the curse taken away to the Believer? Oh, how welcome will that day be, that day of deliverance! To be out of this woeful prison, I regard not at

¹ Vol. iv, p. 509.

what door I go out, being at once freed from so many deaths, and let in to enjoy Him who is my life.”¹

There is fortunately preserved a letter which Robert Leighton wrote to the Earl of Lothian, then at Newcastle. As it belongs to this period it is here inserted.

After the defeat of the Royalists in England at Marston Moor and Naseby, and the complete defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh—“a most sweet and seasonable cast of providence”² as it seemed to Row and his associates struggling for all that was dear to them as men and sacred to them as Christians, Charles hoped to take advantage of the differences of opinion between Presbyterians and Independents which were fast assuming critical importance. Had he surrendered himself to the English Presbyterians, the Presbyterians of the Parliament and London could not have protected him from the army of Independents. But by placing himself in the hands of the Scottish army he avoided this difficulty, received temporary protection, and intimated at the same time that it was with the Presbyterians, and not the Independents, he preferred to deal. Suddenly by the King’s flight to the Scottish army at Newark (May 5, 1646), and by the retreat of that army with the King in their possession to the safer position at Newcastle (May 13) the situation was changed: recently it had appeared that the Independents and Erastians were to carry the day, but now it had become by Charles’ flight more doubtful. The question between Independency and Presbyterianism with the included questions of Toleration or no Toleration, were thrown into the crucible of the negotiations between the English and the Scots around the King at Newcastle.

To the King, however, politics was a kind of game, and he was “playing his cards” as best he could. His hope was “that he should be able so to draw the Presbyterians or the

¹ *Ibid.* p. 540. Cf. also pp. 584, 618, 619.

² *Life of Blair*, p. 178.

Independents to side with him for extirpating one the other, that he should really be King again.”¹ Charles seems to have calculated that the Scots would replace him on the throne without insisting on very rigorous conditions and thought that they would rather restore him to power than allow the formidable English army to have undisputed authority in England, and possibly to crush the independence of Scotland. The Scots again seem to have thought that Charles, now in their power and for his safety’s sake, ought to agree to establish Presbyterianism in England by which means the party, that would lean for support on them, would have the mastery of England. Around him immediately were Leven, Leslie, Lothian, Balcarres, Dunfermline, Lanark, Argyll, Loudoun, and Henderson: the General Assembly, which met at Edinburgh, June 4, 1646, appointed Blair, Robert Douglas and Andrew Cant to repair to the King and concur with Alexander Henderson and others in treaty with him.² But the King cavilled: “All my endeavours must be the delaying of my answer till there be considerable parties visibly formed,” he wrote to the Queen—in other words till Presbyterians and Independents would come to blows, and therefore take him at his own price. Instead of answering directly the propositions of July 14 on behalf of Parliament and the Scots, by which he was to surrender his power over the Militia for twenty years, take the Covenant and support Presbyterianism in the Church, he made in October a proposal of his own by which he promised, if returned to power, to establish Presbyterianism for three years, during which time the future settlement of the Church might be discussed. He took care, however, to make no provision for the very probable event of the discussion leaving parties as opposed as before, and it was obvious that as he had never given the royal assent to any Act for the abolition of Episcopacy, the

¹ Baillie, ii. 389, *et seq.*

² Cf. Blair’s *Life*, pp. 185, 186.

Episcopal system would occupy the field at the close of the three years, and the Presbyterians would find themselves checkmated. The Scots, discontented with the King's refusal, began to treat with the English Parliament, which offered to pay the money owing to them for their assistance, on the open understanding that they would leave England, and the tacit understanding that they would leave the King behind them. Once more they implored Charles to accept Presbyterianism, assuring him if he would, that they would fight for him to a man. On his refusal they accepted the English offer, took their money, and on January 30, 1647, marched to Scotland, leaving the King in the hands of Commissioners of the English Parliament, who conveyed him to Holmby House in Northamptonshire.¹

As the letter, written to the Earl of Lothian, shows, Leighton hoped that the King would come to terms with the Scotch Commissioners. It was written during the sitting of the Assembly at Edinburgh, of which he was a member, and which appointed Blair, Cant and Douglas to repair to the King at Newcastle.

Mr. Robert Leighton, Minister of Newbattle, to the Earl of Lothian.

"June 8, 1646.

"MY LORD,

"By your Lordship's letter (which I received) I perceive that they have least to retract, that were least taken with the common sudden rejoycing at that late great occurrence ;² yet, however, (looking to Him who orders all to His good and wise ends) I am persuaded 'tis a step to advance the maine work now in His hand, and that good shall arise out of it, though likely not in that speedy and easy way that most have imagin'd it : rather it may first raise the difficulties

¹ Cf. Gardiner's *Students' History of England*, vol. ii. pp. 550-553.

² Alluding to King Charles joining the Scottish army.

higher than before, and if not cause, yet threaten at least, further embroyement: but then shall Hee, whom the winds and seas obey, appeare most in His power, in commanding a calme. Your Lordship's faithfulness and freedome we heard of here, with as much contentment to all welminded, as possibly it is discontent to him,¹ that still most mistakes those that wish him best. My Lord, besides the histories of former times that yow are well acquainted with, your eyes have seen and read clearely in these present resolutions, the extreame vanity of earthly dependances, and I am confident, having learned to eye God alone, and His good acceptance in all, and to place your happinesse and joy solely in the light of His countenance. Oh, there is nothing sweet, and lasting, and truely desirable, but that: and I doubt not it shall bee your portion and reward. The great affection your Lordship expresses to good intelligence betwixt the kingdomes, is a thing most agreeable to the interest both of the cause of God, and of the happinesse of this Iland. And whosoever they bee that affect and in-deavour division upon whatsoever intentions, I trust they shall bee disappointed and ashamed. I believe Mr. Andrew Cant² will write to your Lordship. We have hopes of his recall to these parts: for myselfe, I think there is good reason for it, and doe earnestly desire it: there is a motion for bringing his son to Fakirk. Your Lordship's recommendation may doe much with the patron, my Lord Calendar. Hee is much approved by the people and by the ministers of Edinburgh, where hee hath lately preached diverse times, after which my owne satisfaction in hearing him once at Newbattle, I judge not worth the mentioning. Your Lordship's returne, if it may be without publicke

¹ The King.

² Andrew Cant, translated from Newbattle in 1640 to Aberdeen, was Professor of Theology in Marischal College. He was a strong Covenanter and a zealous Royalist.

prejudice, cannot bee so speedy as it will bee welcome here, and to none more then to your Lordship's most humble Servant,

"R. LEIGHTON.

"NEWBATTELL, *Jan.* 8, 1646.

"For the right honourable
the Earle of Lothian, Newcastle, these." ¹

On June 18, 1646, Leighton was appointed by the Assembly a member of Commission,² and as the Records of this Commission have been published for the Scottish History Society,³ it is possible to know something regarding his attendance. From an examination of the Records, it will be found that he was present at least thirty times⁴ throughout the year.

On January 24, 1647, Robert Leighton was appointed by the Commission to preach before the Scottish Parliament.⁵

Between February and May 1647 he was visiting his father, who was lying sick at London.⁶

In 1647 there were various Fasts appointed for the conversion of Charles I and the public reformation of the land. The following passage in the Commentary evidently has reference to one such occasion: "But there is a Hand can both stop and turn the most impetuous torrent of the heart, be it even the *heart of a king* which will least endure any other controlment."⁷

From May 20, 1647, to March 23, 1648, there were forty-one meetings of Presbytery, and at twenty-nine of them Leighton was present.⁸

Between March and June, Leighton was again present at

¹ *Correspondence of the Earl of Ancram and the Earl of Lothian*, vol. i. pp. 185, 186.

² *Acts of the General Assembly*, p. 143.

³ And edited by Professor Mitchell and Dr. Christie.

⁴ Cf. pp. 1-226.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 164.

⁶ P. 226.

⁷ West's Edition, vol. ii. p. 609.

⁸ See p. 227.

London, and now begins the period when differences between him and the strict Presbyterian régime become somewhat clear. They arose in connexion with the "Engagement." Charles had fled to the Isle of Wight on November 11, 1647, and once more manifested his inclination to deal rather with the Presbyterians than with the Independents, who now swayed the Parliamentary army. On December 26, 1647, at Carisbrooke Castle, he entered into an engagement with the Scottish Commissioners in which he bound himself, on the word of a king, to confirm the Covenant for such as had taken it or might take it (without forcing it on the unwilling); also to confirm Presbyterian government and the Westminster Directory of Worship in England for three years (with the reservation of the Liturgy, etc., for himself and his household), and moreover to see to the suppression of the Independents and all other sects and heresies; while the Scots, in return, were to send an army into England for the purpose of restoring him on these conditions to his full Royalty in England. The Engagement became known in Scotland on February 15, 1648, and in the Committee of Estates and in the Parliament which met on March 2, the majority—the Hamiltonians or Engagers—carried the day. But the Opposition, headed by Argyll, Eglinton, Lothian, Cassilis, and Johnstone of Warriston, rested on nearly the unanimous opinion of the Scottish Clergy, and had a powerful help, apart from Parliament, in the Commission of the Kirk. The argument on their side was that the Commissioners had exceeded their powers: that the conditions made with Charles were too slippery; that the King had really evaded the Covenant, and that though Scotland might have a just cause for war against the English Sectaries no good could come from a war, nominally against them, in which Presbyterians would be allied with Malignants, Prelatists and even Papists. Declarations embodying these views were published by the Commission: the pulpits rang with denunciations of the

Engagement: petitions against it were poured in upon Parliament by the Kirk, and the Anti-engagers or Protesters were in the majority among the people. Loudoun detached himself from Hamilton, and expressed repentance in the High Church at Edinburgh: the Scots army, notwithstanding, headed by Hamilton and numbering about 20,000, marched into England on July 8, 1648, and out of the Scottish Engagement with the King began the second Civil War, which was crushed into four months (May to August, 1648) as the first was spread over four years. The connexion between the Scotch Commissioners and the English Parliament was severed, and forward into Lancashire the Scotch army moved, to rescue the King, free England from the army of Sectaries, establish Presbytery, and put down "that impious Toleration settled by the two Houses contrary to the Covenant." The result was the Three Days' Battle of Preston (August 17-19) in which the Scots and their English allies were totally routed by the Parliamentary army under Cromwell. This strengthened the position of Argyll, who, backed by the popular sentiment and by nearly the whole body of the clergy, had opposed the Engagement, and now, supported by the Whigamores or zealous Covenanters of the western shires and by the near presence of Cromwell in the north of England, became the dominant force in the government of Scotland. Cromwell entered Scotland on September 21, 1648, praised Argyll and Elcho, and announced that there was a very good understanding between "the Honest Party of Scotland" and himself. This was Cromwell's first visit to Scotland, and his real object having been accomplished (which was to pledge the new Argyll Government of Scotland to future alliance with the advanced English party), he retired southward on October 7, leaving Lambert with two regiments of horse and two troops of dragoons to be at the service of Argyll. But in the events of the next six months Scotland had no part nor lot,

and the responsibility for the King's death rests on the English Government alone.

Now it is in connexion with these controversies in Scotland that Leighton's disagreement with Scottish Presbytery comes to the surface: he was evidently out of sympathy with the fiery zeal of his brother clergymen, and this led to censures on their part which were too much for his gentle retiring spirit. He was "anxious to be left to his own thoughts," and was evidently in great difficulty by the opposition of the Church to the resolution of Parliament in favour of the Engagement. His sympathies were with Hamilton, not with Argyll, and Burnet states that in the year 1648 he declared himself for the Engagement for the King.¹ Even deducting from Burnet's further statement and seeking to qualify it by the evidence that Leighton did subsequently attend Presbytery meetings, there is no doubt that after 1648 it is *in the main* true that "He came to see into the follies of the Presbyterians, and to hate their Covenant, particularly the imposing it, and their fury against all who differed from them. He found they were not capable of large thoughts: theirs were narrow as their tempers were sour. So he grew weary of mixing with them: he scarce ever went to their meetings (?) and lived in great retirement, minding only the care of his own parish at Neubottle, near Edinburgh. Yet all the opposition that he made to them was, that he preached up a more universal charity and a silenter but sublimer way of devotion, and a more exact rule of life than seemed to them consistent with human nature: but his own practice did even outshine his doctrine."² Even if he did recommend the Covenants, it must have been more in the *spiritual* than in the political sense, and there is distinct evidence from Wodrow to show that he was not a little "suspected" by the Presbyterians, and that a weariness

¹ *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. p. 241.

² *Ibid.*

of the situation had set in upon his spirit, even before 1648.¹

With regard to the Declaration of the Commission against the "unlawful engagement" on March 16, 1648, and ordered by the Presbytery to be read by "every brother the next Sabbath," it is clear from the evidence² that Leighton asked the Precentor to read it, and immediately, or shortly afterwards, left for London, probably on his annual visit to his aged father there. On April 6 all the brethren reported to the Presbytery that they had all read it—"only Robert Porteous, the elder of Newbotle, declared that Mr. Robert Leightoun had made the Precentor read it and that because of the lownesse of his voice which could not be heard through the whole kirk." The clerk is ordained to report the matter to the Commission that met on April 12, 1648, and after consideration it was resolved to hear "himselſe when he returnes to the countrey."³ The matter was considered on Leighton's return at the meeting held on June 15,⁴ and after Leighton stated his reasons for *absence* he was appointed "to be gravlie admonischt to amend: which was accordinglie done be the Moderator, after his incalling, and recavit by

¹ "He (Mr. Robert Stewart) tells me that the late Advocate, Sir James Stewart, did express his suspicions to him that the late (Archbishop) Leighton was an Arrian."

* * * * *

"It was ordinary for Bishop Leighton, when minister at Neubotle, to engage the communicants at the Lord's Table to the covenants" (not to be accepted without question). *Analecta*, vol. ii. p. 361.

"He tells me (Mr. John Hunter) that old ministers have told him that Mr. Leightoun, when at Neubotle, was still offering his dismission to Commissions and Assemblys, and compleaning of the insupportable weight of the work of the ministry. At a meeting where old Calderwood was, he made a long speech this way. Mr. Calderwood, being old and deafe, asked what he said. The moderator (said) to him he desired to be eased of his charge. 'Ease him, ease him, since he desires it; for I am perswaded he will leave us, and prove very troublesome to this poor Church.'" *Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 297.

² See p. 228.

³ *Proceedings*, p. 442.

⁴ See p. 229.

him humblie, and promisit by the grace of God to amend." The wonder is that in those days he escaped further censure from the Commission, but probably the influence of his friend, the Earl of Lothian,¹ led to leniency at their hands.

On August 31, 1648, he is again admonished for not accepting his commission to the General Assembly² nor appearing at the meeting of Presbytery. The rebuke was "modestly" taken by him, with promises "by the grace of God to amend." But at any rate it shows that while his brethren around him were waxing fiercer and fiercer in their Presbyterian zeal, he had been, as Professor Masson puts it, "getting more and more provokingly quiet and contemplative in his parish."³

Newbattle Church must have given Leighton quite sufficient concern, apart from Presbytery and Commission interference. It gave him 900 communicants⁴ to minister to, and Leighton was evidently passively obedient to the injunctions of both, as long as they did not forbid him "preaching to eternity" at Newbattle. He did not work from a poor ideal of his office, and duty, as he strove to discharge it, weighed heavily on his heart.⁵ By order of the Commission he, along

¹ Burnet adds: "The earl of Lothian, who lived in his parish, had so high an esteem for him that he persuaded the violent men not to meddle with him: though he gave occasion to great exception: for when some of his parish who had been in the engagement, were ordered to make public repentance for it, he told them, they had been in an expedition, in which, he believed, they had neglected their duty to God, and had been guilty of injustice and violence, of drunkenness and other immoralities, and he charged them to repent of these very seriously *without meddling with the quarrel on the grounds of that war.*" *History*, i. 241, 242.

² See p. 231.

³ *Life of Drummond*, p. 439.

⁴ P. 231.

⁵ "Mr. Leighton, while minister at Newbattell, usually compleand o. the heavy charge of so many souls; Mr. Oliver Colt, then minister of Inveresk, told him that he in Musselburgh and Inveresk had more than double his number of examinable persons. Mr. Leighton, in his punster dialect, says 'Oh, brother, that is a load fitter for an ass than

with his brethren, renewed the Covenant,¹ and on May 31, 1649, he is one of those who had "cheerfullie" read the Declaration.² He received leave of absence from his Presbytery to visit London, and he was there from June to September, 1649. It was probably at this time his father died, to whom Leighton was singularly devoted, notwithstanding the differences that must have existed between them on Church questions. It is not an unreasonable nor an altogether unfounded conjecture, that reverence for his father's advice may have helped to keep him more in touch with the Church than he would have been without it. We know that he was at Newbattle when Leighton signed the Covenant in 1643,³ and after his death *Robert Leighton manifests a great desire to be away from the ecclesiastical strifes*. His letters to his father exhibit a beautiful filial spirit, and I cannot think of the two without thinking of other two, father and son—to the latter of whom Robert Leighton was so much akin. After John McLeod Campbell had been deposed by the Assembly of 1831 his father said: "I bow to any decision to which you may think it right to come. Moderator, I am not afraid for my son: though his brethren cast him out, the Master whom he serves will not forsake him; and while I live I will never be ashamed to be the father of so holy and blameless a son." At his father's death John McLeod Campbell said: "For no mere creature-gift of the 'better Father' have I been so indebted and so grateful to Him as for the earthly father, whose being what he was filled that name with so much meaning for me." It would be in some such terms that Robert Leighton would speak of his

for a colt.' 'They are light-headed asses (says Colt) that burthen themselves with souls.' Both these punster divines complied and conformed to a tyrannizing, persecuting Episcopacy in Scotland. Colt had not Leighton's wheems, nor his piety and devotion; nor was Leighton latitudinarian, as was Colt." *Coltness Collections*, p. 69.

¹ P. 232.

² P. 232.

³ P. 195 (note).

father and his father of him, for the relationship between them was of a beautiful kind.

Leighton was back again to Scotland and was present at Presbytery meetings from September 6, 1649, but on March 14, 1650, he again craves leave of absence, as "weightie business" did call him to England.¹ The business was his father's property, to which he had been made by his father's will residuary legatee, besides receiving £600. Leighton was so much absorbed in the deeper spiritual sides of religion that he had become indifferent to, or at least failed to exercise reasonable prudence in, his worldly affairs. His brother-in-law, Mr. Lightmaker, had written to warn him that his patrimony was not safe with the merchant in whose hands it was lying, and the following was his reply. The last sentence illustrates, as by the unconscious expression of himself, his attitude in relation both to questions of property and church politics. Both touched him very lightly indeed :—

" December 31, 1649.

" SIR—

" I thank you for your letter. That you give me notice of I desire to consider as becomes a Christian, and to prepare to wait for my own removal. What business follows on my father's (death) may be well enough done without me, as I have writ more at large to Mr. E—— and desired him to show you the letter when you meet. Any pittance belonging to me may be useful and needful for my subsistence : but, truly, if something else draw me not, I shall never bestow so long a journey on that I account so mean a business. Remember my love to my sister, your wife, and to my brother and sister Rathband as you have opportunity. I am glad to hear of the welfare of you all, and above all things wish for myself and you all a daily increase in likeness to

¹ P. 234.

Jesus Christ, and growing heavenwards, where He is who is our treasure. To His grace I recommend you.

"Sir,

"Your affectionate brother,

"R. LEIGHTON."

A month's time verified Mr. Lightmaker's anticipations, and the money was irretrievably gone. The loss of his patrimony forced him to borrow 1,000 marks (Scotch) that year from Newbattle Session (p. 242)—on which he paid interest and which he ultimately restored. The following is his reply to his brother-in-law:—

"NEWBATTLE, *February 4, 1650.*

"SIR—

"Your kind advice I cannot but thank you for, but I am not easily taught that lesson. I confess it is the wiser way to trust nobody: but there is so much of the fool in my nature as carries me rather to the other extreme, to trust everybody. Yet I will endeavour to take the best course I can in that little business you write of. It is true there is a lawful, yea, a needful diligence in such things: but alas! how poor are they to the portion of believers, where our treasure is. That little which was in Mr. E——'s hands hath failed me: but I shall either have no need of it or be supplied some other way. And this is the relief of my rolling thoughts, that while I am writing this, this moment is passing away, and all the hazards of want and sickness shall come to an end. My mother writes to me, and presses my coming up. I know not yet if that can be: but I intend, God willing, as soon as I can conveniently, if I come not, to take some course that things be done as if I were there. I hope you will have patience in the meantime. Remember my love to my sisters. The Lord be with you, and lead you in His ways.

"Your loving brother,

"R. LEIGHTON."

His reference to his widowed step-mother¹ is most respectful, and it is evident that he regarded her with affection.

He had returned to the Presbytery meeting on May 21, 1650, and is ordained to receive to the Covenant Robert Kerr (afterwards fourth Earl of Lothian), who had been resident in Germany for the past twelve years.²

There is also a curious case of Brownism before the Session with which Leighton had to deal, anent the lawfulness of "set prayers."³

We now come to a point in his career which was big with results.

The news of the execution of Charles I (January 30, 1649) was at once followed by the fall of Argyll and his party, who but a week before excluded from Parliament, and from all places of political trust for longer or shorter periods, four defined portions of the population, precisely on account of their complicity or sympathy with Hamilton's enterprise on the King's behalf. This Act was known as the "Act of the Classes." The execution of Charles drove Scotland into a passionate mood of royalism, and the Scots had no sympathy with English Republicanism, while they were alarmed with the growth of Independency in England. On February 5 Charles II was proclaimed King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and the Scots declared themselves ready to defend his cause by blood, if only he would take the Covenant. This the young King refused to do, but the execution of Hamilton, Huntly and Montrose drove him to accept the Scottish terms. Charles landed at the mouth of the river Spey on June 24, 1650, having taken the Covenant, and was received at Edinburgh as King of the three nations. The English Parliament and army could not but take up the challenge, and war was the inevitable result. Cromwell defeated the

¹ She was the daughter of Sir William Musgrave, of Ireby, in Cumberland.

² P. 234.

³ P. 234.

Scots at Dunbar (September 3, 1650). Leslie had to retreat to Stirling, while the Lowlands passed into Cromwell's hands. Cromwell was conciliatory, and a considerable proportion of the Presbyterians took up an attitude of hostility to the King's claims. The supporters of Charles were known as Revolutioners or Engagers, and his opponents as Protesters or Remonstrants. As a consequence the old Royalists and Episcopalians began to rejoin the King. Before the battle of Dunbar Charles was really a prisoner in the hands of the Covenanters, who ruled him with a rod of iron, and as the stricter Presbyterians withdrew and their places were filled by the "Malignants," whom they had excluded from the King's service, the personal importance of Charles increased. On January 1, 1651, he was crowned at Scone, and in the following summer he took up a position near Stirling, with Leslie as the commander of his army. Cromwell outmanœuvred Leslie and seized Perth, while the royal forces retaliated by the invasion of England, which ended in their defeat at Worcester on September 3, 1651, exactly one year after Dunbar. The King escaped and fled to France.

Scotland was unable to resist Monk, whom Cromwell left behind him when he followed Charles. On the 14th August he captured Stirling, and the Committee of Estates was seized at Alyth, and carried off to London. All Scotland, for the first time since Edward I's reign, was in military occupation by the English troops, and Scotland, it was now settled once for all, was not to determine the form of the government of England without the consent of Englishmen. Scottish Presbytery was severely shaken by the English occupation, and thence we may date (1650-1) most of that leaven of Puritan dissent still to be traced in Scottish society. Of the time previous to this Professor Masson has said: "It was the absence of Religious Dissent, the impossibility of Religious Dissent, that was the peculiar characteristic of Presbyterian North Britain. Not a man, not a woman, not a

child, not a dog, not a rabbit, all over Scotland, but belonged to the Kirk, or had to pretend that relationship. . . . The kirk was the nation, and the nation was the kirk.”¹

Scottish History remembers to this day that split of the Scottish clergy around Charles II in 1650 into the *Resolutioners* who acquiesced in the resolutions of the Parliament and Commission of the Kirk for suspending or disusing the Act of Classes and the *Remonstrants* or *Protesters* who raised their voices against the backsliding. The difference descended through a whole generation, bringing fame or infamy, and even death, to those concerned. The leaders of the Resolutioners were Robert Douglas, David Dickson, and Robert Baillie. The leaders of the Protesters were Patrick Gillespie, James Guthrie and Samuel Rutherford. The Resolutioners were the inheritors of the better traditions of the Reformed Scottish Church, and saw nothing undivine in Episcopacy: the Protesters represented the ultra-Presbyterian party. Robert Leighton could only belong to the Resolutioners, in so far as he took any side.

At Worcester 14,000 Scots were either slain or taken prisoner: Stirling, Alyth and Dundee had also sent many of the Scots into English captivity; those of rank were imprisoned at Windsor Castle, the Tower, and Chelsea College, the subalterns at Tothill Fields, London, Chester, and other places.

Robert Leighton was unanimously chosen by the Synod of Lothian² “to repaire to London for negotiating the freedome and enlargement of their said brethren.” This took place on November 4, 1651, and nothing can show better than this the esteem in which he was held not only by the brethren of his own Presbytery, but also of the whole Synod of Lothian. Whatever may have been his private opinions, he was evidently too retiring to express them, and too anxious to avoid controversy by expressing them. One must recall

¹ *Life of Milton*, vol. i. p. 63.

² See pp. 235-237.

here Burnet's statement: "he was the freest of censuring others or of imposing his own methods on them possible: so that he did not so much as recommend them on others. He said there was a diversity of tempers, and every man was to watch over his own, and to turn it in the best manner he could."¹ Evidently when his brethren differed from him, they still loved him, and the transparent goodness and gentleness of his nature aroused and won their admiration.

Leighton was evidently in England² from May till about the end of November 1652, and the next meeting of Presbytery after his return to Scotland (December 16)³ had a letter presented from him wherein "he demits his charge of his ministrie at Newbotle." The Presbytery desire him to "returne to his charge," but at the next meeting (December 30) he "divests his charge *de novo*," which the Presbytery again refuses to accept.⁴ On January 27, 1653, Leighton appeared, and "desyred to be loused from his charge," but with him on this occasion was Andrew Brysone, the City⁵ Treasurer, who stated that the Town Council of Edinburgh had given Mr. Leighton a call to be Principal of the College. Leighton was probably appointed as the result of an order

¹ *History*, vol. i. p. 239.

² The *Mercurius Scoticus* (November 17, 1651) states that "The said ministers (i.e. of Linlithgow Presbytery, who refused to come to the Synod of Lothian's meeting) have refused to give obedience to the said Synod's Acts, especially in that of giving a willing contribution to bear the charges of Master Robert Lighton, Minister of Newbottle, whom they have appointed to go to London, to mediat for the relief of their Ministers who were taken at Ellit (Alyth), and now are prisoners at London, whose wives went thither the last week in Coach (forsooth): and the reason of their refusall to contribute is, that they say, if they had been following their calling then they should not have been prisoners there now, so that (it seemes) that the Lord hath called them to be where He would have them, because they were not where they should be." They were evidently "Protesters": some also in Edinburgh objected to the "Reek-Penny" for their relief, i.e. so much upon the pound of the "House-Rents and Dues of every House that Kindles fire."

³ P. 239. ⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ pp. 294-296.

sent down by the Government, and he probably had interviews with Cromwell or his Government when in London.

Leighton had not been chosen in the first instance by the Council of Edinburgh. Their choice had been Mr. William Colville, then a Scotch minister at Utrecht, and Colville had accepted the office (which he afterwards filled on Leighton's promotion to a bishopric in 1662). But difficulties had arisen in connexion with his appointment—raised, it was thought, by the Commonwealth Government—and the result was the election of Leighton. In terms of the Charter, the ministers of Edinburgh were present at the election, but declined taking any part in the transaction.¹ When they were asked to vote the Town Council Record adds, "it halted there a tyme wishing they had not been calld to the electioun and showing that albeit they were weill content with the man, yet they could not give their voices to the electioun becaus they wer not cleir in the maner of the Call, and desyred to be markit onlie present, and non-loquets in the voiceing."²

The Presbytery proceeded deliberately, and after the usual manner by citing the congregation, before liberating Leighton from his charge. The Commission was produced on February 3, and Leighton was freed from his parish on account of the "greatness of the congregation far exceeding his strength" and the "extreme weakness of his voice" not being able to reach the half of his congregation when convened—reasons which he had "often expressed to us."³

Leighton's relations with his Presbytery were thus orderly to the last, and he was too gentle and tender, too much engrossed in the primary, eternal elements of religion, to emphasize any differences on secondary matters that may have arisen in his mind. He was a regular attender at the meetings of Presbytery, and verily no one can read the Acts of Assembly and of Commission without seeing that notwithstanding the intolerance on ecclesiastical questions that

¹ pp. 294-295.

² Vol. 17 : fol. 369.

³ See p. 240.

exhibits itself, there was alongside of it a deep, passionate concern for the religious and spiritual welfare of Scotland, which reveals an aspect of the period that may be overlooked. With this Leighton was allowed to busy himself for ten years, and Burnet's statement as to Leighton "withdrawing from his cure" must be modified by the evidence that the Records afford.¹ In going to the University, he did not separate from the Church of Scotland—Presbyterian as it was—for the next ten years. He parted from his parish with the good will of his brethren, and he was too courteous not to reciprocate it.

The following letter from Lord Lothian to his Countess expresses his estimate of Leighton's ministry at Newbattle and also his fancy that Leighton "would, from any place he were putt in, withdrawe into England."

The Earl of Lothian to the Countess of Lothian.

"SWEET HEARTE—

"Your neighbours did yow mutch honor : I wish onely yow had knowne of their comming before hand, that yow might have received them better. Yow have amased me with what yow write concerning Mr. Lighton. I was in the hope he would not have left us, unles the call he had to the Colledge² heare had beene made good, wherin there would have beene some dificulty : but that he would have left us without going to some other imployment or charge, I did not thinke he would have donne it, although yow may remember I sayd he would shortly, from any place he were putt in, withdrawe into England. It would have been some contentment and satisfaction to me if he had but stayed in this land. I have not nowe leisure to write to him, but I will once this night : in the mean tyme, I pray, doe yow again

¹ See appendix to this chapter (pp. 220-241).

² Referring to a previous election of Mr. William Colvill, which was afterwards set aside in favour of Mr. Leighton.

speake to him, and intreate that, whatsoever his resolutions be, that he would not this winter quite us, or att least not so sodainly and abruptly : and if he will not stay in his ministry, and preach more to us (which wilbe a greate grieffe to me, for never did I gettsoe much good by any that stooode in a pulpitt), but is as yow write to retyre to a corner untill the spring that he goe to England, desire him, that that corner may be your house, which may be as quiett to him as a monastery or a wilderness : he shall not be desired neither to pray, nor soe mutch as to say grace to us. A greene wound is not felt, but wee will fynde the want of him very bitter and sharpe ere long : therefore I pray yow deale with him to stay with us this winter, in the congregation, att least in our company. I can now adde noe more, but that I am your most loving Husband,

“LOTHIAN.

“EDINBURGH, *the 9 December, 1652.*”

[Correspondence of the Earls of Ancram and Lothian, vol. ii. p. 373.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII.

Extracts from the Presbytery Books of Dalkeith.

1639.

The National Covenant signed in August 1639 by Mr. Andrew Cant, Newbottle, and other ministers in the Presbytery of Dalkeith, by the Earls of Lothian and Dalhousie, Thomas Megot of Maisterton and other ruling Elders and several Expectants, in all about 100 persons, is preserved in the volume of Records, 1639-1652.

1639. October 10.—Mr. Andrew Cant (and others absent) are excused, being appointed by the Synode to attend with the rest of the brether in Edinburgh during the Parliament.

1640.

December 3.—Quhilk day the Presbyterie of Aberdein sent to Mr. William More ane letter desyring the bretheren to demit frelie Mr. Andrew Cant to the vacant Kirk of Aberdein, conform to the act of transport given by the late Generall Assemblie holden their : to

the quhilk the brether returned thair ansuer and mynde be theire missive letter sealed, and given in the said Mr. William his hands.

December 17.—Quhilk day Mr. Andrew Cant exhibit ane letter written from the Armie desyring him to returne, quha requested the brether to supply his place during his absence. They ordane the catalogue of the bretheren to goe on, and begin whair it left.

1641.

March 25.—This day Mr. Andro Cant having returned from the Armie, thanked the Brether hartlie for suppleing his kirk in his absence, and desyred thame to continnew till his returne from Aberdein : quhilk they accorded to.

June 17.—The Earle of Lauthian desyred the Presbyterie by letter to supplie the kirk of Newbotle for two or thrie Sondayes : quhilk suit was granted.

July 15.—Mr. Robert Lichtone appointed to adde, and to bring a testimoniall from Edinburgh the nixt day.

July 22.—Exercised Mr. James Porteous younger, and Mr. Robert Lichtone. Rom. ii. 1, 2, 3. They approvin.

Mr. Robert Lichtone produced a testimoniall from the Presbyterie of Edinburgh.

July 29.—Exercised Mr. Robert Lichtone and Mr. R. Cowper. Rom. ii. 4. Doctrine approvin.

Mr. Robert Lichtone appointed to preach at Newbotle.

August 5.—Reported Mr. Robert Lichtone, that he had preached at Newbotle.

September 23.—[Mark Cass or Carss of] Cokpene produced, in name of the Erle of Lauthian, a presentation to Newbotle in favours of Mr. Robert Lichtone. Mr. Robert Lichtone appointed to preach the next day. Math. xxv. 1, 2.

September 30.—Preached Mr. Robert Lichtone, Math. xxv. 1, 2, and approvin. He ordained to have the common heid De propagatione Peccati.

October 28.—Mr. Robert Lichtone had the common heid De propagatione Peccati, and approvin. Ordained to susteine disputes the next day.

November 11.—Mr. Robert Lichtone sustained disputes, and approvin. This day fyfteine dayes appointed the last dyet for his farther tryall.

November 25.—Mr. Robert Lichtone tryed in the languages, chronologie, and difficult places of Scripture. Approvin.

Ordains ane edict to be served for Mr. Robert Leightone at the kirk of Neubotle on Sondag nixt.

December 2.—Reported Mr. Robert Lichtone that his edict was served, and returned it indorsed. Compered the parochiners of Neubotle, and accepted.

Ordains the last edict to be served on Sondag next.

The next Thursday appointed for his admisionne.

Mr. Hew Campbell appointed to preach in Neubotle on Sondag next, and the moderator (Mr. Jhone Knox) at Mr. Robert's admisionne. Ordains the clerk to write to Edinburgh and Hadintone for their concurrence to the said actionne.

December 16.—At Neubotle.

Quhilk day (being appointed for the admission of Mr. Robert Lichtone) preached Mr. Jhone Knox, Heb. xiii. 17. Commissioners from Edinburgh, Mr. Robert Dowglas, Mr. Archibald Neutone: from Hadentone, Mr. Robert Ker, Mr. Wil. Trent.

Quhilk day, after sermon, Mr. Johne Knox posed the said Mr. Robert Lichtone and the parochiners of Newbotle with sundry questions competent to the occasion. Mr. Robert, with imposition of hands and solemn prayers, was admitted Minister at Newbotle.

December 30.—Quhilk day, the brethren subscriyvit Mr. Robert Lichtone's collatione and took his oath of alledgiance, and that he hath made no privat pactione to the prejudice of the Kirk.

1642.

(Leighton often absent this year.)

June 30.—Lichton was one of the Commissioners to the General Assembly. In his turn, he made the usual exercise and addition before the Presbytery, on July 7 and 14, on Rom. vi. 1, 4.

October 6.—He and two other members ordained to speak to the Earl of Louthian about one James Ramsay, guilty of murther.

The quhilk day, Mr. Robert Lighton gave advertisement to the brethren that the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly was to meet the 18th of October.

1643.

February 2.—Exercised Mr. Robert Lichtoun, Rom. viii. 12, and approvin.

February 9.—Becaus Mr. Rot. Lichton was sick, appoynts Mr. William Thomson to adde.

February 29.—Mr. Robert Lichtone (being present) ordained to

give James Ramsay the first admonition out of pulpit, according to the Book of Discipline.

March 9.—Long minute about James Ramsay of Southsyde, charged with the murther of William Otterburne. Reported Mr. Robert Lighton that he had given the first admonition out of pulpit.

March 16 and *June* 1.—Mr. Robert Lighton absent.

July 20.—(He being present) Annabell Hall in Carrington confessed that she had maid a covenant with the Divell, and had received his mark and his name, and ratified whatsoever she had confessed to her own minister, in presence of the brethren : whose confession the brethren subscryved, that it might be presented to the Counsell.

July 27.—Helen Ingliss in Carrington does the same.

September 7 and 14.—Exercised Mr. Robert Lighton, Rom. ix. 19-23. Approvin.

1644.

February 8, 29, March 7 and 28.—Mr. Robert Lighton one of those absent.

On the 7th of March he had been ordered to supply Lasswade.

April 4.—Patrick Eleaz (Elice) of Plewlands gave in a bill to the brethren, wherein he desired them earnestlie to put him in possession of that seat in Newbotle Church quhilk belonged to the landes of Easter Southsyde, the quhilk lands he had now purchased. But because Mr. Robert Lighton, the minister of the parish, was not present, the brethren would doe nothing in this businesse till Mr. Robert was present.

April 11.—Patrick Eleaz and Alexander Lawsone wer desyred to be heir this day eight days to heare it decerned who had best right to the seate in Newbotle Church now in question.

April 18.—Reported Mr. Oliver Colt, that the Commissioners of the General Assembly ordained that we should goe on in the processe against James Ramsay, manslayer, and cause summons him at the Corse of Edenbrugh and peire of Leith, to compeir before us and answer his murther within threescore dayes.

April 25.—The case of Patrik Eleis and Alexander Lawson resumed, and it was thought the best way to compose the businesse was by a Visitation of that parish.

Visitation of the Kirk of Newbotle.

May 23.—Quhilk day preached Mr. Robert Cowper, Math. iv. 19.

Reported Mr. Robert Lightone that he had intimat this present Visitation.

The Minister being removed, and the heritors and elders being posed concerning his lyfe and doctrine, all with one voice approved him in bothe. He exhorted to continue.

The heritors and elders being removed, were approvyn be the minister. The Reader being removed, was approvyn be the minister and elders.

The question anent the seat in the kirk, betwixt Southsyde and Alexander Lawsons continued, at the Earle of Lauthian's desyre, and that with the consent of the parties.

June 6 and 13.—Exercised Mr. Robert Lichton. Rom. xi. 26-32.

July 18.—Reported Mr. Robert Lightone that he had preached in Pennicooke.

August 1.—Compeired James Gibsone, of the parishe of Neubottle, supplicating theyr helpe in respect of the burning of his house. Refers him to the several kirks.

August 22.—Mr. Robert Lightone appointed to preach in Edinburgh at the Synode.

September 5.—Reported the Commissioners that the Committee of the General Assemblie advysed them to continue all further processing of James Ramsay till it be instructed that he is living. Mr. Robert Lightone appointed to acquaint the partie perseuar to use diligence herein.

September 12.—No exercise this day because of Mr. Robert Lighton's sickness, who should have had the common heid.

September 26.—Mr. Robert Leighton had the common heid, De Christi Descensu.

December 19.—No addition becaus of Mr. Robert Lighton's sickness. Mr. Robert Carson ordered to mak, and Mr. Robert Leighton to adde, if health permit.

1645.

January 2 and 16.—Exercised Mr. Robert Lighton. Rom. xiii. 5-9.

January 16.—Quhilk day, was presented ane Catalogue of books, given by William, Erle of Lauthian, to be ane begining of a librarie to belong in all tyme comeing to the paroche kirk of Newbottle for the use of the Minister: which the Brethren thank-

fullie accepts for a good work and good example to uthers, and heartilie thanks his Lordship.

July 17.—Mr. Robert Lightoun appointed to adde.

October 2 and 9.—Exercised Mr. Robert Lichtoun. Rom. xv. 12-14. Approvin.

1646.

February 19.—Exercised Mr. Robert Lichton. Rom. xvi. 20-21. Approvin.

February 26.—Exercised Mr. Robert Lichton. Rom. xvi. 23, 24, 25. Approvin.

May 29.—Mr. Robert Cowper, minister of Temple, being accused of excessive drinking : the brethren and ruling elders were severally desyret to informe themselves the best way they cane quhairin Mr. Robert has miscariet himself in his calling and conversation. "Mr. Robert Lichtoun declared that ther was an surmise of his scandalous drinking in the Stobhill upon an certaine day. The brether desyret Mr. Robert Lichton to try the verity thereof, and report the next day."

June 18.—Mr. Robert Lichton appoynted to go ther (to Ormiston) the next day.

June 24.—Reported Mr. Robert Lichton he had preached at Ormiston. As for Mr. Robert Lichton, to whom was recommendit the tryell of (Mr. Robert Cowper) his drinking in Stobhill, reported, that he was informat that on an certaine day he was drinking in ane Simeon Wilson's in the Stobhill.

July 2.—Mr. Robert Cowper objects to Sir James Douglas sitting as a judge. The most of the brethren thought he should not sit. "Wherewith he not being well pleaset, the brether sent forth Mr. Oliver Colt and Mr. Robert Lichton to deill with him, and requeist that he would not sit as ane judge in that business : quhilk when he refuset, they desyret (he being callet in) that he would giv his oath that in his cariaig in this particular he was free of malice and splen, and had nothing before his eye but the glory of God."

July 16.—The said day Mr. Robert Lichton informat the bretherin that ther wes an who informat him that ther wes an William Hoge and his wife in Laswad, who would witness against Mr. Robert Cowper that he was drunk, if they should be callit thereto.

[These extracts refer to a long trial of Mr. Robert Cowper, who is accused by Sir James Dundas of Arnoldston (Arniston) of excessive drinking. The depositions of the various witnesses are recorded, and Cowper is finally acquitted; but having, on his acquittal, broken out into a violent invective against Sir James Dundas, he is suspended.]

August 20 and 27.—Exercised Mr. Ro. Lichton. 1 Cor. iii. 1-4.

October 1.—In a dispute about the settlement of Borthwick, and the presentation in favour of Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, between the heritors and presbytery, each party, “after long debate and conference, nominate three candidates, viz., Mr. Robert Lichton, Mr. John Stirling, Mr. Alexander Wedderburne, for the heritors of Borthwick; Mr. Alexander Verner, Mr. David Lidle (Liddell), Mr. William Clyd, were nominate by the presbytery.” On the 15th Wedderburn declined.

October 15.—Mr. Robert Cowper “most humbly did supplicate the brethren of the presbitery that he should be relaxit at this time from his suspension.”—It was the mynd of the whole presbitery and commissioners (from Edinburgh and Haddington, who had been summoned to advise and assent) except Mr. Robert Lichton and the Laird of Arnolston, he be presently relaxet upon the humble acknowledgment of his offence (against) God and his brethren, and purging himself of all malice against the Lard of Arnolston. Quherupon Mr. Robert Lichton and Arnoldston desyret their voyces should be market as disassenters, in respect they thought it should be referret to the judgment of the Synode.

1647.

Ormisters, January 14.—The said day ther was an act of the commission product be the clerk, ordaining Mr. James Robertson and Mr. Robert Lichtoun to preach to the Parliament the 24 of Januar, and Mr. Oliver Colt and Patrick Sibbald to preach the last of the said month: quhilk they promisset to obey.

February 25.—Exercised Mr. Robert Carson, 1 Cor. vi. 12, 13, and wes approvin. There wes no addition, *because Mr. Robert Lichton was sent for by his Father, who was lying sick at Londoun.*

April 22.—The said day Mr. James Fairly, moderator, delaitit one named Stephen Askine, who wes a known malignant, and wes in actuall service with James Graham, and had purchaset an

testimoniall from the schollmaster of Neubotle declaring that he wes an honest man, and that ther wes no blamish Malignant. found in his conversation except that he had been with James Graham, for which he had satisfiet the kirk session of Newbotle, and was absolvet this last Sabboth be Mr. John Sinclair, who preacht ther for Mr. Robert Lichton.

May 13.—Forasmuch as Mr. James Aird was not lawfully summoned for giving a testimonial to Steven Askine, who was received for his complying with the rebels in the Church of Newbatle, contrary to the Acts of the Generall Assembly, he was ordained to be summoned again the next day, with certification.

May 20.—Mr. Robert Lightoune present.

The which day, being called, compeared Mr. James Aird, and declared that the Session of Newbotle, to which he was clerk, gave orders to him for the giving up the name of Steven Askine to Mr. John Sinclair, who did occasionally preach there by the absence of Mr. Robert Lightoune, for receiving his satisfaction for his compliance with the rebels: and whereas he was received, not being first at the presbytery, conform to the Act of the Generall Assembly, it was onely done by him out of ignorance. Wherefore he was admonished to be more circumspect afterward, and because the Session was concerned in that businesse, they ordained the elders thereof should be present the next day to declare themselves.

May 27.—(Steven Askine, who was a parishioner of Lasswade, compears in sackcloth.)

June 3.—The which day it was declared by Mr. Robert Lightoune, in name of the elders of the Session of Newbotle, that whereas they ordained Steven Askine to satisfy for his compliance with the rebels, contrary to the Acts of the Generall Assembly, they did it out of ignorance of the said Actis.

September 16.—The which day Mr. Robert Lightoune made a reference to the presbytery of a processe of adultery, from the session of Newbattle, of John Howy and Katherine Alam, which they denied. (Long process and examination of witnesses and confronting of parties.)

[From May 20, 1647, when the sederunts began to be entered in full, till March 23, 1648 (between which date and March 30 Leighton went to England), there were 41 meetings of presbytery, several of them being merely visitations in distant parishes), at 29

of which I find Leighton was present. There were few more regular attenders.]

1648.

January 20.—Mr. Robert Leightone, having given in Theses de Oratione atque Invocatione Sanctorum, was appointed to handle that commonplace the next Thursday.

January 27.—The which day Mr. Robert Leighton handled the commonplace De Oratione atque Invocatione Sanctorum, and was approved.

March 16.—This day came from the Commission of the General Assembly, 16 Declarations and ane Act, for the reading of them by every brother the next Sabbath.

(This Declaration evidently was connected with the “unlawfull Engagement.”)

March 30.—Mr. Robert Leightoun, who should have added, being absent in England for some necessary businesse, Mr. Robert Alisonne appointed to adde the next day.

April 6.—This day, the brethren (being interrogated by the Moderator, as also the two days before) declared that they had all read the Declaration themselves the first Sabbath after they got it. Onely Robert Porteous, the elder of Newbotle, declared that Mr. *Robert Leightoun had made the Precentor read it, and that because of the lownesse of his owne voice, which could not be heard throw the whole kirk.* The clerk was ordained to report this in writt to the Commission of the General Assembly.

April 27.—Absents from the Synod, tried.—Mr. Robert Leightoun, because in England, could not give his excuse.

At Edinburgh, in the New Church, May 3.—The quhilk day, the brethren and ruling elders being removed quhill ther presbyteris book wes a trying, did mak choise of Mr. James Robertsons and Mr. Robert Lichtoun to preach to the Parliament Sunday come a moneth; and in case Mr. Robert Lichton his not home-coming, Mr. Patrick Sibbald to supplie his place.

Leighton's June 15.—The quhilk day, according to the ordinance
Answers. of the Provinciall Assembly, the Moderator did demand Mr. Robert Lichton—1. Why he did not read the Declaration himself. 2. Why he went away to England without obtaining libertie from the Presbyterie, seeing there wes Acts of the Generall Assembly expresly prohibiting ministers to be absent from their charge thrie

Sabboths togidder, under the paine of deposition, unlese they have obtainet libertie from ther Presbyterie.

To the first he answered, That that Sabbath quhen the Declaration wes to be red, he wes so troubled with ane great defluction that he was (not) able to extend his voyce, and therefor was necessitat to do that farr, by his intention, bot it shall be helpet in tyme coming. To the 2d he answeret—1. That quhen he went away he intendit onlie to have bene absent two or three Sabboths at the most, and he humbly conceavet ther had bene no expresse Act why an minister might not have been absent for that short space. Bot if ther be any such Act, he wes sorrie that he should have downe any thing that might appeir contrarie to it.

2. *Hoc posito* he had remained longer away than these few Sabboths togedder, he affirmed, that he did acquaint som of the brether with it, and desyret them to excuse him.

3. Quhen he came to York he found an busines of an neir friends, but non of his own, that necessitat him to go further and stay longer than he intendit.

4. He no sooner came to York bot als sone he wrote an letter of excuse to the Brether, notwithstanding it did not come to ther hands befor his coming home.

5. Quhen he came home he was surpryset with seikness, and was not able to come to the presbyterie for the space of 14 days.

He being removit, and his excuses being consideret and they charitablie constructed, did appoynt him to be gravlie admonishit to amend: which was accordinglie done be the Moderator, after his in-calling, and receavit by him humblie, and promisit be the grace of God to amend.

June 22.—The quhilk day, list being made for choising the commissioners to the Generall Assemblie, Mr. John Knox, Mr. John Sinclair, and Mr. Robert Lichton wes choisen, and my Lord Borthwick rulling elder: which being intimiat be the Moderatour to them, they did all accept of the commission and gave ther oath of fidelitie, except Mr. Robert Lichton, who gave these Reasons why he could not accept of the commission:

1. Because he had an great charge.
2. He had his people to examine.
3. He was bot shortlie come home from England.
4. It was not long since he was commissioner to the General Assemblie.

5. The great attendance of the commission; and therefor he could wish they would not insert his name in the commission.

The forsaid reasons, after his removall, being consideret be the Brethren, and withall laying to heart the bad consequence that might follow upon his refussall or not accepting of the commission, being orderlie choisen, uthers might do the lyk, and so ther should be no Generall Assemblie if the allegit reasones of every commissioner should be accepted as relevant: And therefor they did adhere unto ther former voyces in choising of him commissioner, and desyret him to think upon it till the day 14 days, and then to be present and accepe upon oath as the rest.

July 6.—The quhilk day, the bretheren and ruling elders that were present finding that Mr. Robert Lichon was not ther to accepe the commission to the Generall Assembly ordainet his name to be expungit be the clerk out of the commission.

August 5.—(Mr. Robert Lichon present—arrangement made for copying and reading the Declaration against the Engagement and two Acts of the Assembly.)

August last.—The quhilk day, Mr. Robert Lichon was poset, why he did not come to the presbyterie that Thursday immediately preceding the sitting downe of the Generall (Assembly) and embracit his commission to the said Assemblie, conforme to the appoyntment of the Presbyterie. Ans. He was so troubled with an distillation that he was not able to come for the space of two or three days.

Also being poset, why he did not embrace the commission? Ans. He was conscious of his own weaknes for the managing of that busines, and could have wisht that they would construe it so. 2. He declared that he was very infirme, and feared that he should not have been able to have waited upon the sitting of the Generall Assembly. And withall he assured them, that if he had suspected that they would not have choisen another in his place, notwithstanding of all his weakness of bodie, yea, although it had tendit to the great prejudice of his health, he would have embraced it, for he resolvit never to be refractarye to any thing which they commandit him, and he lookit they would think so of him.

The foresaids reasons being ponderet be the Bretheren and found somewhat weak, they thought him censurable, but quhat his censure should be, they continued the same to the nixt Thursday that the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie be present.

September 7.—The quhilk day, the bretheren and ruling elders

(after Mr. Robert Lichton his removall) having divers tymes hard his reasons red be the clerk, and charitably consideret them, why he did not accepe of the commission to the General Assemblie the first day quhen he wes choisen, neither cam the second day conforme to the presbyteries ordinance, having gotten tyme to think upon it : and finding that it wes not disaffection unto the cause of Christ, neither out of any disrispect unto the ordinance of his bretheren, but judging it modestie in ther brother and infirmitie in bodie that movet him to

Admonished. it, did ordane him gravly to be admonishit be the Moderator for his imprudent cariage, and to beware of the lyk in tyme coming : which was accordingly downe, and wes modestly taken by him, and withall promiset be the grace of God to amend.

September 28-November 2.—(Mr. Robert Whyt, expectant, charged with not being “weill myndit to the Covenant,” and suspected of not praying in the Lugton family [where he seems to have been tutor] against the Engagement. He admitted he did not pray against the Engagement, gave his reasons, and after long process was ultimately suspended).

November 2.—(A report on the state of the various Kirks of the Presbytery occurs here in the Register.) That of Newbattle is very brief, viz.—“The parish therof four miles in lenth, and in bredth Communicants. two : communicants about 900 : provydet with manse and glybe and stipend, payet be the Erle of Lowthean, patron, 4 chalder of victuals, 40 bolls therof oats, 8 bolls wheat, and sixteen bolls beir, with 400 merkes of moneys.”

(At the Synod held at Edinburgh, November 7, 1648, a commission, of which Mr. Robert Lightoun was a member, was appointed for “trying of any members of the Assemblie had bein active promoters of the last sinfull ingadgment, or had accession thairto, or had hand in carieing on the samen, or if any of the brethren had contrivit subscrivit or had hand anywayes in a supplication that was caried on befoir and at the tyme of the last Generall Assemblie, and is reported to have been contrarie to the public resolutions of the General Assemblie.”)

The Committee reported that “they had cleared their number,” but report that there “are fyve ruling Elders who have had accession to the ingagement.”

(The strict examination of the Presbytery books by the Synod precluded the possibility of any minister being habitually absent.)

December 21.—(Mr. Robert Leightone present.) This day, the brethren being particularly enquired by the Moderator, If they had observed the fast, and renewed the Covenant according to the directions given by the Commission of the Generall Assemblie, answered ALL, that they had so done: which Mr. Jhone Knox was ordained to report to the Commission.

December 28.—Exercised Mr. Patrick Sibbald and Mr. Robert Leightone, upon the 15th of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians from the 6th verse unto the 9th.

1649.

January 12.—Exercised Mr. Robert Leightone and Mr. Jhone Knox, expectant, upon the 15th ch. of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians from the 9th verse unto the 12th, and were approven.

April 12.—This day, the Presbytery having diligently revised and examined Mr. John Pringle, his whole processe could find none of these declarations that were given in against him clearly and directly proven, etc. (he was "an expectant" or probationer, and was charged with thinking the Engagement lawfull) . . . Mr. Robert Leightone and Mr. Jhone Sinclare did declare that, to their best sense and judgment, he had testified to them and evidenced true signs of sorrow and repentance for his errors and miscarriages in relation to the late Engagement: the Presbytery suspended him from preaching till he should give further signs and evidences of repentance.

"Leighton," says the Rev. Dr. Gordon, "during the time of his incumbency at Newbattle, was a frequent visitor to England. After 1646 he seems to have gone there every year, sometimes on account of his father's health, and sometimes on account of "weightie businesse." It was then, as it is now, the law of the Church of Scotland, that a minister cannot be absent more than a few weeks in the year from his parish without leave asked and obtained from the Presbytery of the bounds. Year after year Leighton appears asking for leave to go to England, usually to see his father. This is regularly given: and great kindness and consideration seem always to have been shown to him. His absence usually extended to three months."

. . . After quoting the words of the Minute, June 14, 1649, Dr. Gordon continues, "Permission was given, and Leighton seems to have remained away till September. It is probable that his father's death occurred at this time, as on his next visit to London in March 1650, he obtained libertie to

Father's
Death.

go on 'weightie busnesse.' This 'weightie busnesse,' doubtless, was the failure of the merchant in whose hands was placed the £1,000. £1,000 which Leighton had inherited from his father, and about which he wrote to Mr. Lightmaker on December 31, 1649, and February 4, 1650.¹ In connexion with this see p. 242 for an extract from the Parochial Records, from which it would seem that Leighton had been put to inconvenience by the loss of the money."

1649, May 31.—(Mr. Robert Lighton present.)

The Moderator having inquyred of everie brother severally, if they had red the Declaration, and observed the day of public thanksgiving, found that everie one had discharged themselves cheerfullie.

June 14.—The which day, Mr. Robert Lighton declared that his father, being under seakness, had written for him, and thairfor desyred libertie to goe and visite him.

The Brethren judget his desyr reasonable, graunted the same desyryng him to returne with all possible diligence to his charge, and to provide some to supplie his plaice induring his absence, quhilk he promised to be cairfull off.

June 21.—Erle of Louthian chosen rewling elder to the Assemblie.

July 12.—At Glencorss Visitation, the people said they were abundantlie satisfied of their minister (Mr. Robert Allison) in his life, and much edified by his doctrine, and that he had Cf. Leighton's "Preaching preached according to the exigence of the times, and Eternity." particularlie against malignants and sectaries.

September 6.—(Mr. Robert Lighton present, first time since June.)

This day the Presbyterie appoynted everie brother to give in the names of all quho in their parishes had bene upon the lait unlawful Ingagement, and had not as yet nather satisfied nor supplicate.

September 20.—Mr. Robert Leighton excused for his absence last day (Sept. 13).

November 8.—The Provenciall Assemblie of Lowthian and Tweeddale "requeists my Lord Lowthian to speak to the Committee of Estaits, that ther Lordships may give ordour to their clerks to issue out commissiounes for tryall and burning of witches, gratis."

November 29-December 6.—The which day, exercised Mr. Robert Leighton, 2 Cor. i. 6-11, and was approven.

¹ See pp. 212, 213.

1650.

January 24.—The which day Marjorie Paterson, of the parioch of Newbotle (and others), confessing witches, had their depositions attested by the Moderatour.

Every minister ordained to see that his kirk was provided according to the Act of Parliament. Mr. Hugh Campbell to speak to my Lord of Lothian for the settling of the stipend of Newbottle.

February 7.—The which day, reported Mr. James Robertsoune that my Lord Lothian had provided the Kirk of Newbottle with a stipend, according to the Act of Parliament, to wit, 4 chalders victuall, of wheat, bear, and oats, foure hundreth pounds of money, with 40 pounds for the elements, with 4 sowmes grass, when the minister shall demand it, with manse and gleib.

March 14.—The which day, Mr. Robert Leightoun did show the Presbyterie that a weightie businesse did call for him to England, and obtained libertie from the Presbyterie to goe, upon condition he should take a course for the providing of his kirk till his return, which he told the Presbyterie he had already done.

May 21.—Mr. Robert Leightoun's name reappears at this date.

May 30.—This day, Mr. Robert Carsan complainid of Robert Walter his precentour, for malignant speeches that he should have vented in my Lord Lothian's family. Mr. Robert therefore, and Mr. John Sinclair, were ordained to try my Lady Lothian anent his speeches.

June 20.—This day, Mr. John Sinclair reported that Mr. Robert Carsan and he could learn nothing of the malignancy of Robert Walter, the precentour in Newtoun, at Newbottle.

Robert Kerr. June 27.—This day, Robert Ker, having been 12 years in Germany, and having come to the country within thirteen dayes, and having his father dwelling in Newbotle, was ordained to be received to the covenant by Mr. Robert Leightoun, after triall.

(One Andrew Alexander signs a declaration expressing
 “Set
 Prayers.” his sorrow for having condemned set prayers, and the use of the Lord's Prayer, and admits that it may be lawfully used, both in public and private, and he “heartilie detests and abhorres the errour of those who condemne the use thereof as sinfull.”)

(“Moreover, forasmuch as the said Andrew declared he was scarcely satisfied that sett prayers were lawfull, and desired he were

cleared from Scripture, Mr. Robert Leightoun and Mr. John Sinclair were ordained to conferre with him.”)

(Ther was no meiting of the Brethren from 25 Julii, 1650, untill the 15 day of Junij, 1651, into which there was anything judicially done. The Brethren resolved to meet at Cockpen, and choose commissioners to the Generall Assembly.)

1651.

June 22.—The meeting was held at Cockpen.

Nine members were present, including Mr. Robert Lichton.

(One or two leaves wanting here, till October 30, 1651.)

1651. November 4.—Adjourned to January 6, and then to March 1652.

Proceedings of the Synod.

No Presbytery Books except Linlithgow, because, through the calamities of the times, the meetings of Presbyteries had been very unfrequent. Long proceedings about differences in the Presbytery of Linlithgow. A committee, of which Robert Leighton was a member, appointed to consider what should be done by the Synod.

Prisoners. A committee appointed to consider “what is expedient to be done in relation to our Brethren prisoners in the Tower of London, and about that city.”

A committee, of which Robert Leightoun was a member, appointed to present this Act to the brethren differing in judgment from its Provinciaall Assembly.

(Committee on Mr. Edward Wright’s processe appointed : Robert Leighton one of the members.)

Overtures. Overtures anent the Brethren Prisoners in England.—

The Committee appointed in relation to our brethren, prisoners in England, proposed—(1) That a generall letter should be written to them showing sympathie and fellow-feeling. (2) That a fitt man of the Synod be pitched upon, to be sent to London with commission to negotiat their liberatione and freedome, by all possible and lawfull meanes, quho may take advice of the minister of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, the Lord Warristoune, and Mr. John Livingstone, anent his carriage in that business, quho shall have 50 peeces (50 peeces = 600 merks) allowed toward his charges, to be paid by the Presbyteries of the Synod proportionally. (3) That some be directed from the Synod to acquaint the Magistrats of Edinburgh ;

and the persons in nearest relation to the prisoners, with this resolution.

(Mr. Robert Ker and the clerk to draw out the letters
Leighton's and commission, and a committee, of which Mr. Robert
Appointment. Leightoun was one, to acquaint the Magistrats and
nearest relations with the Synod's purpose.) Proportions payable
by the Presbyteries fixed.

*Mr. Robert Leightoun is unanimously chosen and earnestly desired
by the Synod to undertake the charge of repairing to London for
negotiating the enlargement and fredome of our imprisoned
brothren in England: quhilk he accepted. The commission
being presented and read, was approved: the tenor quhairoff
followeth.*

The Provinciall Assembly taking to consideration the sadd condition of their brethren now prisoners in England, and the dutie incumbent to this Assembly in relation to them, found themselves obliged as to hold them up in prayer to God in privat and publick, so to use all lawfull meanes for their enlargement and libertie: and having found it expedient for that end that on should be sent up to London, doe unanimouslie appoynt their reverend brother, Mr. Robert Leightoun, minister at Newbottle: hereby giving him power and commission to repair to London for negotiating the freedome and enlargement of their said brethren: and doe appoint the Presbyterie of Dalkeith to take course for supplie of his place, that the people of his charge sustaine no prejudice during the time of his absence: lykewise the drawght of the letter to the brethren imprisoned, being presented and read, was approven, the tenor quhairof followeth:—

(4th November, 1651.)

REVEREND AND DEARE BRETHREN—

Neither our condition nor yours will permitt us at this time fullie to expresse the thoughts of our hearts toward yow in your suffering, yett we thought it our dutie to give yow some testimony of our remembrance of yow: and therefore, being by the Lord's good providence mett here in our Provinciall Assemblie, the brotherlie affection we carry to yow, and the Christian sympathie we have with yow, hath put us to a resolution of assaying all possible and lawfull meanes of your enlargement: for this effect we have desired our reverend brother, Mr. Robert Leightoun, to repair to London, giving power to negotiate in that matter, as God sall be pleased to blesse

any meanes for that end,—there shall be no earthly thing more acceptable to us : for obtaining hereof we have appoynted prayers to be made throughout the churches of our bounds : in the meanwhile assure yourselves our souls' desire to God shall be for yow, that His consolation may abound in yow, and his strength support yow : to His rich grace we commend yow, and are in him,

Your loving Brethren and most affectionat

The Ministers and Elders of the Provinciaall Assembly
of Lothian, &c., in their name.

(A Fast appointed.)

1652, March 3.—Mr. Robert Leightoun appointed by the Synod one of a committee “To consider of the marriage and fornication of our women with the English souldiers, and the baptisme of children gotten twixt them in fornication : and whether ministers are to accompt the personnes so married of the number of their congregation ; also how to cary in case of their seeking proclamation, and to present their thots anent these things to the Synod,” &c., &c.

March 4.—Report : Mr. Hew M'Kaile—Mr. Robert
Hugh
McKaile. Traill and he having moved the English Commissioner for freedome or maintenance to our brethren prisoners in England, speciallie those who are in the Tower, that they found no hopes at all of the former, and but little for the latter. The Synod nominats and appoints Messrs. William Dalglish, George Leslie, Oliver Colt, Robert Ker, to concurre with the brethren of Edinburgh in dealing with Mr. Leighton, to the intent of the commission given him for repairing to London, to negotiat for the brethren in prisone there.

Dalkeith, November 14.—In supplying Borthwick during the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. James Porteous, it was ordained, that (after six members who are named) it should be done by those who should have suppliet Mr. Robert Lichton's place during his abod at England, if he went not away before that tyme.

(Few meetings of the Presbytery were held about this time.)

1652.

January 22.—No exercise, because of the English commissioners at Dalkeith, and the great confluence of soldiery, both of horse and foot.

The said day the brethren appoynted the next day
 Insolence of of meeting to be at Cokpen this day twenty days,
 Soldiers. fearing the insolencie of the souldiers at Dalkeith.
 At Cokpen: There was nothing judicially downe, because there
 wes bot few brether came ther, and therefore it was resolvet that
 the place of meeting should be at Dalkeith againe. In respect
 they were credibly informed that they might als safely meet at
 Dalkeith as at Cokpen.

April 1.—An act of the Sessione of Borthwik laid on the table,
 showing that the heritors and elders had unanimouslie chosen
 Mr. John Weir as their minister. The brethren having pondered
 the premiss, approved of the same, and "appointed Messrs. James
 Fairlie, Robert Lichton, to concurre with the heretors of Borthwick
 for his transportation from Leith to Borthwick, and for that effect
 to appear before the Presbyterie of Edinburgh.

April 15.—The quhilk day, reported Mr. James Fairlie and Mr.
 Robert Lichton, that they had been at the Presbyterie of Edinburgh,
 for the lousing of Mr. John Weir from his charge he had at Leith,
 and that they had loused him from his charg ther without relation
 unto any place.

Weir having accepted this call to Borthwick: the call, among
 other things, says, "*and that it will be your studie not to break,
 bot entertaine and preserve the union and harmonie of this Presbyterie,
 quhairin they are so singularly happie in this distracted tyme.*"

At Inneresk Kirk, April 29.—The quhilk day, ther
 Leighton asks Supply. came an letter from Mr. Robert Lichton, desyring
 the brethren to have an cair of suppling his place
 during his abod in England, in respect he wes going to sie if
 he can obtaine any sort of libertie to these ministers who wer
 keepest in the Tower and uther places.

The brethren condescendit to his desyr, and ordainit Mr. James
 Robertsonsone to preach at Newbotle upon Sunday com 8 days,
 and after him the wholl brether to preach ther *per vices* according
 to their standing, expressed in the Presbyterial Roll.

July 15.—Also it was informed by some of the
 Excommuni- brether, that Mr. James Robertsonsone, at the marriag
 cated Person of the Erle of Lowthian's daughter, had both in
 Present. the kirk prayet, and at the table in Newbotle Castell
 craved an blessing before supper, and given thanks also, Swinton
 being present, who is excommunicat: and therefor Mr. James

being posit if it wer so, as wes alledget, An : that if Swinton wes in the kirk it wes more than he knew of, for he did not sie him ther. As for his being at the table, it wes an long tyme before he did perceave him, he being at an larg distance from him, and many betwixt them, as also it being in the evening. Bot quhen he perceaved him ther, he wes much weighted then, as also now, for his imprudent and inconsiderat carriag. As for his giving of thanks, it wes after Swinton's rysing from the table, uthers having downe the lyk befor, and taking the opportunitie at his absence, did give thanks.

The brethren having ponderat the premisses, and finding that he had not careit himself as it became an man of his place and age, ordainet him to be publicly rebuiket, and to be more circumspect in tyme to come: which, after his incalling, was accordingly down, and the same rebuik well acceptet of by the said Mr. James.

L. in
England. (Leighton appears to have remained in England from May till about the end of November 1652.)

L. demits
his Charge. December 16.—A letter from Mr. Robert Lichtone, presented be Mr. Hew Campbell, quhairin he demits his charge of his ministrie at Newbotle: Quhilk, the Presbyterie, refused to accept. Appoints the Moderator to writ to him, and to desyre him to returne to his charge.

December 30.—Ressavit from Mr. Robert Lichtone ane letter quhairin he divests his charge *de novo*, quhilk the Presbyterie refused to accept. Appoints the Moderator to writ to him.

1653.

January 13.—Appoints Mr. James Robertstone to preach in Newbotle, and to speik to the Earl of Lauthian about Mr. Lichtone and Mr. Robert Alisone the nixt day.

Reported the Moderator that he had written to Mr. Lichtone.

January 27.—Compared Mr. Robert Lichtone, and desyred to be loused from his charge.

Appointment
[to Leighton.] Compeared Androw Brysone, in name of the towne of Edinburgh, shewing that the Councell of Edinburgh had given Mr. Lichtone a call to be Principall of the Colledge : and his commissione being requyred, he undertook to produce it at the nixt meeting. Appoints

the nixt meeting to be this day eight dayes, and then to give ane answer to both: but no exercise that day. Appoints Mr. Robert Carsane to preach in Newbotle, to mak publick intimation to the parishioners, that if they had anything to say against the lowsing of their Minister, they might appear befor the Presbyterie the nixt day.

February 3.—Reported Mr Robert Carsane that he had preached at Newbotle, and made publick intimation, as was appointed the last day. The parochiners of Newbotle called, compeared not.

Ane letter presented be Andrew Brysone from the Councill of Edinburgh, desyring that Mr. Lichtone might be lowsed from his charge at Newbotle, and transported with all conveniencie to Edinburgh Colledge, to be Principall there: and ane Act of Councill lykewyse presenting the said Mr. Lichtone to the said place. Mr. Lichtone being posed, if he would embrace the foresaid charge, answered, that he was not yet fully resolved.

The quhilk day the brethren of the Presbyterie
 Leighton's
 Reasons. convened, according to the appointment of the
 day preceding, anent the desyre of our brother,
 Mr. Robert Lichtone, tobe lowsed from his ministrie at the
 kirk of Newbotle, *by reason of the gritnes of the congregatiōe
 farre exceeding his strength for discharging the dewties thereof,
 especially the extreme weakness of his voice, not being able to reache the
 halfe of them when they are convened, which hes long pressed him very
 sore, as he had formerly often expressed to us:* And to give ane
 answer to the Commissioner from the Councill of Edinburgh, anent
 his call from them to be Principall of Edinburgh Colledge, that he
 may be released from his ministrie ther to that effect. And having
 ordained the parish of Newbotle to be warnit by public intimation
 from pulpit to heir and see quhat they could object against the said
 desyre and call. The Brethren this day having called the said
 parish, and they not compearing, nor any in their name, and having
 hard our said Brother renew his desyre, as also having red the
 letter and commissione from the Councill of Edinburgh, directed to
 us by Androw Bryson, thesaurer to the said town, anent his foirsaid
 call, did, after mature deliberatione, *unanimouslie conclude, that the
 said Mr. Robert Lichton shall be lowsed,* and by thir presents, doe
 actually lowse him from his ministrie at the said Kirk of Newbotle,
 declaring the kirk thereof tobe vacant, and transports him to that
 charge. And ordains publick intimation tobe made heirop the next
 Lord's Day at the said kirk of Newbotle, by Mr. Patrick Sibbald,

minister at Pennicooke, and ordains ane extract heirof to be given to the said Androw Bryson, and to Robert Porteous, younger, in Newbattle.

Appoints Mr. Patrick Sibbald to preach in Newbotle, and to convene the Session, and to desyre them to pitch with all conveniencie upon ane honest and able man.

(Mr. Alexander Dickson, afterwards Professor of Hebrew in the University of Edinburgh, was admitted Leighton's successor at Newbattle on the 7th of October, 1653).¹

Dr. Gordon also made several extracts from the Session records of Newbattle during Leighton's incumbency, and from them the following are selected:—

August 14, 1643.—The minister and elders of the parochin of Newbattell, considering the manie evillis that follow upon the neglect of bringing up childring at school, and especially ane that is not only ane maine cause of thair grosse rudness and incivility, bot of thair ungodlines and ignorance of the principillis of religion, and makis them also almost unteachabell, have ordained that all parents within the said paroch be careful, so soon as thair childring com to capabil yearis, to send them to some schooll, that they may learne at the leist to read, and that, whosoever sall be found within this paroch to fall heirin, sall be obliged to pay as give they did send thair childring to schooll according to the number of thame, or be utherwayes cens(ured) as the session sall think fitting.

November 5, 1643.—The quhilk day, it was with universall consent, both of minister and elders, condescendit upon that thair sould be built befor the pulpet ane convenient seatt of timber for the reidar as is in other kirkis: and the elders to sit at the tabill or boord befor the pulpett.

November 12.—It was relatit that John Burrowman in Easthouses did carie his aill and small drink oft and divers tymes throw the parochiin upon the Sabbath day, and thairfoir is to compeir befor the session the next Sabbath that he may be discernit to satisfie for the same.

1644, February 11.—After dividing the parish into districts, and naming an elder for each, it is added—That everie ane be cairfull within thair owin boundis designit to visit frequently, as once in fyfteen days, and to inquyr about family exerceise in every house, and

¹ See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 463-479.

the conervation of the people. Especially to tak ordour with cursing, swearing, or scolding, and excessive drinking—give any such disordour be fund among them : and to be cairfull in visiting the seik, and sik avar in want to give notice of thame to the minister and session.

1647, November 21.—The whilk day Helen Smith was exhorted by the Minister, in presence of the Session, to have a care of herself and house, that she walked Christianlie. Because schoe was reported to have had ane unrulie and uncivill house, which could not be thoroughly provin.

From numerous entries in the Kirk-Session accounts, it seems that the rate of payment for scholars at school was ten shillings Scots per quarter, i.e. somewhat less than one penny sterling per week.

The Term of Martemes, 1650.

The quhilk day Robert Porteous did dischaigr himself off the money quhilk he was dew to the schurch off Newbottell, and his debursment is all allowet. He restet off fre money—the soume off ane thousand merks Scotis quhitch was delyverit to Mr. Lichtoune, minister thaire, for the quhitch he hes gevane his bond to pay interest ; and now at this terme off Witsounday 1651, the said Mr. Lichtoune hes deburset the half yeir's interest from Martemess 1650 to Witsounday 1651, at dispositione off the elders. And to testefie thir premisses, we the Elders underwretten hes subscriyvet with our hands.

THOMAS MEGOT, Witness.

ROBERT PORTEOUS, Yonger.

JOHNE TRENT, Witness.

JOHNE EDMONSTONE, Witness.¹

(Communicated by the Rev. Thomas Gordon, D.D., Minister of Newbattle, with some introductory remarks by David Laing, Esq., V.P.)

To complete the record of Leighton's Newbattle ministry, a reference may here be made to his "Newbattle Library." In a paper on "Archbishop Leighton's Newbattle Library," the present Minister of Newbattle, the Rev. J. C. Carrick, B.D., F.S.A. Scot., gives a list of the thirty-one volumes which are still preserved in the Manse, and are handed down from incumbent to incumbent. All the books were acquired by Leighton, whether by gift or purchase, and when he left for the Principalship of Edinburgh, he left these

¹ See *Proceedings* : vol. iv. 480-486.

volumes behind him at Newbattle. The following is the list as given by Mr. Carrick:—

- (1) *Clavis Theologica*.
- (2) *Doctrinale Bibliorum Harmonicum*, by George Vitus, Lutheran Abbot of Wurtemberg.
- (3) *Thesaurus Locorum Communium*, by Augustinus Marloratus.
- (4) The "Magdeburg Centuries."
- (5) "Joannis Baptistæ Folengii Mantuani, Divi Benedicti monachi, in Psalmos aliquot juxta Hebraeam veritatem commentarius."
- (6) Osiander's Summaries of Church History.
- (7) D. Hieronymi Osorii Lusitani, Episcopi Sylvensis, de Regis Institutionibus et Disciplina, Lib. viii. There are jottings by "R. L." on the fly-leaf.
- (8) Complete Catalogue of the Books in the Bodleian Library. 1620.
- (9) John Henry Alsted's "Philosophy."
- (10) Luke Trelcatius' "Theological Commonplaces."
- (11) Stephen Szegedinus' "Speculum Pontificum Romanorum."
- (12) Rollock's "Analysis Logica in Epistolam ad Hebraeos." "The most touching thing about it is that on the front page a text written in Latin in the same hand as all the rest is inscribed, and with the faded initials "R. L." after it: "God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of Jesus Christ."
- (13) St. Chrysostom's Works in Latin.
- (14) A Roman Catholic Exposition of Job (Latin) "not only to teach true doctrine but to heal controversies," by John Ferus, Bishop of Mentz.
- (15) *Illustrium et clarorum virorum epistolæ selectiores*.
- (16) Cornelius Crocus. Philology and Rhetoric.
- (17) Calvin's Commentary on Acts.
- (18) Claudian's Works with Latin Commentary.
- (19) Danalus' "De Prima Mundi Ætate."
- (20) *Papa Confutatus*.
- (21) Arnold Clapmarius' "Concerning the Mysteries of Government," and bound with it Casaubon's Works.
- (22) Theodore Beza's Works.
- (23) Raymund Lullius' Works.
- (24) Luther's Commentary on Galatians.
- (25) Volume of Loose Tracts and Papers.
- (26) Bilson's "Perpetuall Government of Christ's Church."
- (27) A French Catechism from French Reformed point of view.

(28) "A Familiar Commentary on the Romans" in French.

(29) Cartwright's "Replye to an answer by Mr. Dr. Whitgifte against the Admonition to the Parliament."

(30) A work on Astrology, Physiognomy, Cheiromancy and Kindred arts.¹

Mr. Carrick gives the following "traces" of Leighton in Newbattle :—

(1) His old Pulpit ; a small round oak Pulpit with a canopy, handsomely carved, and originally without a seat.

(2) The ancient Hour-Glass ; it is still entire, sand and everything, and stands about 8 inches high. The wooden frame is very rude.

(3) The ancient Funeral Bell.

(4) The Sacramental Vessels—four cups and baptismal basin.

(5) Parish and Presbytery Records. (*Ibid.* pp. 52, 53.)

A handsome brass memorial was erected recently in Newbattle Church to Leighton's memory. It gives the main events of his life, and closes with the texts, "Blessed are the peacemakers. For so He giveth His beloved sleep."

¹ *Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society* (pp. 54-61). Fourth year (1889).

CHAPTER IX

ROBERT LEIGHTON PRINCIPAL OF EDINBURGH COLLEGE
(1653-1662)

"Truth has its loveliness as the rose its beauty; and the love of the truth is the spirit's due response to that loveliness."—JOHN MCLEOD CAMPBELL.

"When I look back . . . and among the inevitable varieties of worth, notice the figures and features that survive in thought, the differences are full of pathetic lights and shades. The vain and empty are simply gone without a trace, their egoism melted into nothingness. The hard and opinionative are remembered, indeed, and with homage to their integrity, but remembered with a smile, as belonging to the past: or, if more, only on account of some redeeming enthusiasm and tenderness which hinted a suppressed fire within. But the forms that are still radiant, the eyes that have not lost their glow, and are still as if near to us in the distant air, are those of loving and trustful disciples, surrendered to faithful service, and spending in it with childlike simplicity the gifts of genius or the affluence of culture."—DR. JAMES MARTINEAU.

"When at its origin [University of Edinburgh] its feeble vitality could only be preserved and developed by intense religious zeal, Rollock was given: when the storms of religious passion swept over the land, the most competent directing mind which Scotland then possessed—that of Henderson—was placed at its service: when fanaticism and intolerance had converted the country into a well of Marah, in which all sweetness was in danger of being lost, and when safety was only to be had in pious quietness, the saintly Leighton was lent: when political sagacity was peculiarly required, it was conferred in the person of Carstairs; and when the transition from an ecclesiastical to a literary epoch needed to be wisely effected, no one more suited to direct the movement could have been found than Robertson."—*Tercentenary Sermon of Edinburgh University*, by PROFESSOR FLINT, D.D.

IN a previous chapter reference has been made to that spiritual climate or atmosphere of the soul, where all good men meet, and where distinctions vanish away in the

light of an ineffable glory. And there have been spirits of a rare mould and refined texture, whose catholicity has attracted minds of different persuasions : whose sincere piety has in its unaffectedness won the admiration of all ; whose largeness has dissolved the differences that become bound up with the religious life of the many ; in whose presence, transparent goodness, gentleness and love are so manifested, that the affection of all good men goes out to them.

Of this type, Robert Leighton was a beautiful example : he received his first parish from the Presbyterian Earl of Lothian, served under the government of a Presbytery, and was esteemed by all his Presbyterian friends at Newbattle. He was appointed to the Principalship of Edinburgh College by the Independents ;¹ and was at last made a Bishop by Charles II, who felt that dignity was added to his policy by the acquisition of such a man. The best of the Presbyterians, Independents, and Episcopalians loved Leighton, and were attracted by his sweetness and humility, while his own self-abnegation and piety enabled him to work with any who were disposed to work peaceably with him.

He had probably been brought into close contact with Cromwell when in London, and it is certainly to Cromwell's credit that he advanced Leighton to the Principalship. Cromwell sought men for places, and not places for men : "If there was a man in England," says Neal, "who excelled in any faculty or science, the Protector would find him out and reward him according to his merits." Ever above his Presbyterian contemporaries in true toleration, Cromwell once wrote to a zealous major-general who had suspended and arrested a colonel for his opinions : "Sir, the State, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions.—Take heed of being sharp, or too easily sharpened by others against those to whom you can object little but that they square not with you in every opinion concerning matters of

¹ *Lamont's Diary*, p. 53.

religion." It is certainly to Cromwell's glory that he appointed John Milton as Foreign Secretary throughout the Commonwealth and Protectorate; it is also to his glory that he nominated, or helped to nominate, Robert Leighton for the Principalship at Edinburgh. To Cromwell, as to Milton and Leighton, forms, whether of worship or government, were but means to an end, and could be changed whenever expediency or necessity required.

It is noteworthy that Cromwell, whose sympathies were decidedly with the "Protesters," should have nominated one whose leanings were known to be with the "Resolutioners"; and certainly it was a beneficial lesson to distracted Scotland at this time.¹ The absence of agreement in details and of uniformity in externals, was not defect in Cromwell's eyes, but rather merit. "All that believe," he once wrote, "have the real unity, which is more glorious because inward and spiritual." Mr. Great-heart, under whose sheltering care all pilgrims to the Celestial City walked securely—Feeble-mind and Ready-to-Halt as well as Valiant-for-Truth—is Bunyan's allegorical representation of what Cromwell was to the Puritans. Toleration and comprehension was Cromwell's ideal.

Leighton entered on his duties as Principal in February 1653, and at a time when the government of Scotland, both ecclesiastically and civilly, was much altered. Let us briefly recall the conditions.²

¹ Besides the reference in *Lamont's Diary* (p. 53) there is the following account of the appointment in Baillie's *Letters and Journals*—"1654—As for our church affairs, thus they stand: the Parliament of England had given to the English Judges and Sequestrators a very ample commission to put out, and in ministers, as they saw cause, to plant and displant, our Universities. According to this power, they put Mr. John Row in Aberdeen, Mr. Robert Leighton in Edinburgh, Mr. Patrick Gillespie in Glasgow, and Mr. Samuel Colville they offered to the Old Colledge of St. Andrews: this last is yet holden off, but the other three acts as Principalls. All our Colledges are quicklie like to be undone."—Vol. iii. p. 244.

² Cf. *Oliver Cromwell*, by Frederick Harrison, p. 221; *Life of Monk*, by Corbett; Gardiner's *Cromwell's Place in History*, pp. 59-65; *Oliver Cromwell*, by Charles Firth, pp. 294-299; Masson's *Milton*, vol. iv.

Scotland was a conquered country after Worcester, but there had been no general confiscation of the conquered, and no far-reaching alteration on the framework of Scottish Society. The Scottish confiscations left the bulk of the people untouched, although they ruined many of the nobility and gentry. The National Religion was not proscribed, but the Church lost a portion of its independence and was deprived of its former power to check or control the civil government. The General Assembly—the “glory and strength of our Church upon earth”—was forcibly dissolved in 1653, but synods and presbyteries were allowed to meet as formerly. The formation of Independent congregations was protected, and Church-courts were deprived of coercive jurisdiction over non-members. The English Government appointed commissioners to visit the Universities, punish ministers who preached against it, and decide disputes about vacant parishes. While they interfered little in the internal affairs of the Church, they endeavoured to hold the balance between the Resolutioners and Protesters. “These bitter waters,” said Robert Blair, “were sweetened by the Lord’s remarkably blessing the labours of his faithful servants. A great door and effectual was opened to many.”

The separated National Parliament came to an end, and was replaced by representation to the Parliament of Great Britain. By the “instrument” of Government, Scotland was assigned thirty members in the British Parliament. Twenty were allotted to the shires—one to each of the larger shires, and one to each of the nine groups of less important shires. There were also eight groups of burghs, each group electing one member, and two members were returned by the City of Edinburgh. Between 1653 and 1655 Scotland was governed by Parliamentary Commissioners, and from 1655 by a special Council. The Court of Session was abolished and its place taken by a Commission of Justice.

The Protector hoped to reconcile Scotland to the Union by

the material benefits which it conferred. Freedom of trade was granted. Tenures, implying vassalage, servitude and heritable jurisdictions, were abolished. Popular court-barons were set up, legal fees diminished, and new judges were appointed, who administered justice without fear or favour. It was admitted that there was all round an improvement in the administration of justice, and the "English judges" were popular in Scotland, as they were above corrupt influences and just." ¹ Monk, who was Governor of Scotland from 1654, and had his residence at Dalkeith, attended to almost every detail himself, kept the military power in subordination to the civil, was known as "honest George," and adopted as a principle, "Assist the weak inhabitants and weaken the mighty." Trade began to revive, feuds and brigandage were put down, and never perhaps in Scotland had the weak been so strong.

Cromwell once rebuked the Scottish clergy for "meddling with worldly policies and mixtures of worldly power," for setting up that which they called the "Kingdom of Christ," and warned them that "the Zion promised" would not be built "with such untempered mortar." The censure was not unneeded, for the continuous strifes of the "Resolutioners" and "Protesters" make this the most painful part of our history to contemplate and the most difficult to unravel.

In Scotland all that the Protectionist Government aimed at was a Limited Presbytery with Toleration, whereas in England (1653-1660) a Broad Church was realized which recognized no special form of ecclesiastical organization. All that the Commission dealt with was the personal piety and intellectual fitness of the man presented to the living, and if in these respects he was found to be worthy, he was installed. The Parish Church was regarded as parish property, and in one parish in England might be found a Presbyterian,

¹ Omond's *Lord Advocates of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 159.

in another an Independent, and in a third a Baptist congregation. Cromwell had toleration for all but Roman Catholics. Such was the general condition of Church and State when Leighton was Principal, and we now proceed to the details of his special services. Burnet states that Leighton was a great blessing in his office, "for he talked so to all the youth of any capacity or distinction that it had a great effect on many of them."¹ He is said to have "revived" the practice of Rollock, which his predecessor had permitted to fall into abeyance, of Wednesday lectures to the students. Twenty-four of these lectures still survive,² and are full of beauty and learning. Burnet tells us that "if crowds broke in, which they were apt to do, he would have gone on in his sermon in Latin, with a purity and life that charmed all who understood it." The Latin is characterized by purity and elegance, and the message breathes the spirit of an evangelist. These lectures contain no exposition of a system of theology, but rather deal with the higher purposes of life. In the best sense they are exhortations and endeavours after the Christian life, and are pervaded by a spirit of the most celestial type. Their scholarship is wide, and reveals extensive reading and study of patristic and classic literature, bringing thence things new and old. They are not of time but of eternity, and form a storehouse of the richest spiritual utterances that Scotland possesses, and to them all can turn for impulse, inspiration and instruction at all times, but not least of all when the spiritual energies of life are flagging. If the comparative method be adopted towards them in relation to Scottish religious literature, both of this and subsequent periods, they stand out unique and lonely in their splendour. Leighton, although Primarius Professor of Divinity, was not expected to teach theology—that being the province of

¹ *History*, vol. i. p. 242.

² See *Praelectiones Theologicae*, edited by James Scholefield.

his colleague, David Dickson, professor of theology and the reputed author of "O mother dear, Jerusalem." As Principal, his purposes were mainly those of practical theology, and he frequently exhorts his students in an affectionate manner to be "candidates for eternity," and certainly his lectures reveal, like his letters, a mind that always lived on the borderland where the seen blends in mystic union with the unseen and God is felt to be near. Besides these prelections there exist eight addresses to students on the occasion of their laureation, with an address after the vacation, and a farewell address before leaving the University.

On Sundays the students, with their professors, marched to Church—the High Church of St. Giles—and the gallery in the east end of the Cathedral was allotted to them. This service was transferred after a time to Trinity College Church and then to Lady Yester's Church. It was Leighton's office to preach to the students at morning service, and besides this duty with the weekly Wednesday's lecture, an offer was made by him, on October 21, 1658, to the Council of Edinburgh to "preache in the Colledge Hall to the Schollaris once in two, three or four weeks *per vices* with the rest of the professors." ¹ The offer was accepted, and Leighton, along with the other theological professors, David Dickson,² and his son, Alexander Dickson (Leighton's successor at Newbattle and now professor of Hebrew), accepted the duty of conducting the service.

¹ See p. 297.

² Dickson does not seem to have sympathized with Leighton's admiration for Thomas à Kempis. "I am told that when Mr. Dickson was Professor at Edinburgh, and Mr. R. Leighton was Principall there, the Principall urged that the Professor might either teach, or at least recommend Thomas à Kempis to his students; and told him he reconed it one of the best books that ever was writt, next to the Inspired Writers. Mr. Dickson refused to do either, and among other reasons, from some Popish doctrines conteaned in it, he added, that neither Christ's satisfaction, nor the doctrine of grace, but self and merite ran throu it" Wodrow's *Analecta*, v. iii. 452.

In 1657 Leighton received a commission from the Town Council to proceed to London and endeavour to obtain from the Protector some increase to the College revenues. He was successful in his mission, for Cromwell granted in general terms ¹ £200 a year "out of Church lands" to Edinburgh College. In July 1658 Leighton moved the Town Council to endeavour to obtain a "locality" for this amount (i.e. to have it fixed as a charge on the tiend of some parish), but in September Cromwell died.

Two other matters were brought before the Council at the same meeting by Leighton. (1) There was a common report of some suspected houses in the College Wynd, in reference to which the Council undertook to remove all scandalous persons from the neighbourhood. (2) The principal evidently thought that the students did not make such good progress as they might, and he attributed this to a deficiency of grammar schools. He suggested that steps should be taken for the establishment of a grammar school in every presbytery, and that the Protector should be petitioned to provide salaries for the masters out of church rents. He also suggested that a Latin grammar, written in English, "for the more easy apprehension of little children," should be provided. The Council recommended Professor Thomas Craufurd to furnish some

¹ This gift, which Leighton procured for the University, is thus referred to in the Council Order Book of date :—

"Know ye that we, taking into our consideration the condition of the University of Edinburgh, and that (being but of late foundation, viz. since the Reformation of Religion in Scotland) the rents thereof are exceedingly small," grant £200 a year at the disposal of the Edinburgh Town Council, "being the founders and undoubted patrons of the said University," to be applied for University purposes with the advice and consent of Masters and Regents. Baillie, speaking of Leighton after his return, gives this fancy sketch : "Mr. Leighton does nought to count of, but looks about him in his chamber" (iii. 365), and adds that "the saint had shown more temper than usual at finding that Sharp had contrived that £100 of the sum should go to Mr. Alexander Dickson" (son of the Resolutioner David Dickson), who had been recently appointed Professor of Hebrew, and whom Leighton did not like.

Rudiments he was understood to have in hand, but, adds Sir William Grant, "Craufurd was probably too old for this work, and nothing was done towards realizing Leighton's aspiration for the improvement of classical teaching."¹

It is interesting to have the following testimony from the Autobiography of Sir Robert Sibbald, M.D., as to the influence Principal Leighton had over him when he was a student under him at Edinburgh University. The references also afford glimpses into the spirit of the times, with the factions that existed in the Church.

"The Principall of the Colledge during the five years I studied was Mr. Robert Lighton, who was first Bishop of Dumblane, upon the restauration of King Charles the 2nd, and therafter was made Archbishop of Glasco, a learned and devout man, who had excellent discourses to us in the Common Hall, sometymes in Latin, sometymes in English, which, with the blessing of God upon them, then gave me strong inclinations to a serious and good life. I shunned the playes and divertisements the other students followed, and read much in my study, for which my fellows gave me the name of Diogenes in dolio."²

. . . "My mother would have had me studie divinity, but there were great divisions amongst the presbiterians then, some for the public assemblies of the church, some against them, and they wrott reproachful discourses against others, and occasioned factions in the state and private families, which gave me ane disgust of them. I was acquaint with Mr. Robert Duglass, Master John Smith, and Hew Mackell, good men and moderate. I saw non could enter to the ministerie without ingadging in some of these factions, and espousing their interests.

"The impressions I retained from Mr. Leighton his discourses disposed me to affect charity for all good men of any persuasion, and I preferred a quiet lyfe, wherein I might not be ingadged in factions of Church or State."³

"It was this charity to all men that induced the violent controversialists of the day to abuse the worthy prelate so much."⁽⁴⁾

¹ *Story of the University*, vol. ii. p. 250.

² *Autobiography* pp. 4, 15.

³ P. 15.

⁴ P. 15.

"I became lykewise about this tyme (1664) acquaint with Mr. James Aird, a serious christian, a follower of Mr. Lighton, and who liveth yett now of the age of 68, a man of strong affections for piety and vertue, and of a single and chast lyfe, and to his power charitable to the poor in ane eminent way."¹

Leighton wrote frequently letters to the minister here mentioned by Sibbald—the Rev. James Aird, of Ingram, Northumberland. Unfortunately he does not always date his letters, but the following belong to the period when Leighton was Principal. Mr. Aird was son of a former minister of Newbattle, graduated at Edinburgh in 1646, was session-clerk of Newbattle in 1647, and was ordained at Ingram in Northumberland, whence he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity, 24th August, 1662. Prior to this he does not seem to have been happy at Ingram, and Leighton did his utmost to procure for him a new charge, and in the interval before he succeeded even spoke of a regency for him at Edinburgh. He was finally settled (1668) at Torryburn, and was throughout life Leighton's loyal friend.

LETTERS OF PRINCIPAL LEIGHTON

TO THE REV. JAMES AIRD, MINISTER OF INGRAM,
NORTHUMBERLAND

I.

"SIR,

"Some days ago I received some lines from you, and they were very welcome: for I know no better news can come from any corner of the earth than of a soul attempting to overcome the world and its own self, and in any degree prevailing and resolving still onwards. All the projects and conquests of the world are not to be named to it. Oh! what a weariness it is to live amongst men and find so few men, and amongst Christians and find so few Christians: so much talk and so little action: religion turned almost to a tune and air

¹ P. 20.

of words : and amidst all our pretty discourses, pusillanimous and base and so easily dragged into the mire, self and flesh and pride and passion domineering while we speak of being in Christ and clothed with Him : and believe it because we speak it so often and so confidently ! Well I know you are not willing to be thus gulled : and having some glances of the beauty of holiness, aim no lower than perfection, which in the end we hope to attain : and in the meanwhile the smallest advances towards it are more worth than crowns and sceptres. I believe it, you often think on these words of the blessed champion Paul (1 Cor. ix. 24, etc.). There is a noble guest within us : oh, let all our business be to entertain Him honourably, and to live in celestial love within, that will make all things without be very contemptible in our eyes ! I should rove on, did I not stop myself : it falling out well too for that, to be hard upon the post hours ere I thought of writing. Therefore, good-night is all I add : for whatsoever hour it comes to your hand, I believe you are as sensible as I that it is still night : but the comfort is, it draws nigh toward that bright morning that shall make amends.

“Your weary fellow-pilgrim,

“ROBT. LEIGHTON.

“It may be Mr. Ogle does not think me in earnest when I desired him to spy out a hermitage for me : but if one remote enough were offered, I know not how it might tempt me. If you write again, I pray you load not the back of your letter with any more than this, “To Mr. Robert Leighton, at Edinburgh,” for by that it will not fail to find me out, and that answers the end, and, you see, I give you example.”¹

II.

“SIR,

“Though I desired you to forbear for a while the pains of sending me the book you spoke of, I know it was your kind-

¹ About 1658 or 1659 ?

ness pressed you to send it, and I thank you. I cannot say I have read it through, but divers passages of it I have, and though I approve the design of it, and of all such writings so far as I can understand, and what I understand not adventure not to judge of, but rather impliciter think the best of it: yet I must confess their lowest rules, that are laid as the foundation of their structure, I find of most use. And could I duly follow them, either I should insensibly be raised to those greater sublimities they speak of, if the Great Lover of Souls saw any such thing good for me: or I should humbly and contentedly live without them, which possibly would do as well, till the day come of the fullest and purest intuitive life, which I live in the hopes of as not far off. Meantime, I think I have at a venture given up with the contemptible desires and designs of this present world, and must have either something beyond them all or nothing at all: and though this base clod of clay I carry still depresses me, I am glad that, even because it does so, I loathe and despise it.

“I have sent you two little pieces of history, wherein it may be you will find some small relish, but the hazard is small: and, however, I pray you do not send them back to me at all, for I have enow of that kind. The one is of a good pen, and an acquaintance and friend of yours, Paulus Nolanus, and his life of Martin of Tours I think you will relish, and I believe it is not in your *Vitae Patrum*. The other, Valerius Maximus, I conceive would clog you the less because it is of so much variety of selected examples; and the stages are so short, you may begin and leave off where you will without wearying.

“But when all is done there is one only blessed story, wherein our souls must dwell and take up their rest: for amongst all the rest we shall not read ‘Come unto Me, all ye that are weary and heavy-laden, and I will give you rest. And never any yet that tried Him, but found Him as good

as His word. To whose sweet embraces I recommend you, and desire to meet you there.

“Yours,
“R. LEIGHTON.”¹

III.

“DEAR FRIEND—

“I am very sorry for the indisposition you are under, but I assure you I do not value myself, nor anything I say or do either upon this or any other occasion, worth your pains of writing, far less on a journey hither; yet I should gladly enjoy your mistake in thinking otherwise, if I was in a posture capable of the pleasure others have of your abode under my roof for some longer time. The persons you mention in order to that affair, etc.—I have not seen nor heard anything from any of them since my last, nor expect that I shall till the beginning of *June*, at *Edinburgh*, where I intend (God willing) to be, and desire, if it may be, to see you there. I have thoughts of going thither somewhat before that time, and therefore, if I did not signify such to you, I fear you might miss me if you came hither.

“As for the business, it is very safe, with all our other interests of Time and Eternity, in our Blessed Father’s hand, of all fathers the wisest and the best. He, I am sure, can mould either your heart or theirs you have to do withal, as He thinks fit, and it shall be as it is best to be; therefore, if we were together, I should not very eagerly dispute the matter with you, far less will I by scribbling. Let your heart keep near to Him, and be daily purging out all that may interpose and obstruct our closest union, and we have nothing else to care for. This moment is posting away, and that blessed day is hastening forward that shall complete that union.

“Pray for your lame fellow-traveller,
“R. L.

¹ Secretan’s *Archbishop Leighton*, pp. 40-42.

"I should chide you, if I could do it sharply enough, for entertaining the least thought of any such jealousy, as I think very incongruous with the strength and mutual confidence of solid friendship."

IV.

"SIR—

"What the opportunity is that may engage you where you are, seeing you express it not, I cannot particularly know; but whatever it is, I shall be glad if it suit your mind, and if I could do you any real furtherance in any such time, I think I need not tell you how ready the occasion would find me. Here I see nothing at present worth the thinking on for you, unless you have a mind to try a course of tilting for a Regency in Philosophy,¹ as they call it, which is likely to be vacant here very shortly, Mr. *Wiseman* being upon the point of leaving it and going to sleep. If you find a stomach to it, all I can promise is, an endeavour to see fair play; and if you make one, you would be sure to win, if it depended on the wishes of, Sir,

"Your friend and servant,²

"R. L."

V.

"SIR—

"I should please myself very much in doing anything towards your repose; but there is nothing such as I wish within my reach, nor within my view. The humanity place

¹ Letters IV. and V. must belong to 1655 and 1656 respectively. The reference to Mr. Wiseman makes this clear. Wiseman, formerly master of Linlithgow Grammar School, was appointed Professor of Humanity at Edinburgh in 1636, Professor of Philosophy in 1638, and died October 1655. He was succeeded in the Chair of Philosophy by William Forbes, Professor of Humanity, on March 7, 1656. (*The Story of Edinburgh University*, vol. ii. pp. 173, 360.) Leighton evidently thought of Mr. Aird for both offices, as the letters indicate.

² Aikman's *Leighton*, p. 684.

will either not be vacant, or if it be, I think we shall break it for some reason. Of the other I wrote to you, you can only judge whether it suits your genius and inclination ; neither (if it did) have I power to promise anything but heavy endeavours if I see it feasible, having no assurance of prevailing. But one thing I am sure of, and so are you, and it is enough, that to them that fear the Lord and trust in Him, no good thing shall be wanting. The choosing of some dubious steps of our way may now and then be a little troublesome, but the comfort is, the journey will be quickly done, and then we hope to be where there are no desires nor deliberations of change of quarters.

“ I am, yours,
“ R. L.

“ I suppose you have heard of Mr. *Andrew Grey's* death.¹ He has got the start of us, but not for long. I am likely to preach to-morrow (God willing) in our own Hall, where for the present meets one of the Town Congregations.”²

VI.

“ SIR—

“ I think you know the reason of my forbearing to write ; for you cannot but know that letters sent by the post are

¹ This reference also proves the letter to have been written in 1656.

Andrew Gray (1633-1656) studied at St. Andrews and Edinburgh. He was one of the band of young Scottish preachers who were powerfully influenced by Leighton. He was ordained to the Collegiate Charge of the Outer High Church of Glasgow on November 3, 1653, although only in his twentieth year. Baillie refers to his “ high-flown, rhetorical style,” and describes his ordination as taking place “ over the belly of the town’s protestations.” His ministry, although only of three years’ duration, made a profound impression, and his popularity was sustained by his published works. He died February 8, 1656, of fever, after a brief illness, and was interred in Blackadder’s Aisle, Glasgow Cathedral. On the walls of the aisle his initials and date of death may be seen deeply incised. He married Rachel, daughter of Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, by whom many of his sermons and communion addresses were published after his death. She had taken them down in shorthand at the time of delivery.

² Referring to the congregation of the Tron or Lady Yesters.

broken open very frequently, if not constantly of late ; and other way I know none. I often entreated that favour of my *John* to inquire at your sister's how you were, if she did hear, and if she knew any safe convey of letters to you ; but he did as he uses to do in divers of the few letter services I have for him, and I am beholden to his neglects. Meanwhile my not forgetting you, you may be assured of, while I shall continue to remember myself, when I think how little or nothing it is my letters speak other than some short word, dropped as it comes, reflecting to you some of your own thoughts. I am pained with your reckoning them anything at all. Your imparting the particulars relating to yourself, though in extrinsic things, I do very heartily thank you for ; for such communications are a redoubling the pleasure in them ; and seeing our great Father's love descends to the ordering of the low concerns of our life, we were very unwise and ungrateful not to observe them, who had made flies with so much art, and is truly *magnus in minimis*. Courage, it shall be well ; we follow a conquering general, yea, who hath conquered already ; *et qui semel vicit pro nobis, semper vicit in nobis*. For myself at present, I am (as we use to say), that is, this little contemptible lodge of mine is, not very well ; but that will pass some way or other, as it is best ; and even while the indisposition lasts, oh ! how much doth it heighten the sweet relish of peace within, of which I cannot speak highly, for to you I speak just as it is. But methinks I find a growing contempt of all this world and consequently some further degrees of that quiet which is only subject to disturbance by our inordinate fancies and desires, and receding from the blessed centre of our rest : *for hurries of the world you know the way*, Isa. xxvi. 20 ; and in these retiring rooms we meet and be safe and quiet. That you may speak of the shock seeming to threaten your Order, I am not afraid of at all, neither for you nor myself, nor the generality of the rest ; but you may be assured that,

in that case, the lot of those in my posture will be the same as yours. *Sed Jehovah regnat, circuiter, Gentis et cum reliquis etiam insulae.*

“Farewell, dear Brother,

“Yours,¹

“R. L.’

VII.

“SIR—

“The answer I intended your letter was a visit, and that not *en passant*. Though I spoke and once had thoughts of *Newcastle* for some days, my last purpose was no further than *Ingram*, unless it had been with you to Wittingham, to see your honest neighbour Mr. Hume;² which, if you think of it when you meet, it may be you will tell him. Nor was this a mere thought, for I was on my way towards you as far as *Ginglekirk*, whence I returned back to my lodge, finding myself not well, by reason, I think, of not scarce having been on horseback twice these many months. I am yet in a little distemper: of which, though, I apprehend no great height nor long continuance, yet I am doubtful whether I shall again, this vacation, attempt any further than *Pentland Hills*. But

¹ Aikman's *Leighton*, p. 684.

² This reference is to Abraham Hume, a native of the Merse, Berwickshire. He became chaplain to the widowed Countess of Home, who brought him to London. John Maitland, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, who married the Countess's second daughter, took Hume with him on his travels to Paris and Geneva. He afterwards obtained the vicarage of Long Benton, Northumberland, and in 1647 received Presbyterian orders. His ministry was popular, but being a strong royalist, his politics were displeasing to Sir Arthur Hesilrige, who procured his banishment from England. He lived obscurely in Scotland till 1653, when Hesilrige joined in procuring him the vicarage of Whittingham, Northumberland. He refused to acknowledge Cromwell's government, and was instrumental in obtaining the appointment of royalist Presbyterians to vacant parishes. In 1662 the Uniformity Act ejected him. He died in 1695. (*Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxviii. p. 208.)

it is no matter ; blessed be He in whom souls may meet and centre in constant rest, and in renewed thoughts and desires intervisit, every day, in despite of large lumps of earth, and, in much greater matters, how little imports the defeat of our purposes as to anything without us, if it please Him to shine on, and advance our great business within. O ! what is all the world to it, to that bright purity we aspire to, and the blessed eternity we hope for ! And how great reason have we to say *non magna relinquo, magna sequor !* I thank you for the notice of your Capuchin, but I almost knew that he was not here before I looked. It is true the variety of his book refreshes us, and, by the happy wording, the same things not only please, but sometimes profit us ; but they tell us no new thing, except it may be some such thing as, I confess, I understand not, of essential unions and sleeps of the soul, which, because I understand them not, would rather disorder and hinder than advance me ; and therefore I begin to be unwilling to look over these and such like, unless I would pick out here and there such things as I am capable of, and not meet with those steep ascents which I dare not venture on. But dear *à Kempis* is a way to it, and oh ! that I could daily study more, and attain more sublime, humble devotion there drawn to the life . . . most soaring treatises I have ever yet met with, find any th . . . certain and solid use that is there not plainly and Di . . . *proque est paucis opus et . . . paucis libris ad bona me . . .* could we once thoroughly despise our own base flesh, and the vain opinion of the world, and live in the Divine will, as dead to all things beside, and gladly take the lowest room, He can, if He please, call for us to go up higher. Oh, but the misery to have sin, lust, and pride, and self-will, and self-love, and desire of esteem amongst men, not only living, but, alas, lively and strong ; and yet, however it be, let us not faint in our minds, for in the name of the Lord we shall destroy them. And in the meantime, blessed—ever blessed, be His

name, who hath called us to fight under His royal standard and given us to resolve to live and die there. Amen.

“Your fellow-soldier,
“R. L.”¹

VIII.

[May belong either to the Edinburgh or Dunblane Period of Leighton's Life.]

“DEAR FRIEND—

“I wish, after your resolution taken, and I think *σύν θεῷ*, you had barred the door on all suggestions from without and within, that might have changed or in the least disturbed it. Sure I am the reason that convinced you is still the same, that what you may do, you may also promise if it be required; and I believe the design was so like to make you serviceable to God, and to souls that He hath bought, that you should never have had just reason to repent it. The like I dare not say of your now recoiling; and if I might again prevail with you, I entreat you to re-advise the thing betwixt God and your own heart, and that cleared, as much as you can, from all mist, both of the fancy of others and your own melancholy. If you would meet me at *Culross* or *Lithgow* any time the next week, and send me word what day or hour you choose, I would endeavour not to fail, or if coming to Edinburgh to speak with you (though at this time well I cannot) might be likely to do any help towards dispelling the cloud that hath overcast your mind, I would not grudge the pains. All I can do at this distance is to look up to heaven, who alone powerfully can do it, and in His blessed hand I leave it, and you, and myself, and all that concerns us, and all the world; and whatsoever you do, never doubt the unalterable affection of

“Your Friend,
“R. L.”²

¹ Aikman's Edition of *Leighton*, p. 622.

² Aikman's *Leighton*, p. 683.

IX.

To the Rev. James Aird.

“SIR—

“I see there is no place, city nor country, valley nor mountain, free from that sentence so early passed upon the earth for man’s curse, ‘Thorns and briars shalt thou bring forth.’ But he that is well shod walks on the safelier till he comes where there are none : but, seeing that is not here, we are to use the greater coolness and deliberation in our removes. If your present company be someway irksome, a greater solitude may prove more so : only if God both sensibly fits you for it, and points clearly out the way to it, follow Him : otherwise my advice should be, not to hasten too much, and particularly at no hand so to hasten as to run into debt for it. For I speak it on experience—He that sets up anywhere in debt, it will keep him possibly wrestling, and at under¹ many years : but if you let your incomes do their own business, as they come to your hand, you will find it much easier to do, and sweeter when it is done. Meanwhile I know you can digest all a little longer, as hitherto you have done.

“To your other point touching baptism, freely my thought is, it is a weak notion, taken upon trust almost generally, to consider so much or at all the qualifications of the parents. Either it is a benefit to infants, or it is not. If none, why then administer it at all ? but if it be, why then should the poor innocents be prejudged of it for the parents’ cause, if he profess but so much of a Christian as to offer his child to that ordinance ? for that it is the parents’ faith gives the child a right to it, is neither clear from scripture nor from any sound reason. Yet in that I heartily approve your thought, that you would make it as it most fitly may be, an active inducement to the parents to know Him and His

¹ An old colloquialism for *at disadvantage*.

doctrine, and live conformably to it, unto whose Name they desire their children to be baptized.

"But in this and the other business, and in all things, I am confident that good Hand, to which I know you have given yourself up, will graciously guide you. Oh! let it be more entirely so with you and your resigned friend,

"ROBERT LEIGHTON.

"'Tis well our great journey is going on, and will quickly set us where we would be. The business you write of is to you one signal step of it, marked out by that Sovereign Hand which, I doubt not, will lead you in it and all along through what remains."¹

In October, 1657, at the very time when Leighton must have been present in Edinburgh, George Fox, then on his visit to Scotland, was in Edinburgh testifying of the "Light of Christ in men's hearts." In his Journal he adds, "The people began to see light and to come into the covenant of light," but the ministers of Edinburgh and the district were up in arms against him. There was evidently much sympathy extended towards Fox by the people and the soldiers; but the ministers petitioned the Council, who summoned Fox to appear before them on October 13, 1657. He did so, and was ordered "to depart that nation of Scotland by that day seventh night."² He did not, however, do so, but visited Glasgow, Perth, Dundee, and was back at Edinburgh later in the year.³ One would like to know what Leighton thought of this Apostle of Quakerism, and even if he had an interview with him, for beyond external differences there was much in common between them in their mutual witness-bearing to the inner⁴ light. Both were also one in their aversion

¹ Secretan's *Archbishop Leighton*, pp. 42, 43.

² George Fox's *Journal*, vol. i. p. 449.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 443-459.

⁴ In the volume of tracts which Leighton has left in the "Newbattle

to the Calvinistic discipline and extreme doctrine, and the Quakers were the one important religious body which originated in the seventeenth century and owe their strength on the one hand to their opposition and on the other to that extreme individualism which marked their doctrine as the very essence of the higher Puritanism. Cromwell was drawn to their founder (George Fox), and said to him, "If thou and I were but an hour of the day together, we should be nearer one to the other."¹ One wonders if Robert Leighton would have replied in similar words, but there is no letter nor recorded interview to tell. On this point, as on many others through the destruction of the University Records belonging to the period, information is wanting; but through the preservation of his lectures and addresses, we are sufficiently informed as to Leighton's religion and the ideals which he sought to impress on young Scotland during the Commonwealth and Protectorate as well as to mould its future ministry. Let the following be taken as illustrative of both.

The Ideal of his Office.

"Among the various undertakings of men, can there be a nobler one than that which has for its object the formation of human minds anew, after the Divine Image? And it will, I doubt not, be generally acknowledged that this is the true end and design, not only of pastors in their several parishes, but also of professors of divinity in universities. And though, in many respects, the pastoral office is

Library" there is one on the *Persecution of the Quakers*, by Alexander Jaffray, Provost of Aberdeen. Jaffray was a great advocate of the Quakers, and was several times Commissioner to Parliament. He married the daughter of the Rev. Andrew Cant, Leighton's predecessor at Newbattle, and for several years during Leighton's ministry Jaffray lived in an old house at Newbattle next to the Manse, but now pulled down (*Transactions of Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society*, 1889, p. 59). There can be no doubt that a warm friendship existed between Leighton and his next-door neighbour at Newbattle, and that he must have found in Jaffray more affinity than from some of his Covenanting brethren.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 266.

evidently superior to the academical, yet in one respect this seems to have the advantage, as it is the business of the former to instruct persons who are mostly of the common sort, ignorant and illiterate : while it is the work of the latter to imbue with heavenly doctrine minds of a more select class—namely, of youths who have had a learned education, and are devoted to a studious life : many of whom, it is to be hoped, will, by the Divine blessing, become preachers of the same salutary doctrines themselves. And surely this ought to be a powerful motive with all those who, by the Divine dispensation, are employed in such a work, to exert themselves all the more heartily and zealously in the discharge of their duty : especially when they consider that whatever lessons of Christian instruction and true piety they instil into the tender minds of their pupils, will by them be spread far and wide, and in due time conveyed, as it were, by so many canals and aqueducts, to many parts of the Lord's vineyard. . . . Every right-minded physician would feel more than common pleasure in curing the eye which had to see for and watch over many ; and a harp-maker would exert his skill with peculiar satisfaction if he knew that his harp would be played by the hands of Amphion, and, by the force of its music, would draw stones together for building the walls of Thebes. A learned and ingenious author, alluding to this fable, and applying it to our present purpose, calls university professors of theology makers of harps for building the walls of a far more famed and beautiful city, even the Heavenly Jerusalem : the stones of this building being truly, and without fable, *living stones*, which, charmed by the sweet music of the Gospel and drawn by its attractive power, come of their own accord to take their places in the wall.”¹

The End of Theology.

“Theology is a Divine doctrine, directing man to true happiness as his chief end, and conducting him to it by the way of true religion. I call it a *doctrine*, because it is not considered here as a habit in the mind, but as a summary of heavenly truth. I call it a *Divine doctrine*, for all the reasons already mentioned, because it truly is from God, has God for the subject of it, and wholly terminates in God. I call it a *doctrine concerning man*, for I am concerned with that doctrine only which was sent down from heaven for that purpose. What signify then those far-fetched distinctions

¹ West's Edition of *Leighton's Works*, vol. vi. pp. 77, 78.

which are indeed high-sounding, but nevertheless quite foreign to the purpose, that divide theology into *archetypal* and *ectypal*, and again into the theology of the Church militant, and that of the Church triumphant? What they call *archetypal theology* is very improperly termed theology, for it is the *Αὐτοσοφία*, the very wisdom of God Himself, His own ineffable self-knowledge. And the theology of the Church triumphant ought rather to be called *Θεοψία*, the beatific vision of God. The theology with which we are concerned is *that day-spring from on high which hath visited us pilgrims, that dwell in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace*, Luke i. 78, 79. That peace is true happiness, and *the way of peace* is true religion, concerning which I shall offer a few thoughts, and very briefly.”¹

The Vision of God as the Motive-power to Purity and Inwardness.

“We must by all means conclude that this Beatific Vision includes in it not only a distinct and intuitive knowledge of God, but, so to speak, such a knowledge as gives us the enjoyment of that most perfect Being, and, in some sense, invites us to Him : for such a vision it must of necessity be, that converts that love of the Infinite Good which glows in the souls of the saints into full possession, that crowns all their wishes, and fills them with a perpetual and over-flowing fullness of joy, that vents itself in everlasting songs of praise.

“And this is the only doctrine, if you believe it (and I make no doubt but you do) : this, I say, is the only doctrine that can wholly raise your souls, and carry them up on high. Hence you will learn to trample under foot all the turbid and muddy pleasures of the flesh, and all the allurements and *splendid trifles* of the present world. However great and beautiful these may seem, and especially to the inexperienced, yet to a soul whose thoughts and hopes are set on the heavenly country, and that expects to share the joy of angels, how insignificant, how nothing-worth are all these earthly things, whose sounding titles are a lie, and whose apparent greatness is but an empty cheat ! In fine, the more the soul withdraws from the body, the more it rises above itself, and cleaves to God : so much the more the life it lives on earth resembles that which it will enjoy in heaven, and the larger foretastes are vouchsafed to it of the blessed harvest there. Aspire, then, to *holiness*, dear youths, without which no man shall see the Lord.”²

¹ Vol. vi. p. 214.

² Vol. vi. pp. 115, 116.

Happiness not to be found in Earth or earthly Things.

"We must raise our minds higher, and not live with our heads bowed down like the common herd of men, who, as St. Augustine expresses it, 'seek a happy life in the land of death.' To set our hearts upon the perishing goods of this wretched life and to wallow in the mire of its pleasures is not the happiness of men but of hogs. And if earthly pleasure be but mire, all else is merely smoke. Were this the only good proposed to the desires and expectations of man, it would be no great privilege to have been born. Be advised, therefore, young gentlemen, and beware of this Circe's cup, lest your minds thereby become brutish, and fall into a fatal oblivion of your origin and your end. Turn what in you is Divine to God, your Creator and Father, without whom we can neither be happy, nor indeed *be* at all."¹

Rules to regulate Life according to Religion.

First avoid too much sleep. . . .

(2) Observe temperance in eating and drinking.

(3) Beware of immoderate speech.

(4) Be frequent in prayer, morning, noon or night, or oftener throughout the day, and continually walk as in the presence of God: always remembering that He observes not only our words and actions, but also our most secret thoughts.²

Study of the Bible.

"Let every one that desires to be not merely a so-called theologian or divine, but *θεοδιδάκτος et φιλόθεος*—a true disciple and lover of God, resolve within himself, above all things, to make this sacred volume his constant study, intermingling his reading with frequent and fervent prayer: for if this be omitted his labour will be altogether in vain, supposing him to be ever so well versed in these books, and to have besides all the advantages that can be had from the knowledge of languages and the assistance of commentators and interpreters. Different men have different views in reading this Book. As in the same field the ox looks for grass, the hound for a hare, and the stork for a lizard: some, fond of critical remarks, pick up nothing but little stones and shells: others search into deep mysteries, giving themselves but very little trouble about the precepts and instructions that are clear and evident, and these plunge themselves into a bottomless abyss. But the genuine disciples of this

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 100, 101.

² *Ibid.* pp. 233-236.

true wisdom are those who make it their daily employment to purify their hearts by the water of these fountains, and bring their whole lives to a conformity with this heavenly doctrine. They do not desire to know these things only for the sake of knowing them, or that they themselves may become known thereby, but that their souls may be healed and their steps directed, so that they may be led through the paths of righteousness, to the glorious happiness which is set before them.”¹

Avoidance of Controversies and Parties.

“As for you, young gentlemen, especially those of you that intend to devote yourselves to theological studies, it is my earnest exhortation and advice to you, that you avoid, as you would the plague, that itch for polemical and controversial theology, which is so prevalent and infectious, and which, if any science deserve the name, may be truly termed, *science falsely so called*.”² . . .

“A philosopher of old (Seneca) brings this grave reproach against the sophists of his time : ‘What was formerly the love of wisdom, is now become the love of words.’ We indeed have a yet graver reproach to bring against our times, and have to complain, that what was theology before, is now become *matæology* or foolish talking : and that many of our divines (alas, how many !) though they scorn our God, and that the *God of peace*, yet split into parties upon the lightest occasions, and with lawless minds divide the whole world into schisms and factions. And I much fear that this evil in great measure derives its origin from the education of youths in schools and colleges. For most of our public instructors carry on the work of education as if they thought disputing was the end of learning, as fighting is that of warfare : hence the youth, as soon as they go to school, begin disputing, which never ends but with their life. Death imposes silence, and so, at last,

‘These passions fierce and stormy strifes are hushed,
Stilled by the magic of a little dust.’

As for you, my young gentlemen, if my earnest wishes and sincere device can have any weight with you, you will speedily extricate yourselves from these unhallowed flames of strife and controversy, that your minds, being enlightened by the pure and celestial fire of the Divine Spirit, may shine forth in holiness, and glow with the most fervent charity.”³

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 231, 232.

² P. 266.

³ Pp. 282, 283.

These representative selections from his University Lectures are sufficient to illustrate his teaching, but fortunately at the close of several of his Prelections and of all his Exhortations to the candidates for degrees, there are prayers preserved, which are spiritual in a supreme degree. If the lectures manifest his learning, suffused with piety, his prayers naturally reveal his piety in a more distinctive and explicit form. Throughout his Commentary and Sermons, Leighton frequently turns his thoughts into acts of devotion and prayer, and a valuable volume of devotion might be profitably collected from his works. The following are examples of his University Prayers.

For Light, Purity, and Communion.

“O ! Unseen God, who seest all things ! Eternal Light, before whom all darkness is light, and in comparison with whom every other light is but darkness ! The weak eyes of our understanding cannot bear the full and unveiled radiance of Thy inaccessible light ; and yet, without some glimpses of that light from heaven we can never direct our steps, nor proceed towards that country which is the habitation of light. May it therefore please Thee, O Father of Lights, to send forth Thy light and Thy truth, that they may lead us straight unto Thy holy hill. Thou art good, and the fountain of goodness : O give us understanding that we may keep Thy precepts. That part of our past lives which we have lost in pursuing shadows is enough, and indeed too much : bring back our souls into the paths of life, and let the wonderful pleasantness thereof, which far exceeds all earthly pleasures, preserve us by a strong yet sweet constraint from being drawn aside therefrom by any temptation whatsoever. Purify, we pray Thee, our souls from all impure imaginations, that Thy most beautiful and holy image may be again renewed within us, the perfection whereof, we hope, will at last make us happy for ever in that full and beatific Vision we aspire after. Till this most wished-for day breaks, and the shadows flee away, let Thy Spirit be ever present with us, and may we feel the powerful effects of His Divine grace constantly directing and supporting our steps : that all our endeavours, not only while in this society but throughout the rest of our lives, may serve to promote the honour of Thy most blessed name, through Jesus Christ our Lord.” ¹

¹ *University Lectures*, pp. 254, 255.

Prayer to Rest in God alone.

"Whatever satisfaction we look for without Thee, O Heavenly Father, is mere delusion and vanity. Yet, though we have so oft experienced this, we have not to this day learned to renounce this vain and fruitless labour, that we may rest in Thee alone, the life and full delight of souls. We pray, therefore, that, by Thy Almighty Hand, Thou wouldest deign to knit our hearts unto Thee, and make them Thine for ever. . . . Take from us, O Lord, whatever earthly enjoyments Thou wilt : there is one thing will abundantly make up for all our losses : let Christ dwell in our hearts by faith, and the rays of Thy favour continually refresh us in the face of Thine Anointed : in this event, we have nothing more to ask, but with grateful minds, shall for ever celebrate Thy bounty : *all our bones shall say, Who is like unto Thee, O Lord, who is like unto Thee ?*"¹

We now come to an element in Leighton's religious life, that differentiates him from so many of his countrymen and from so many of his country's teachers—his mysticism. This element is felt throughout his writings, as a climate or atmosphere, but it was developed and scientifically stated in a tract he has given us—his *Counsels of Perfection, or Rules and Instructions for Spiritual Exercises*. One feels in it the language of the cloister—the mystic aspiration of the Jesus-love—the union realized through that love—the contemplation that is both centred upon the Heavenly Object of Faith and realizes itself as one with that object.

Mystical theology has not been a congenial one to the English nor to the Scottish mind, and this tract of Leighton's has been pronounced to be the only piece of its kind in English theology. It was first published from the manuscripts of Leighton by Dr. Fall, and it was edited with considerable misgivings, several parts being omitted or altered. It was drawn up by Leighton for his own use, and for that of several like-minded friends, and so stands apart from his other works that were written for public use and were publicly delivered.

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 293, 294.

Scotland has produced very few mystics, and Scottish Church life has not been favourable to their development with the practical problems it has had to face and solve. St. Columba rushing knee-deep into the sea after the sacrilegious robber and pursuing him with curses is more representative of the national religion—"savage and bare, but infinitely strong"—than Thomas à Kempis.

Mysticism has had many extravagant growths, and needs a rare nature to co-ordinate it with the other necessary and eternal elements of the religious life. It rests upon the assurance and present experience that man in his spiritual life can transcend his finite being and enter here and now into communion with the Life of God: that the human soul possesses a time-transcending faculty, by which it can enter into fellowship with the spiritual world and receive from it a present light and life; that in virtue of this transcendental nature of the human spirit, it can return to its true source and inherit a divine afflatus; that it can retire within itself, and in inward calm and ineffable peace know the spiritual Christ, born within it "the hope of glory." The spiritual faith of the mystics was involved in the saying of St. Bernard—*credo ut intelligam*—for faith receives the treasure of divine truth wrapped up in it (*involutum*), and later knowledge or intelligence is but the unfolding of this inner content, the making explicit of that which faith has already realized as implicit. The mystic paradise became thus a garden which few could enter, and its fruit could only be enjoyed by the rare spirits. (*O quam difficilis est ignorantibus veritas et quam facilis scientibus!*) It is essentially an esoteric religion, fraught with danger when it is not balanced by other elements, but full of blessedness and peace when it is. And the mystic has ever accepted as his guide in religion the faculty of intuition, or that form of religious knowledge in which every medium has passed away, and in which the subject is believed to apprehend the purely

spiritual object of faith, and even to coalesce with it. He has ever believed in the time-transcending faculty of the human soul, which enables man to enter into heart-to-heart, soul-to-soul fellowship with the object of faith—in which all media pass away, and in which spiritual experience is best described by the words, “I am my Beloved’s, and my Beloved is mine.” In this communion he attains a direct, immediate, personal knowledge of God, because, he argues, God is present to the soul in mystic love. The mystic has ever maintained the reality of his knowledge, although his system has been fraught with two tendencies—the risk on the one hand of an unhealthy excitement, and on the other of intellectual torpor. To the many, again, his faith has ever seemed to be too vague to be self-supporting, and too subjective to be missionary; while as a theory of religion it has had the constant difficulty of maintaining an ethical balance to qualify it for life, or a sufficiently aggressive creed enabling it to meet and conquer the ills of existence. The mystic’s sympathies have been too exclusively with the spiritual concerns of life, so that he has scarcely seemed to touch mundane concerns. Mysticism has ever had about it the atmosphere of the cloister, and has made too much of the Citizen of Eternity, rather than of the Citizen of Eternity *in time*, doing the work of time and consecrating it by his new spirit. But in the leaders of religion the element of mysticism, co-ordinated with other factors of the religious life, has generally been present: in them it has ceased to be a purely contemplative religion, and has become the refreshing stream gladdening and purifying the spiritual life. It was said of Fiesole that he *prayed* his pictures on to the wall, and Augustine derived his profoundest thoughts regarding the first and last things from prayer and the atmosphere it brought. “The contents of the inner life lay clearly before Augustine’s eyes as a realm of distinctive objects of perception, outside and independent of sense-experience, and he was convinced by his own

rich insight that in this sphere quite as genuine knowledge and information, based on inner experience, were to be gained, as by external observation in surrounding nature." His ideal was : "I desire to know God and the soul. Nothing more ? Nothing at all." In such words Augustine has briefly formulated the aim of his knowledge, and at the same time expressed the ideal of mysticism.

Mysticism has ever been one and the same : it has never possessed any national or confessional distinctions within it : it is Catholic piety in general, so far as that piety outlived the idea of religion as mere ecclesiastical obedience. It has been always the precursor of evangelical religion, and has ever pointed beyond itself, while historically it was the movement within the Roman Catholic Church that led to Protestantism in its religious sense. It has been the spiritual life of the Middle Ages chiefly, reacting against the predominant monasticism on the one hand, with its system of rules ; and the worldly, sacerdotal element of the mediæval Church, which pushed itself into the place of the Roman Empire, and of which it became the actual continuation.¹ But amid outer decoration and inner decay, true religion has never been wholly effaced. "Venture onwards ! deep down in a vault you will still find the altar, and its sacred, ever-burning lamp !" And mysticism, which has generally arisen from the piety of the cloister itself, and has generally been tinged by its pale light, is best to be understood as an endeavour towards the *renewal of religion* as opposed to sacerdotalism and worldliness : it is truly Catholic piety as a return to Christianity, and religion asserting itself through the superstitions and accretions of mediævalism. As piety toward God it led to the Reformation and found its ultimate home and goal in Luther's doctrine of Justification by Faith, not as doctrine only, but as experience.

Mysticism, it has already been observed, possesses no

¹ Cf. Harnack's *What is Christianity ?* pp. 246-265.

national or confessional distinctions within it, but it rests everywhere on the same belief—the transcendental nature of the human spirit, the divine afflatus, the spiritual Jesus born in the heart and leading to an experience in which the disciple no longer needs the Historical Jesus. Throughout all the different forms of it there is this as an underlying unity—that the God-Logos continually unites Himself afresh with each *receptive* heart, so as to form a union—that intuition is that form of knowledge in which the subject both apprehends the spiritual object of faith and coalesces with it, or in which it attains to a complete and inseparable union with God.

But Mysticism also has a definite philosophy of man and a definite idea of man's preparation for this union. As to the first, it holds that human nature is tripartite, possessing (*a*) the outer court of the senses, (*b*) the inner court of the intellectual nature, (*c*) the inmost court, the ground of the soul, the Holy of Holies, where God and man unite. This last is the spark and potential divinity in man that enables him to attain union with God. But as to preparation, the soul that has departed from God must return to Him by *purification*, *illumination* and essential *unification*. The stages in this process are minutely examined and described by the Mystical writers, and whether it be by an Augustine, a St. Bernard, a St. Francis, a Tauler, a Thomas à Kempis, or a Leighton, one hears the same voice in them all.

Now it is very interesting, as it is very rare, to find such mystical Theology appearing in Scotland, and Robert Leighton is one of the very few Scotsmen in whom it appears. With the solitary exception of Henry Scougal's *Life of God in the Soul of Man* (and Scougal was Leighton's intimate friend and pupil), Leighton's *Rules and Instructions for Spiritual Exercises* form a *unique* product of Scottish religious thought. In a previous chapter reference has been made to the new influences, corresponding to a natural tendency, which Leighton received during his years of residence abroad, especi-

ally from the Jansenists. Now, during his incumbency at Newbattle, we know that he was a frequent visitor to London, but during his Principalship at Edinburgh, we know that during the summer vacations he was frequently at London and *abroad*, and watched with interest the unfolding of the Jansenist movement already described. Burnet distinctly tells us: "In the vacation time he made excursions, and came oft to London, where he observed all the eminent men in Cromwell's court, and in the several parties then about the city of London. But he told me he never could see anything among them that pleased him: they were men of *unquiet and meddling tempers*: and their discourses and sermons were dry and unsavoury, full of airy cant or of bombast swellings. Sometimes he went over to Flanders, to see what he could find in the several orders of the Church of Rome. There he found some of Jansenius's followers, who seemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and who studied to bring things, if possible, to the purity and simplicity of the primitive ages: on which all his thoughts were much set."¹ Thus Leighton, ill at ease with the controversies of the Resolutioners and Protesters in Scotland and with the "unquiet and meddling tempers" of Cromwell's associates, found greater affinity with the Jansenists, whose hearts were set on the "purity and simplicity" of the primitive ages. In other words, Leighton's visits abroad² brought him into deeper touch with the Jansenist movement, and especially with Pascal, who in 1656 and 1657 was writing his famous *Provincial Letters* against the Jesuits, who had condemned Arnauld in 1655. Pascal's

¹ *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. pp. 243, 244.

² Besides Burnet's statement, I find the following reference in the *Ancrum and Lothian Correspondence*.

Mr. Young, tutor to the two eldest sons of the Earl of Lothian, thus writes: "Leyden, September $\frac{1}{2}$, 1653.—Last week we had a visit, which was very unexpected, from Mr. Leightoun. I believe he is gone, ere this, from this country homewards." (Vol. ii. p. cxxiv.)

Could this Mr. Young be Milton's former tutor, or a brother?

life must have had a fascination for Leighton, and his death in 1662, at the early age of thirty-nine, must have affected him profoundly. There was much in common between the two, and if anywhere Leighton could find the society he loved best, it must have been at Port-Royal with Pascal and his associates. Here was the man who did for the Casuists what Plato did for the Sophists—made them ridiculous—who struck them so hard in the interests of truth, that while the Dominicans contradicted the Jesuits and the Jesuits the Dominicans, both were united in hatred of Port-Royal. Here was the man who united with this love for the truth a sympathy for the poor, and a passionate asceticism ; who was a brilliant scientist ; and a pure saint of exquisite moral sensibility, with a mystic's passion for union with God. Here was one whose sufferings quickened in him, not the sense of his own misery, but that of others, and in whom the " moi " of personal affliction was lost in the thought of God and his fellow-man ; who, in his last illness, desired that some sick person might be brought into his chamber to share the comforts with which he was himself so well provided, or at least that he himself might be carried to the hospital of incurables, as he had a great desire to die in the company of the poor. It was such a combination of the old piety, of moral grace, of intellectual gift, as in Pascal rather than Scottish or English controversialists, that attracted Leighton ; it was the Jansenist endeavour to purify and reform the Church on the *old lines* that he so much loved : it was this mysticism, so well co-ordinated with other religious elements, that had a natural affinity towards the inherent bent of his own mind. And so we may well think of this Mystical Tract of his as written after one of his visits in the College vacation to the Port-Royal, and as manifesting the manner in which he sought to influence his students, as well as direct his own devotions. This Tract, too, renders intelligible the stories regarding his ascetical habits and long hours of retirement that were current about him during the time of his Principal-

ship,¹ and that must have made him so unintelligible to the eager Protesters of his time. It is now interesting for another reason : for the refined Catholicism that it displays as united with a loyal but tempered Protestantism (of which there can be no doubt), and for its burning aspiration after communion with God and a life shaped after the Christian Ideal. Let us take several typical endeavours from it²—although selection mars the unity of the whole, and is difficult as well.

SECTION VI.

“1. Too much desire to please men, mightily prejudgeth the pleasing of God.

“2. Too great earnestness and vehemency, and too great delight in bodily work and external doings, scattereth and loseth the tranquillity and calmness of the mind.

“3. Cast all thy care on God, and commit all to His good pleasure.

“4. Laud, and praise, and applaud Him in all things, small and great.

“5. Forsake thy own will, and deliver up thyself freely and cheerfully to the will of God, without reserve or exception, in prosperity and adversity, sweet or sour, to have or to want, to live or to die.

“6. Untie thy heart from all things, and unite it to God.

“7. Remember often and devotedly the life and passion, the death and resurrection, of our Saviour Jesus.

“8. Descant not on other men's deeds, but consider thine own : forget other men's faults, and remember thine own.

“9. Never think highly of thyself, nor despise any other man.

“10. Keep silence and retirement as much as thou canst, and, through God's grace, they will keep thee from many snares and offences.

“11. Lift up thy heart often to God, and desire in all things His assistance.

“12. Let thy heart be filled and wholly taken up with the love of God, and of thy neighbour : and do all thou doest in that sincere charity and love.”

¹ Cf. *Analecta*, vol. i. p. 274.

² The whole will be found in West's Edition, vol. vi. pp. 314-331 ; Pearson's Edition, vol. ii. pp. 663-671.

SECTION VII.

* * * * *

"4. Whoever thou be, let this voice of God be still in thine ear : My son, return inwardly to thy heart, abstract thyself from all things, and mind Me only.

"5. Then, with a pure mind in God, clean and bare from the memory of all things, remaining unmovable in Him, thou shalt think and desire nothing but Him only, as though there were nothing else in the world but He and thou alone together : that all thy mights and powers being thus collected into God, thou mayest become one spirit with Him.

"6. Fix thy mind on thy crucified Saviour, and remember continually His great meekness, love, and obedience, His pure chastity, His unspeakable patience, and all the holy virtues of His humanity.

"7. Think on His mighty power and infinite goodness: how He created thee and redeemed thee: how He justifieth thee, and worketh in thee all virtues, graces, and goodness: and then remember Him, until thy memory turn into love and affection.

"8. Draw thy mind, therefore, from all creatures, unto a certain silence and rest from the jangling and company of all things below God: and when thou canst come to this, then is thy heart a place meet and ready for thy Lord God to abide in, there to talk with thy soul."

These selections are sufficient to manifest the whole, underlying which there can clearly be traced the three stages of purification, illumination, and union, with prayers for each. Leighton evidently used the Tract for his own quiet hours of devotion; but that he was conscious of the incompleteness of mysticism as a final system of religion is rendered quite clear by the letters already referred to,¹ and that he correlated and co-ordinated it with other factors of the religious life is also clear from his sermons and lectures. Along with it there was a sanity and common sense that are not always to be clearly discerned in mystical writings, but are visible in the best of the mystics themselves. Just as Tauler, mystic as he was, could say, "If I were not a priest, but were living as a layman,

¹. See p. 256 *et seq.*

I should take it as a great favour that I knew how to make shoes, and should try to make them better than any one else, and would gladly earn my bread by the labour of my hands ;”¹ just as Kingsley could co-ordinate it with joy in life, with the fulfilment of life’s duties and the love of science ;² so Leighton, who wrote this tract, and who regarded daily dying as the path of daily living, was characterized by a statesmanlike comprehension and a practical insight into the situation of his day for which he has not always received credit. While he accepted the mystical path as one for his own spiritual refreshment and strength, he could also write an excellent course of sermons on the Ten Commandments, and grapple with the difficulties of college life in a sanely ethical way. He balanced opposing qualities, although the bitterness of his day may sometimes have strengthened the monastic tendency of his life and given it an exaggerated form.

How far he influenced his students we have not much evidence to judge ; but that many were profoundly impressed by him there is no reason to doubt.³ Andrew Gray, already referred to, was one of such, and Henry Scougal, whom he frequently met at Leuchars and Salton, was another. And to have influenced such men, who influenced so many others, was not to have been a Principal in vain. Scougal refers to Leighton thus : “An eminent and holy person yet alive in our Church said, ‘He would rather be instrumental in persuading one man to be serious in religion than the whole nation to be Conformists.’” Scougal was Leighton’s disciple,

¹ See *Sermons*, p. 355.

² *Life and Letters*, p. 174.

³ I find the following reference to the remark of one of Leighton’s students in a recent publication of the Scottish History Society :—

“In the afternoone Mr. Tho. Laurie cam to me and stayed all night. . . . He told me a note of Mr. Leightoun on 1 John ii. 7, 8, that all the world might be devyded in two. They wer either too superstitious of old things or too curious of new, and to gaine both the Apos^t. calls it both ane old and ane new commandment.”—HAY OF CRAIGNETHAN’S *Diary* (1659-1660), p. 47.

and was true to his master's spirit when he wrote the *Life of God in the Soul of Man*—a book that had a far-reaching influence, and was one of the earliest and most potent forces in moulding John Wesley, Charles Wesley, George Whitefield, and the Oxford Methodists, while it helped also their movement in general.¹ Through them the spirit of Leighton passed as a sacred heritage to Christendom, as well as through the great multitude inspired by his writings to a deeper knowledge and appreciation of divine things, and clearer vision of God.

We have just considered Leighton as an inspirer of his students, and to give a fuller portrait of him it will not be inappropriate to bring forward another aspect of his beautiful character, which comes forth in his comfort to the sorrowing and his counsel to the perplexed. There are two such letters, without date, and the names of those to whom they were addressed, that may be here best inserted.

I.

“CHRISTIAN FRIEND—

“Though I had very little vacant time for it, yet I would have seen you if I could have presumed it might have been any way useful for the quieting of your mind ; however, since I heard of your condition, I cease not daily, as I can, to present it to Him who alone can effectually speak peace to your heart, and, I am confident, in due time will do so. It is He that *stilleth the raging of the sea*, and by a word can turn the violentest storm into a great calm. What the particular thoughts or temptations are that disquiet you I know not ; but, whatsoever they are, look above them, and labour to fix your eye on that infinite goodness which never faileth them that, by naked faith, do absolutely rely and rest upon it, and patiently wait upon Him who hath pronounced them all, without ex-

¹ See this explained in my book, *Henry Scougal and the Oxford Methodists*.

ception, blessed that do so. Say often within your own heart, *Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him*; and if, after some intervals, your troubled thoughts do return, check them still with the holy Psalmist's words, *Why art thou cast down, O my soul?* etc. If you can thoroughly sink yourself down, through your own nothingness, into Him who is all, and, entirely renouncing your own will, embrace that blest and holy will in all things, there, I am sure, you shall find that rest which all your own distempers, and all the powers of darkness, shall not be able to bereave you of. I incline not to multiply words; and indeed other advice than this I have none to give you. The Lord of peace, by the sprinkling of the blood of His Son Jesus and the sweet breathings of the great Comforter, His own Holy Spirit, give you peace in Himself. Amen."

II.

"MADAM—

"Though I have not the honour to be acquainted with your Ladyship, yet a friend of yours has acquainted me with your condition, though I confess the unfittest of all men to minister anything of spiritual relief to any person, either by prayer or advice to you; but he could have imparted such a thing to none of greater secrecy and withal of greater sympathy and tender compassion towards such as are exercised with those kinds of conflicts; as, having been formerly acquainted with the like myself, all sorts of sceptical and doubtful thoughts, touching those great points, having not only passed through my head, but some of them have for some time sat more fast and painfully upon my mind; but, in the name of the Lord, they were at length dispelled and scattered. And, oh! that I could live and bless Him, who is my deliverer and strength, my rock and fortress, where I have now found safety from these incursions; and I am very confident you shall very shortly find the same; only wait patiently on the Lord, and hope in Him,

for you shall yet praise Him for the help of His countenance ; and it is that alone that can enlighten you, and clear your mind of all those fogs and mists that now possess it, and calm the storms that are raised within it. You do well to read good books that are proper for your help, but rather the shortest and plainest, than the more tedious and voluminous, that sometimes entangle a perplexed mind yet more, by grasping many more questions and answers and arguments than is needful. But, above all, still cleave to the incomparable spring of light and divine comfort, the Holy Scriptures, even in despite of all doubts concerning them ; and when you find your thoughts in disorder, and at a loss, entertain no dispute with them, by any means, at that time, but rather divert from them to short prayer, or to other thoughts, and sometimes to well chosen company, or the best you can have where you are ; and at some other time, when you find yourself in a calmer and serener temper, and upon the vantage ground of a little more confidence in God, then you can resume your reasons against unbelief, yet so as to beware of casting yourself into new disturbance ; for when your mind is in a sober temper, there is nothing so suitable to its strongest reason, nothing so wise and noble, as religion ; and believe it is so rational, that, as now I am framed, I am afraid that my belief proceeds too much from reason, and is not so divine and spiritual as I would have it ; only when I find (as in some measure through the grace of God I do) that it hath some real virtue and influence upon my affections and track of life, I hope there is somewhat of a higher tincture in it ; but, in point of reason, I am well assured, that all that I have heard from the wittiest atheists and libertines in the world is nothing but bold reve[l]ry and madness, and their whole discourse a heap of folly and ridiculous nonsense : for, what probable account can they give of the wonderful frame of the visible world, without the supposition of an eternal and infinite power and wisdom and

goodness, that formed it and themselves, and all things in it? And what can they think of the many thousands of martyrs in the first age of Christianity, that endured not simple death, but all the inventions of the most exquisite tortures, for their belief of that most holy faith; which, if the miracles that confirmed it had not persuaded them to, they themselves had been thought the most prodigious miracles of madness in all the world? It is not want of reason on the side of religion that makes fools disbelieve it, but the interest of their brutish lusts and dissolute lives makes them wish it were not true; and there is the vast difference betwixt you and them: they would gladly believe less than they do, and you would also gladly believe more than they do. They are sometimes pained and tormented with apprehensions, that the doctrine of religion is or may be true; and you are perplexed with suggestions to doubt of it, which are to you as unwilling and unwelcome as these apprehensions of its truth are to them. Believe it, madam, these different thoughts of yours are not yours, but his that inserts them, and throws them, as fiery darts, into your mind; and they shall assuredly be laid to his charge and not to yours. Think you that Infinite Goodness is ready to take advantage of His poor creatures, and to reject and condemn those that, against all the assaults made upon them, desire to keep their heart for Him, and to acknowledge Him, and to love Him, and live to Him. He made us, and knows our mould, and, as a father pities his children, pities them that fear Him; for He is their father, and the tenderest and kindest of all fathers; and, as a father pities his child when it is sick and in the rage and reverie of a fever, though it even utter reproachful words against himself, shall not our dearest Father but forgive and pity those thoughts in any child of His, that arise not from any wilful hatred of Him, but are kindled in hell within them? And no temptation hath befallen you in this, but that which has been incident to men,

and to the best of men ; and their heavenly Father hath not only forgiven them, but in due time hath given them an happy issue out of them, and so He will assuredly do to you. In the meantime, when these assaults come thickest and violentest upon you, throw yourself down at His footstool, and say, 'Oh God, Father of mercies, save me from this hell within me. I acknowledge, I adore, I bless Thee, whose throne is in heaven, with Thy blessed Son and crucified Jesus, and Thy Holy Spirit ; and, also, though Thou slay me, yet will I trust in Thee. But I cannot think Thou canst hate and reject a poor soul that desires to love Thee, and cleave to Thee, so long as I can hold by the skirts of Thy garment, until Thou violently shake me off, which I am confident Thou wouldst not do because Thou art love and goodness itself, and *Thy mercies endure for ever.*' Thus, or in what other frame your soul shall be carried to vent itself into His bosom, be assured your words, yea, your silent sighs and breathings, shall not be lost, but shall have a most powerful voice, and ascend into His ear, and shall return to you with messages of peace and love in due time, and, in the meantime, with secret supports, that you faint not, nor sink in these deeps that threaten to swallow you up. But I have wearied you instead of refreshing you. I will add no more, but that the poor prayers of one of the unworthiest caitiffs in the world, such as they be, shall not be wanting on your behalf, and he begs a share in yours ; for neither you, nor any in the world, needs that charity more than he does. *Wait on the Lord, and be of good courage, and He shall strengthen your heart ; wait, I say, on the Lord.*"

Such are the letters and religious papers belonging to Principal Leighton that still survive from the Commonwealth and Protectorate period, and it must be confessed that from their supremely *religious* character, they throw little light on the history of the events that were passing around him. But the

restoration of the King was now at hand, and we reach a decisive step in Leighton's career.

The Protectionist Government in Scotland was not popular, because it was anti-national, military and sectarian. The Scottish people could not forget Dunbar nor Worcester, nor could they cease to remember that their General Assembly had been silenced. The Scottish people thought they had everything to gain by a Restoration, while dislike of the preponderance of the army in England, implying the maintenance of the heavy taxation that was rendered inevitable by the necessity of holding Scotland and Ireland in subjection, helped it forward. The English Government of Scotland failed because it paid no heed to the spirit of nationality; "in Scotland," says Mr. Firth, "all that Cromwell had done or failed to do—union, law-reform, and freedom of trade—vanished when the Restoration came. But the aims of his policy were so just that subsequent statesmen were compelled to follow where he led. The union and free trade came in 1707, and the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions in 1746."¹

Burnet's statement "we always reckon those eight years of usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity" is an exaggeration, for the devastation and loss caused by the long wars had produced wide-spread poverty, and Baillie's letters are full of complaints regarding the burden of taxation. The English Government had originally imposed a land tax of ten thousand pounds per month on Scotland, but it was levied with such difficulty that it was at last reduced to six thousand pounds; while in the year of Cromwell's death, England had to remit to Scotland a contribution of over £140,000 towards the expenses of the military government that held Scotland in subjection.² Ecclesiastical and national feeling were against the union, and Robert Blair voiced the discontent when he said, "As for the embodying of Scotland with

¹ *Oliver Cromwell*, p. 299.

² *Ibid.* p. 298.

England, it will be as when the poor bird is embodied in the hawk that has eaten it up."

The Church, too, was rent with parties, and the Resolutioners and Protesters thundered against each other, although the sound of battle was louder on the Protesters' side, and the Resolutioners were the "Moderates"—the wise men of the *Via Media*.¹ The Protesters were the means of introducing into Scotland a strict Sabbatarianism, and customs in worship and discipline that were common among the Independents and "Sectaries" of the army, but were not indigenous to Scottish soil. Baillie deplored the predominance of the "heady men," who "waste the Church" and "frame our people to the sectarian model."

Leighton could, no more than Baillie, be drawn, far less attracted to them, and the departure of the Church from its simple ritual and *national* position was, as we shall see from Brodie's diary, one of the main causes why he took the step that he did.

The Restoration came : Charles II entered London on May 29, 1660, in triumph : the 19th of June was kept in Edinburgh as a day of thanksgiving for the Restoration, and the Scottish nobles hastened to London to pay their respects to the King. But the "Covenanted Monarch" was determined to restore Episcopacy in Scotland, and for this purpose employed James Sharpe as his tool. Parliament met by royal authority and passed the Revisory Act which rendered void all Acts passed since 1638, and the Episcopal form of Church government was at once restored in Scotland.

Before entering into this history in so far as Leighton is concerned with it, let us introduce here two letters belonging to the period.

The first is to his brother, Sir Elisha Leighton, recommending his old friend, Mr. Aird, of Ingram, for promotion ; and as this brother was an agent in bringing Robert Leighton

¹ Principal Story's *William Carstares*, p. 10.

before the notice of the King, a short sketch of his career may best here be given.

Elisha Leighton¹ was the younger son of Alexander Leighton, and rose to be colonel in the Royalist Army. He was arrested in August 1647, imprisoned in Windsor Castle, and after the King's execution joined the Royalist party abroad. The Duke of Buckingham employed him, and in 1649 the Duke of Lorraine sent him to England to raise soldiers for the Royal cause. In 1650 Charles appointed him secretary for English affairs in Scotland, and after Worcester he escaped to Rotterdam with Buckingham. He became a Roman Catholic, and in 1656 he deserted Buckingham on the ground that the Duke did not "rightly submit to the King." Subsequently he became secretary to the Duke of York, and was knighted at Brussels in 1659. At the Restoration he made his peace with Buckingham and was indebted to him for much preferment. He is said to have persuaded Lord Aubigny to recommend his brother Robert for a bishopric in 1661, and in 1664 he was made one of the secretaries of the prize office. Charles recommended him to the University of Cambridge for the LL.D. degree, and in 1665 he was admitted one of the King's counsel in the Admiralty Court. His subsequent career was an unworthy one, and he was in every respect not worthy of his saintly brother. North sums him up as "the most corrupt man then or since living," and there is not an extant word in his favour. Burnet thus describes him : "He was very like Robert in face and in the vivacity of his parts, but the most unlike him in all other things that can be imagined : for though he loved to talk of great sublimities of religion, yet he was a very immoral man, both lewd, false, and ambitious. . . . He was a very vicious man : and this perhaps made him the more considered by the King, who loved and trusted him to a high degree.

¹ Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxiii. p. 3.

No man had more credit with the King : for he was of the secret as to his religion, and was more trusted with the whole design that was then managed in order to it, than any man whatsoever. Sir Elisha brought his brother and him acquainted : for Leighton loved to know men in all the varieties of religion.”¹

Robert Leighton in the following letter asks his brother's influence on behalf of Mr. Aird, of Ingram, who was “threatened with a removal by the title of an old incumbent,” and also on behalf of another.

Letter of Principal Leighton to his brother, Sir Elisha Leighton.

“*March 5, 1661.*

“DEAR BROTHER—

“I writ to you lately and troubled you with the story of my present and daily growing unhealthiness, which cannot add much, but something it does, to my wonted longings for the evening, not without hopes that it shall likewise prove a bright and sweet morning. Meanwhile it is no great matter where I pass the few hours that remain ; yet I told you I had some thoughts of spending them nearer you, but have not yet resolved ; but that and all shall be disposed of as is best.

“Mr. Aird, who gives you this, I believe you have heard me speak of as one acquainted with my free thoughts, and that hath himself a free unprejudiced soul, and loves truth and devotion wheresoever he finds it, even in the greatest crowd of error or superstition about it. He hath a cell and a provision amongst the hills in the borders of England, but is threatened with a removal upon the title of an old incumbent, who is at London or near it. If you be acquainted with Dr. Cozens, Bishop of Durham, or can recommend him to him, by any one that is, if he himself desire it, or if in any other way you can assist him, I entreat it of you.

“Mrs. Abernethy tells me her son is in the King's Life-

¹ *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. pp. 242, 243.

Guards. If you meet with him, and by recommending him to my Lord Gerard's favour, or in anything else can do him good, you shall oblige both me and the honest widow. She makes often mention of you. Cher frère, adieu,

" R. LEIGHTON."

" For Sir Ellis Leighton at St. James's." ¹

The above letter indicates that Leighton's health was not satisfactory. The following one to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh makes it clear that he had gone South in search of health, and also at the Council's request to represent the affairs of the University to the King and his Counsellors.² It was during this visit that he was evidently persuaded by his brother to accept a bishopric, and his brother had evidently coadjutors in leading the good man to the decision. He distinctly states in August—three months before his "re-ordination"—that he "projected" nothing for himself in London, and would be quite happy to return to his academic office in Edinburgh.

Letter from Principal Leighton to the Right Honourable
Sir Robert Murray, Lord Provost of Edinburgh (dated
London, 20th August, 1661).

" MY LORD—

" Having bin some weeks at the bath and found litle benefit by it, I returnd to Lond. some four or five days agoe where I found a letter from your Lo. and your Councell concerning the Colledg for which my great inclination and affection I know is out of doubt, but my hopes in it are very small. I have spoke with those great persons here that yow name and they promise their assistance, but unless yow can find out some particular whereon to fixe, to mention the bussinesse in generall with all the recomendations possible will signify nothing at all, and I beleev it will bee hard to find any thing

¹ Secretan's *Archbishop Leighton*, pp. 43 to 44.

² Cf. Minute of Town Council, p. 298.

worth the asking that is not either disposd of some other way or in the aime of some that will bee more likely to cary it, for the Signature formerly sent up, and whereof I likewise have a copy, I perceive 'twill bee to little purpose to looke further after it, yet I intend to tryt once more. For myself I am so far from projecting any thing here that I can imagine nothing though most freely offer'd that would stay mee from returning to that station where I have found so much unmerited respecte and kindnesse from all, and particularly from your Lo. and the present Councell, but the simple truth is, growing of late so sensibly still more crazy and unhealthfull, and having (I beleev and hope) so short a stage of remaining life to run, I know not if it shall be pertinent to take so long a journey to doe yow and that place so litle or no service, I had almost sayd so great an injury (and I speak it without art or feigning). I shall heartily absolv yow, yea I doe it before hand, if yow should plainly send mee word to save the labour, and while I live would continue no whit the lesse a most affectionate welwisher to your City and Colledg and all that concerns yow, and, My Lord,

“Your Lordship’s

“Most oblig’d and humble servant,

“R. LEIGHTON.

“Lond. Aug. 20.

“I know your Lo. will be pleasd to impart this, together with my humble service, to the Councill.

“[28. Augt. 1661, produced and read].”

When Leighton returned from London, he was Bishop of Dunblane, and although we do not possess any letters that indicate his mind prior to his taking this step, we have luckily preserved in the Diary of Brodie of Brodie several references to interviews that the latter had with Leighton, and which show “development” towards a form of

government different from the Presbyterian. Brodie of Brodie was a lord of session, and married Mary, daughter of William, third Earl of Lothian, the warm friend of Robert Leighton. Like his father-in-law, Brodie was a pronounced Presbyterian, and in December 1640 had headed a party that demolished two oil paintings of the Crucifixion and the Day of Judgment in the Cathedral of Elgin, and also mutilated the finely carved interior of the building as unsuitable for a place of worship!

His records of Leighton are, however, valuable, and give us an insight into his thoughts from 1653 to 1662. (Cf. Chap. X.)

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX

NOTE.—I am indebted for these full extracts from the Edinburgh Council Records to the kindness of Thomas Hunter, Esq., W.S., Town Clerk of Edinburgh, and his obliging assistant, Mr. John Jarvis.

Extracts from Edinburgh Town Council Records relative to Mr. Robert Leighton, Principal of the College of Edinburgh.

17th January, 1653. The same day the Counsell togidder with the ministeris of this Brugh present being conveyned in Counsell Elects, nominats and constitutis Mr. Robert Lightoun, Minister at Newbottle, to be Principall of the Colledge of this Brugh vacand be deceis of Mr. John Adamsone lait Principall thair of, and grauntis to the said Mr. Robert the yeirlie benefite and casuallities belonging to the said place siklyk and in the same conditioun as the said Mester John had the samen himselff and ordaines the Thesaureris of the Colledge to answer and make payment thair of at the four vsuall termes in the yeir quhairanent thir presents shall be your warrand. Vol. 17, fol. 368.

17th January, 1653. The same day it is to be remembred that the Provest craveing the voteis of the ministers anent the electioun of Mr. Robert Lightoun, Primar, it halted there a tyme wishing they had not bene calld to the electioun and showing that albeit they were weill content with the man yet they could not give their Vol. 17, fol. 369.

voices to the electioun becaus they wer not cleir in the maner of the Call and desyned to be markit onlie present and *non loquets* in the voiceing.

Vol. 17, fol. 369. 20th January, 1653. The quhilk day the Counsell appoyntis the Thesaurer Andro Bryssone and James Ker to go to Newbottle to call Mr. Robert Lightoun to the place and office of Primar of the Colledge quhairunto he is elected and chosen and to delyver to him a missive direct to him fra the Counsell to that effect quhairanent thir presentis sall be your warrand.

Vol. 18, fol. 11. 30th March, 1653. The quhilk day compeird Mr. Robert Lightoun electit Principle of the Colledge of Edinburgh in place of umquhile Mr. John Adamsone lait Principle thairof and acceptit upon him the said place and gave his aith *de fideli administratione*.

Vol. 18, fol. 11. 30th March, 1653. The same day ordaines the Dean of Gild and his Counsell to admitt and resave Mr. Robert Lightoun, Principle of the College of Edinburgh to be burges and gildbrother of this Brugh for payment of the ordinar dewties and ordaines the Dean of Gild to repay the same and dispensss with his arme silver and uther dewes accustomed to be peyit at the admissioun of burgessis quhairanent thir presentis sall be his warrand.

Vol. 19, fol. 154. 29th September, 1656. The Counsell appoyntis John Mairjoribanks baillie and David Wilkie Dean of Gild to goe over to the Colledge to the Primar and to show him that the Counsell can doe nothing in reference to the Colledge at this tyme, it being so neir the electioun and the bussiness being of itselff so weightie.

Vol. 19, fol. 230. 22nd July, 1657. The Counsell appoyntis Archibald Sydserff and Robert Murrey, baillies, John Milne and William Thomsone, clerk, to meitt with Mr. Robert Lightoun, Principall of the Colledge, and to deall with him for takeing a journey to Londoun to his Highnes and Counsell there for procuireing ane augmentatioun of the Rentall of the Colledge and to give him instructiouns for that effect, and the Thesaurer to pay the expensis of his journey, quhairanent thir presentis sall be their warrand.

Vol. 19, fol. 253. 16th October, 1657. The Counsell appoyntis John

Lawder, baillie, William Johnstoun, Thesaurer, and Archibald Sydserfe to meitt with the Principall of the Colledge anent such particulars as he hes to inform and to report.

9th December, 1657. Compeired the Lord Provost and gave in a Report of the meitting of some of the Counsell with the Primar and Regents of the Colledge yesterday eftirnoone. Vol. 19, fol.
262.

1. That they had appoynted to remember that legacie of sex hundred merks left to the Colledge be William Wauchops mother in law, and upon that accompt the Counsell sould become debtors to the College for the same. 2. That they had appoynted the baillie Johne Lawder to give in a list of the legacies left to the Colledge to the Agent, and the Agent to goe about the way to procure payment of them, and the Thesaurer of the Colledge to be at the expensses thairrof. 3. To remember what may be given to the Relict of Master William Forbes in farder consideratioun over and above the bygane rents of his fialls. 4. That they had appoynted the baillie John Lawder to give in to the Provost the names of those who intend to inlarge the buildingis of the Colledge. 5. That they had appoynted the Thesaurer of the Colledge and John Milne to visite the rooffe of the auld hous and namelie the galvie thairrof, and to report what is necessar to be done thairto, and lykwayis to visite the dropps of the leids of the Librarie and caus mend the same. 6. That they had recommended to the Counsell quhat is fitting to be done with the bromestaks neir the Colledge. 7. That they had lykwayis recommended to the Counsell to appoynt some of thair number with the Thesaurer and Agent to prosecute the Graunt of his Highnes to the Colledge with all caire and diligence and for settling of the localitie and drawing of the Signature. 8. That there sould be two exact Catalogues of the librarie, ane for the Counsell and another for the Colledge. The Counsell haveing heard the report appoyntis Mr. James Norwell to be spoken anent the legacie, approves the second, fourt and fyft, continues the thrid to the next meitting,

Recommends the sixt to the baillie of the quarter for removeing of the bromestaks, appoynts John Jossie, Patrik Murrey and John Milne with the Agent to prosecute the Graunt, localitie and Signature, and appoynts Patrik Murrey, Thesaurer, to speak with the Primar that order be given to the Keiper of the librarie to perfyte the Catologues and to acquaint the Counsell that some may be appoynted to compare them.

Vol. 19, fol.
317.

2nd July, 1658. The Council appoyntis John Penman, lait Thesaurer, to pay to Mr. Robert Lightoun, Primar, one Thowsand Merks Scottis For his expensses and chairges to Londoun in the Colledge affairs For procureing of the new gift.

Vol. 19, fol.
320.

28th July, 1658. A Report being made be John Jossie, John Lawder, baillies, David Wilkie, Dean of Gild, and John Milne of the Counsell conveyned at the Colledge with the Primar, Professors, Ministers and Regents on Monday last the 26th of Julie Instant. That the Primar had moved to them that there being a common report of some suspect houses keipit neir the Colledge, and that the Scholleris wer in danger to be corrupted by such occasiouns, And in particullar that one Marie Kincaid, of a scandalous Lyfe, keipit her residence in the Colledge Wynd and received in her company young men quho are thoght to have no Lafull bussiness in that or such places, and that theirfoir the Magistratis would take such course quhairby at least she and all other such suspected woemen might be removed from these boundis which are neir or adjacent to the Colledge if not to be expelled out of the cittie. Which motion the baillies did approve of, And that they would take a present effectuall course for removeing that and all other scandaleous persones.—Item, he moved that the Studentis in the Colledge could not be so good proficientis in Philosophie as could be wished, the reason quhairot in great pairt he conceaved to be the great defect in grammer schoollis. For remeid quhairof he thought (1) that meanes would be used quhairby Grammar Schoolles might be erected in the severall Presbytries, And that a competent frie sallarie may be

graunted to the Masteris and that it might be endevoired that his Highnes and Councill might graunt out of the concealled revenues of the Kirk rents some Sowme for that effect. (2) That some sort of Rudiments at leist might be condiscendit on, pairt English pairt Latine, for the more easie apprehension of litle children. Quhair-upon it is recommendit to Mr. Thomas Crawford that agains Michelmes nixt he may have in reddines that draught of Rudimentis and Grammer which some yeirs agoe he had compyled be desyre of the Magistratts that the same may be considered on and course taken in caice of Approbation that the same might be printed, and Ordaines to be made use of it in all Grammer Schooles, and the said Mr. Thomas to be considered accordinglie for his paines. And this is recommendit to the Ministeris that they speak with their Colleagues and consider of the best overtures that may be to that effect and to report to the nixt meitting.—Item. It wes moved be the Primar that becaus now it is fund that his Highnes hath graunted a Gift of Twa hunder pund Sterling per annum, out quich Landis that therefoir the magistratis, ministeris and masteris may use their endevoirs to procure a Localitie for the samen, and particularlie that the Treasurer and Agent of the Colledge, with assistance of Mr. James Pillouns, may goe about the bussiness and employ such as may make discoverie of such rents and Localities.—Item. To remember the Publick debtis and Legacies due to the Colledge.

The Counsell haveing heard the report approves of the samen.

21st October, 1658. At a meeting at the College instructions are given *inter alia* to remember of the 150 list Sterling due by Mr. James Balfowr to the Primar, quhilk is to be dedicat be him to the Colledge, the papers quhairof are in the hands of William Downy, Clerk, and of 100 list. Sterling due to him be the Earle of Murrey, both which soumes ar to be disposed of at the Primars pleasure, and an offer is made be the Primar, Master Lightoun, to preache in the Colledge Hall to the Scholleris upon the Sabbath day once in two,

Vol. 19, fol.
339.

three or four weeks *per vices* with the rest of the Professors.

Vol. 19, fol.
339.

22nd October, 1658. The Counsell appoynts Johne Jossie, John Lawder, and James Lawsons to speak with Master Lightoun and John Scott anent the making of a Table of the Benefactors and to condiscend upon the persones to be insert therein, and recommends also to the Lord Provost and Committee afoirsaid, to speak with the Primar and Professors of the Colledge to have preaching ilk Sunday in the efternoone established in the Colledge Hall.

Vol. 20, fol.
17.

4th February, 1659. The Lord Provost haveing reported that Mr. James Balfowre, ane of the Clerks of the Sessioun, being pressed be the Thesaurer of the Colledge for a debt awand be him to Mr. Robert Lightoun, Principal of the Colledge, and be him assigned to the Good Toun for the use of the Colledge, being the soume of wes desyreous to have a continuance of the said soume till Lambes nixt to come, and that for the Counsells further satisfacioun and securitie he wes content to give to them a precept on the Lord Register for the soume of Fyftie pund Sterling in the first end of his Sallarie, in pairt of the said soume, and that he would assigne the Counsell to a bond of adebtit to him be the Earl of Lauderdaill and Dumfermling in corroboratioun of his said former band, quich offer the Counsell declaired they wer content to accept and passes fra the arrestment laid thairupon *pro loco et tempore*.

Vol. 20, fol.
283.

31st July, 1661. The Counsell appoynts John Jossie, baillie, Edward Edgar, Dean of the Gild, Thomas Fairholme, William Bell, William Carmichell, and Sir William Thomsone, clerk, to meitt anent a letter to be written to Master Lightoun, Principall of the Colledge, for the present at Londoun, anent the affairs of the Colledge and appoints the said Thomas Fairholme to give him a bill of credite for ane hundreth pound sterling to be repayed to him with exchange out of the first of the Colledge rents if the same be made use of be the said Maister Lightoun, quhairanent thir presentis sall be his warrand.

6th December, 1661. The Counsell being informed Vol. 21, fol. 67.
that Mr. Robert Lightoun, Principal of the Colledge of this Brugh, is to be advanced be his Majestie to some other place, thinks fitt for the present for keiping of thair awen liberties and priviledge over the Colledge as Patrons of the samen to nominat a lyt of some able and qualified persones and to continue the nomination or electioun of any one single persone till the Counsell be fullie mett and the advyce of the ministers heard thairin and the extraordinar Deakens wairned to that effect. The Lytts for primar ar these: Mr. William Colvill, Mr. Patrik Scowgall, Master James Fergusone, Mr. William Rate, Mr. Thomas Crawford, Mr. John Smyth.

9th December, 1661. The Counsell delayis till Fryday Vol. 21, fol. 67.
all questiouns and debate of electing a Principall for the Colledge in respect betuixt and that tyme they may heave the certaintie of things from Master Lightoun himselfe quhither he is to continue in the chaige or to remove thairfra.

7th August, 1663. Compeird Thomas Fairholme, Vol. 21, fol. 58.
Thesaurer of the Colledge and producit the accompt of the Earle of Lawderdails band dew to Mr. James Balfour daited 18 January, 1648, conteining the principal soume of 1910 merks payable the first of March thair-aftur with annual rent, quhilk band wes assigned by the said Mr. James Balfour to Harie Hope and transferred by the said Harie Hope to Andrew Balfour and assigned be Andrew Balfour to Patrik Murray, Thesaurer of the Colledge, for the use thair of in satisfacioun *pro tanto* of the debt dew be the said Mr. James Balfour to Mr. Robert Lightoun, Principal of the Colledge, and dedicat be the said Mr. Robert Lightoun to the Colledge for a maintenance of a Bursar of Philosophie thairin. The annual rent of the quhilk soume of 1910 merks money foirsaid from the first of Marche, 1648, to the first of August, 1663, instant, it being 15 yeirs fyve moneths at sex per cent, is 1819 merks and a half *inde* 3729 merks $\frac{1}{2}$ quhair of is to be rebaited with common consent for sex yeirs rent of the principal soume at sex per cent 687 merks $\frac{1}{2}$. Swa that there rests to pay in all 3042

merks quhairof to be deduced be transactioun made with Sir John Baird conforme to ane Act of Counsell of the fourt of July, 1662—806 merks 8/8*d.* with a yeir and a quarters rent quhairof 60 merks 4/8*d.* Item to Alexander Lockhart conforme to ane Act of Counsell of the sext of March last 300 merks *inde* 1167 merks rents dew to the Colledge, 1877 merks quhairwith the Thesaurer is to be chairged in his accomptis. And seeing the said soume is mortified to the Colledge be the said Mr. Leightoun for maintenance of a Bursar of Philosophie thairin, appoynts the Thesaurer of the Colledge to delyver the said soume to the Toun Thesaurer upon the Touns band to the Colledge for payment of annual rent thairfoir conforme to the mortification, and the Toun Thesaurer to be chairged thairwith and the Thesaurer of the Colledge to be dischairged of the same as payit out in maner foirsaid and to be chairged with the Touns band in place of the said soume, and the Provest, Baillies, Dean of Gild, Thesaurer and their Clerk to subscriye the Band, quhairanent thir presentis sall be their warrand.

Vol. 51, fol.
17.

14th May, 1684. The same day anent the petitione given in be Mr. William Hendersone, keeper of the Bibleothick, mentioning that wherupon ane earnest and kynd missive Letter from the right reverend Doctor Robert Lightoun in behalf of his sone Ralph Hendersone that he should receive the benefeit of what he had consigned for the maintenance of a bursaray, and whyll the said Ralph showld be bred to serve the Church in the work of the Holly Ministrie to which through the mercie of God he is designed, it did please the Counsell to admitt him to that benefeit only dureing his course of Philosophie, which expyres at Lambes next, swspending ther act for the course of Theologie whyle a more express ordor and warrand from the said Doctor Lightoun should come to ther hands. He being soe earnest to have the supplicants sone provydit for delayed noe tyme, but did instantly upon the making of this knowen unto him, send down from London a new Order and warrand not only in behalf of the supplicants sone in

particullar (which he assured him wold easilly pass in most ample forme by reasone of the Counsells kyndness and goodnes to the supplicant) but also in behalf of others who should heirafter obtaine his bursary and should be qwalified and attested as wes ther reqwyred. The Ordor and Warrant being produced as also the testimony and declaration of the Primar, Professor and Masters of the Colledge in behalf of the petitioners sone as wes requisite, Beseekand therfor the Provost, Baillies and Counsell by ther act to confirme the said Ralph Hendersone to the forsaid benefeit for thrie years next after Lambes that he, according to Doctor Lightoun's desyre, might be brede in the knowledge of Divinity to serve Christ and the Church in the holly ministry, which wes the great designe and end of that mortification as the petitione bears. Which together with the forsaid Order of Doctor Lightouns rellative to the said mortification, together with the forsaid testificate in favors of the said Ralph Hendersone subscribed by the Principal, Professor of Divinity and Masters of the Colledge of this Cittie bearing his proficiensy in Philosophy and his inclinatioun to prosecute his stwddies of Divinity and his abiletyes to prosecwte his saids Stwdies in Theologie being, considdered by the Counsell, they have admitted and conforme to the said Doctor Lightoun his said letter of presentation admitts the said Ralph Hendersone, sone to the said Mr. William Hendersone, to be ane bursar of Theologie of the said Doctor Lightouns fowndatioun, and that for the space of thrie years after Lambes nixt, at which tyme his course of philosophy expyres, and allowes the dewes to him apperteineing to that bursary conforme to the said Letter of Presentation rellative to the said Doctor Lightouns Mortification and appoynts the Thesaurer of the Colledge to pay the same to him qwarterly beginand his first quarters payment thairof by advance from Lambes to Hallowmes next and soe furth qwarterly dureing the said thrie years efter the said terme of Lambes next.

11th May, 1685. The same day anent the Petitione given in be Mr. William Clelland, Stwdent of Divinity

Vol. 13, fol.
170.

in the Colledge of this brugh, mentioneing that he wes resolved to prosecute his Stwddies of Divinety in the said Colledge but not haveing money necessary for the prosecutione thairof and being enformed that the lait most reverend father in god Doctor Robert Lightoun, Arch bishop of Glasgow, had mortified to the Colledge of this bwrgh ane hundreth and fyftie pound starling for the mentinance of ane bursar of divinety therin and that ther is not as yet any preferred therto, the Good Toun as patrones of the said Colledge haveing the presentatioun thereof and therfor craveand that the Counsell wold preferre the supplicant to the said Bursarie soe soon as the samyn should occur as the Petitione bears. The Counsell in answer to the forsaid petitione prefers the petitioner to the bursarie of Doctor Robert Lightoun conforme to the Mortificatioun immediately efter the hundred and fyftie pound Starling contained in the Mortificatioun is payed in to the Toun for the use of the Colledge. *Sic subscribitur* George Dummond, Provost.

Vol. 31, fol.
195.

14th August, 1685. The same day the Toun Thesaurer reported he had receaved of a legacie left by Bishop Lightoun to the Colledge ane hundreth and fyftie pound Starling. The Counsell appoynts the said Thesaurer to be charged therwith in his accompts.

Mose's In-
ventory, vol.
ii. p. 240,
bdle. 270,
No. 8481.

16th January, 1668. Tack of the Teinds and Lands of Langton, and others, granted by Bishop Leighton, Bishop of Dunblain.

Mose's In-
ventory, vol.
ii. p. 288,
bdle. 201,
No. 7212.

Letter from Mr. Robert Leighton to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh relative to the affairs of the Colledge. No date given, and this letter is stated to have been "removed to the volume of Letters."

Report on
City Monu-
ments, vol.
16, p. 171.

Discharge granted by Sir James Campbell, of Abern-chill, Mr. Mathew Wallace, Minister of the Gospel at Kincardine, and Mr. Archibald Gibson, Minister of the Gospel in Dunblane (three of the Trustees of the Library in Dunblane founded by the late Reverend Bishop Leighton) to the Good Town of Edinburgh for the sum of £10 Sterling contained in a Bond granted by the Good Town to the said Trustees. Dated at Dunblane and Edinburgh 28th October and 8th November, 1720.

CHAPTER X

LEIGHTON'S TRANSITION FROM PRESBYTERY TO EPISCOPACY

BEFORE reaching conclusions, it is necessary to state the evidence upon which they are founded, and Brodie's Diary affords the chief links that connect the period of Robert Leighton's life when he was a Principal in a Presbyterian College, and the time when he became a Bishop in the Restoration Church. Let us take the references in order.

24th May, 1653.

"I spoke with Mr. Leighton: he did shew me, that the composing of our differences was not a harder task than the finding out the Christian Lord's mind by them, both the procuring and final Forbearance. cause. He thought holiness, the love of God and our brethren, was the chief duty God was calling us unto, and sobriety and forbearance to one another. He knew not if it were not from his natural temper, or something of the English air: but he thought it was the safest to incline *in mitiorem partem*. Much persecution was there upon our imposing upon one another, as if we were infallible, allowing none that differed from ourselves in the least measure. He thought the Lord would break that which we would so fain hold up, our Judicatories: he had observed so *much of our own spirit in them these many years past, that he had lothed them for the most part, and wearied of them*. I said, indeed, I thought that our Judicatories these three or four years were much deserted, and without that presence of God in them which sometimes was observed. Our differences were the cause. That the Lord might not be traced in His way, and that none may come after Him: therefore he darkens our mind. . . . Mr. Leighton said, These differences should make the hope of heaven the sweeter. I said, 'Tis true: yet so as not to

weary here or be hasty. He said, It was the more venial extreme, if any were venial, and better than any love of the world. I said, One grain of the world's love was more burdensome and worse than a hundred grains of untimeous desires after heaven. He said, Deferred hope breaks the heart. He said, If the saints knew the advantages and final causes of their differences and trials, they would rather trials. And, indeed, I think the sweet fruit of a sanctified trial is to see mercy in it for correcting our quarrelling, and advantage, which would make us love the Lord better, and so say, 'In faithfulness Thou hast afflicted me, and it was good for me, &c.' Tho' we may not love the sin, yet we may admire and love and adore Him that can extract good to us, and glory to Himself, out of our very infirmities and sin." (*Diary*, pp. 42, 43.)

The Scottish Parliament having adjourned on the 12th of July, 1661, the Laird of Brodie, in compliance with the advice of some of his political friends, resolved to visit London. His object seems to have been more on behalf of others than for himself, in the hope of obtaining from the King an exemption for them from certain fines either imposed or threatened. This journey he undertook on horseback, and accomplished within eight days. During his protracted stay in London he had to experience the vexations and irksomeness of waiting on at Court, soliciting favours, in which he seems not to have been very successful, in connexion with the affairs of the Earl of Morton, Lord Lorn (afterwards Earl of Argyle), and others, his "poor friends."¹

Brodie took ill, evidently under the strain, and was visited by Leighton, who was also in London at the period. The *Diary* states :

August 31, 1661. . . . "I was heald and recoverd, and my sickness did not return, but past away at once. Shall I not bless, ador, and acknowledg the hand of the Lord in this? Yes, and shall doue so long as I liue.

"Onlie let it be in mercie: and this is the token that it is in mercie, quhen al is broght to Thee: my health, bodie, spirit, re-

¹ *Intro.* p. xli.

couerie ar forthcoming not to myself, but to the Lord and him onli; for quhat other end should I liue, or desir to liue? Mr. Lighton did visit me, and gau me this lesson. Lord, seal it on my hart."¹

The Laird of Brodie was in London for a considerable time, and on September 14, 1661, the Diary states:

"I heard Bishops were set up in Scotland: the rents that did belong to them arrested,"² and shortly afterwards there follows an account of an interview with Leighton. September 23, 1661. "I met with Mr. Lighton, and he exprest much of a tender disposition. Oh, let it not be a sin or snar to him! He said ther was not that

Latitude. difference betwix Psts (Papists) and us as to put us to excommunicate and condemn, judg, and persecut one another; we might forbear one another. He said there was as much for the sa(k)cloth as for the surplice. He had a great latitud. Lord, deliver him from snares!"³

Brodie's fears were corroborated by report:—

Leighton September 30, 1661. "I heard Mr. Lighton inclined to be a Bishop, and did obserue his loos a Bishop. principals befor anent Surplic, Ceremonie, and Papists. I desird grac to discern what to judg of this, and if the Lord cald me to speak to him or not."⁴

. . . October 13, 1661. "Die Dom. . . I mentiond this day among others Mr. Lighton to God, that the Lord would minister light, grac, direction to him, that he stumbl not upon the one hand or the other, and be noe occasion to mak others stumbl or sin."⁵

The next and subsequent notices of Leighton are of special interest, in so far as they are explicative of his action at this period:—

October 25, 1661. "Mr. Lighton din'd with me. . . I per- ceaved he was not averss from taking on him to be a Bishop: al was clear to him; ciuil places fre from censurs: he approu'd the organis, antheams, musick in ther worship. He said the greatest error among Papists was ther persecution and want of chariti to us. *His intention was to doe good in that plac, and not for ambition.* He

¹ Diary, p. 210.

² P. 213.

³ P. 215.

⁴ P. 216.

⁵ P. 219.

was against defensiv arms ; men in popri holding all ther tenets might Papists. be sav'd. He had no scrupl in ani thing which they did, repeating oft this word.—Religion did not consist in thes external things, whether of gouernment or ceremonies, but 'in righteousness, peac, and joy of,' &c. I prayd for him, as for myself, and was feard that his chariti misguided might be a snar to him.

"I desid to mourn under the darknes which hid us from one another, and hids the mind of God from us, that we see it not clearli. How great is our darkness ! *He said, he signd and swor the Couenant, Covenant. and had thes sam thoughts then : that the Couenant was rashli enterd in, and is now to be repented for.* They placd mor religion in ther ceremonies then in the most material things of religion ; and we placd mor religion in opposing ther ceremonies then in the weightiest matters of the law of God."¹

"November 24, 1661. Die Dom.

Re-ordained. "I heard Mr. Sharp and Lighton *were re-ordained, and scrupled at nothing.* It is a difficulti in thes tymes to know quherin true sound worship and godlines does consist : men readi to use the(ir) liberti for the hurt and destruction of others, and as a stumbling block to manie."² . . .

November 27, 1661. "I met with Mr. Lighton, and anent his undertaking did express myself freele to him. He shew(ed) *that he retaind the sam tendernes and bowels to thes that feard God.* I

Toleration. desid him to use his liberti not to stumbl, but to edifi others, and not use his liberti to pleas himself, but rather others in the Lord. *He said he thoght he was bound to use his liberti to the utmost : and if he did forbear to use his liberti in things quherein he had freedom, he thoght he sinn'd.* I exhorted him to guard against Poprie. *He said he had not ani thing he mor desid than that they (Papists) might hav liberti also, and not for ther consciences to be prest ; he would indulg them, and Anabaptists and Quakers ; he lyk'd (the)*

Liturgie. *Liturgie and som of thes things best.* These opinions wer dangerous. I besoght him to watch, and prayd the Lord for Ceremonies. him. I desid him to use his credit that the Ceremonies might not be broght in upon us. *He said he wishd soe : but he hop'd they should be prest on none.* Alace ! efter introducing, force will soon ensew. But, good man, he does not perceav or suspect it. I desid him also to use his credit with his collegs (colleagues) and his King."³

¹ Pp. 221, 222.

² Pp. 228, 229.

³ Pp. 229, 230.

Liturgy. December 3, 1661. "I spok to Mr. Lighton and found his satisfaction in the worship of England, and al the ceremonies of it, and I could not but be troubl'd. *He preferd liturgie and set forme to other prayer.* I read the pamphlet anent the unlawfulness to press or injoin the ceremonies or things indifferent." ¹

Consecration of Scottish Bishops. Referring to the consecration of Leighton, Sharp, Fairfoull and Hamilton in Westminster Abbey, on December 15, 1661, Brodie writes :—

"I heard they had surplices, albs, and all other ceremonies. He that preached said, ther wer noe laik elders, but ther wer diuersities of dignities in the preaching Presbyters: much spoke he against Presbyterians: God's declaring against them at Dunbar. Al thes things we spread befor God. I heard that our Bishops bou'd to the alter, had on their surplices, rochetts, and other ceremonies, took the Sacrament kneeling at the alter quhen consecrated. I desidrd to consider and weigh thes things soberlie, and with understanding." ²

Bishop of Dunblane. January 7, 1662. "I did se the Bp. of Dumblean and heard . . . *I could not but acknowledg the grace of God in that man, albeit he was . . .*" ³

The Bishop was dis-appointed with his Colleagues. January 27, 1662. "I spoke with B. Dumblain (Leighton). He told me he feard he should be dis-appointed in them he was to be joind with: *and he exprest his desir and purpos to know and doe the wil of God.* Oh, let the Lord grant him and me also this mercie." ⁴

Affected with the Troubles of the Time. July 15, 1662. "I did see the Bishop of Dumblean and found him affected with our distempers." ⁵

(1) We can see from Brodie's references the chief reasons that induced Robert Leighton to become a bishop in the Restoration Church. He had a dislike to the controversial air that surrounded the Church Courts from 1643 especially, and of the parties into which the Church was divided during the period of the Commonwealth. He had no sympathy with the Hildebrandism that succeeded the Solemn League and

¹ P. 231.

² P. 233.

³ P. 236.

⁴ P. 239.

⁵ P. 266.

Covenant, nor with the Protesters whose fanaticism and intolerance had embittered the religious life of the country and converted it into a well of Marah. Leighton had no aptitude for controversies, and he disliked the spirit of the Presbyterian Church Courts. Brodie records of him so early as 1653:

"He (L.) thought the Lord would break that which we would so fain hold up, our Judicatories. He had observed so much of our own spirit in them these many years past, that he had lothed them for the most part and wearied of them."¹

(2) His ideal of religion as a life of righteousness, joy and peace in God, seemed to him more likely to be realized in a larger form of Church polity that would unite and reconcile the faithful, that would embrace all the types included by the two great divisions of Puritanism and Royalism.

(3) His toleration of ecclesiastical differences, as matters of secondary importance, was united with a deep love for the permanent elements of religion. He retained a "tenderness for all that feared God," and desired a liberty for "Papists, Anabaptists and Quakers."² In other words, his ideal was a comprehensive, national, Protestant Church, with toleration for all who differed from it.

(4) His residence in England had led him to love the liturgy and prefer "set form to other prayer" as well as to desire a more impressive ritual than that which had become customary in Scotland through the league between the Protesters and the English Independents. He felt that the time had come at the Restoration when there might be more of "beauty of holiness" in worship, when more of the "ceremonies" of the Church of England might appropriately be introduced into Scotland,³ and he took the step with this avowed intention, although he subordinated ritual and ceremony to the *deeper elements of religion* on which they

¹ P. 303.

² P. 306.

³ P. 306.

ought to rest as consciously present in the mind of the worshipper.

(5) He regarded the "Solemn League and Covenant" as "rashly entered into and now to be repented of,"¹ and (in 1661) avers "that he had the same thought" when he signed it. In other words, he had signed the Covenant of 1643, as an obedient son of the Church, subordinating his own views to those of the older men, who then led the Church. And here we are at the heart of the comprehensive problem that now presented itself to him. The "Solemn League and Covenant" in 1643 had driven from the Westminster Assembly the very men with whom Leighton had come to sympathize, and notably the great Archbishop Usher, in whose scheme of accommodation Leighton felt that the hope for a comprehensive Church in the future was centered.

Let us now part with Brodie, thankful for the help he has given us in interpreting Leighton's mind, and not least of all for this reference to the Covenant of 1643 that enables us to connect Leighton with another movement to which Brodie does not refer. It is now that we see the comprehensiveness, the sincerity and singleness of purpose, the burning passion of this good man to connect Scotland with the great movement going forward in England, which Richard Baxter had so much at heart and which had the great aim of comprehending both Presbyterians and Episcopalians in one national Church—a movement that might have become realized fact but for the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643.² Let us briefly recall the situation as it centres around the name of Archbishop Usher and his feasible model of a Low-Church Episcopacy adapted to Presbyterian forms.

Usher.

In England, about 1640-41, there existed three parties on the Church question : (1) There was the *Laudian or High Church Party*, who believed in the Divine Right of Episcopacy ; (2) There was the *Root-and-Branch*

¹ P. 306.

² See pp. 183-195.

Party or the Presbyterian Party, who desired the abolition of Episcopacy "root and branch"; the simplification of the ritual: the exclusion of all dignitaries above that of the presbyter or parish minister: and the appropriation of all ecclesiastical revenues after the abolition of Bishoprics, Deaneries, etc., to humbler religious uses or to the general purposes of the State. Their aim was to work for a greater degree of similarity between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland; (3) There was the *Moderate or Broad Church Party*, who though attached to Episcopacy as entwined with English History, were ready for changes in the government and worship of the Church, and persuaded that the hour for them had struck. There were many subsections in this party, but they may all be considered as one in aiming at a "Limited Episcopacy." Two of the most outstanding names connected with this movement were Williams of Lincoln, who had been restored to public life by the Long Parliament, and Archbishop Usher of Armagh. Although of the Irish Church, Usher's learning and high character won for him respect in England, and in 1640 he left Ireland for England and continued to live there. Usher was distinguished for his vast scholarship, but more for his charity, sweetness of temper, and humility, and his views on Episcopacy were not now to be declared for the first time. He did not believe in the absolute Divine Right of Episcopacy, but only in its convenience and advantage, and he held that in the primitive Church there had been no distinction, or next to none, between Presbyter and Bishop. His ideal of Church polity was a limited Episcopacy, in which Bishops as Superintendents over districts should be aided by councils of Presbyters and even controlled by synods of Presbyters. In Ireland, he had been overborne by Laud, and had seen, not without grief, the Irish Church deprived of her Calvinistic independence and conformed to the Church of England. And now (1640) that he was in England, and Laud and Strafford

had reached their downfall, although he treasured no feelings toward them but those of respect and pity, he thought it was possible that his influence might be used for mediation, especially as the King had come to regard his presence in England as not unimportant.¹

The Committee of the Commons (March 9, 1641) had brought in their report, and it propounded for the consideration of the House three distinct courses of Parliamentary action as necessary for a satisfactory solution of the Church question. *First*, there must be an exclusion of the Bishops and clergy generally from all State offices and duties. *Secondly*, there must be a limitation of the power of the Bishops in the Church itself, and an introduction of more of the democratic element into the Church government; and *Thirdly*, there must be a reduction and application to State purposes of the great revenues of Deans, Chapters and other ecclesiastical foundations. No report, short of Root-and-Branch, could be more revolutionary, and the House not only received the report and kept it in reserve, but proceeded to give effect to its recommendations. This extreme measure naturally produced a joining of forces in the ranks of the High Church and the Moderate Party, and it was strengthened by the rejection of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill by the Lords. Usher, who had been already asked for advice by the House of Lord's Committee, appointed under the presidency of Bishop Williams on March 1, 1641, and whose views had frequently been cited and appealed to on different sides, was appealed to by all defenders of Episcopacy for help. It was rumoured that with the King's approval, he had been drawing up plans for conciliation, and on February 9, 1641, he had complained to the Commons of the unauthorized publication, in his name, of some such plan. Bishop Hall, the author of *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, was specially anxious for his

¹ Elrington's *Life*, pp. 207-209.

co-operation, and wrote to Usher "to bestow one sheet of paper upon these distracted times, on the subject of Episcopacy, showing the Apostolical original of it, and the grounds of it from Scripture and the immediately succeeding antiquity. Every line of it, coming from your Grace's hand, would be *super rotas suas*—as Solomon's expression is, very apples of gold with pictures of silver, and more worth than volumes to us." Usher consented, and on May 21, 1641, there appeared *The Judgment of Doctor Rainoldes touching the originall of Episcopacy more largely confirmed out of Antiquity*, by James, Archbishop of Armagh. But the perfect copy of *The Reduction of Episcopacy unto the form of Synodical Government received in the Ancient Church* seems to have been in *private* circulation in May and June 1641, and to have affected the discussion then proceeding in the Commons. In this scheme of accommodation the government of the Church was to be by the following graduated courts : (1) A weekly parochial court in every parish, consisting of the Incumbent and Churchwardens ; (2) monthly courts in districts, or subdivision of dioceses corresponding to the Rural Deaneries ; every such court to consist of the assembled Rectors or other Incumbents of the parishes of the district, presided over by a Suffragan for the district, corresponding to the ancient *Chorepiscopus* ; (3) Diocesan Synods, once or twice a year, consisting of the Suffragans of districts and representatives of the parish clergy, and presided over by the Bishop, or by one of the district Suffragans deputed by him ; (4) Provincial Synods, every third year, consisting of the Bishops, the Suffragans, and elected parish Ministers from each of the two ecclesiastical Provinces of England, under the presidency of the Archbishop of the Province, or a Bishop deputed by him ; and with power to the two Provincial Synods, if meeting at the same time as Parliament, to coalesce into a General Assembly or National Council for the ultimate regulation of Church affairs.

Let it be recalled that this scheme of accommodation was regarded as having the King's (Charles I) approval ; that the fall of Laud and Strafford and the report of the Commons' Committee in 1641 had produced a greater sympathy between the High Church Party and the Moderate or Broad Church Party headed by Usher, as well as a greater desire to come to terms, and it will be seen what a great opportunity was lost by the Covenant of 1643, which made Usher and his followers at once retire from the Westminster Assembly. Usher had a great following in England, was willing to come to terms with the Presbyterians in England, Scotland and Ireland, and in all likelihood would have done so but for the revolutionary and aggressive attitude of the Solemn League and Covenant, which had an obvious and undisguised object—the subversion of the Church of England and the abolition of its distinctive government, worship and discipline. It alienated moderate Episcopalians, moderate Presbyterians and Independents by its assertion of the *sole* Divine Right of Presbytery ; it made Usher's scheme with toleration for sects outside the national Churches impossible, and lost for Scotland the most magnificent opportunity that has ever presented itself to her for effecting unity and creating Churches truly national and comprehensive in Great Britain.¹ With Usher's retiral, what possibilities left the Westminster Assembly !

But men gradually awoke to the sense of what had been lost by the non-acceptance of Usher's plan. This is distinctively clear during the time of Cromwell's Protectorate, and the Protector himself was both aware of the spontaneous movements in some of the quasi-Presbyterian associations of the clergy for a reunion as far as possible with the moderate Episcopalians as distinct from the Laudians, and had himself the old Episcopalian clergy in view as a body to be conciliated. Baxter, who advocated as sufficients in Church

¹ See this discussed, pp. 185-194.

tests, the Apostles Creed, Ten Commandments and Lord's Prayer, was anxious that there should be a restored Episcopacy after Usher's model; he did not accept Presbytery any more than Episcopacy as of divine right, but was willing to accept a modified Episcopacy on the ground of expediency—the Bishops to be permanent presidents of Synods, and to govern along with Presbyteries in conference. In the interest of such a scheme, Baxter and his friends were willing to re-consider the old questions of a Liturgy, kneeling at the Sacrament and other matters of Anglican ceremonial. Moreover, even if Burnet's statement is hardly credible "that Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Wilkins¹ told me that he (Cromwell) often said to him (Wilkins) no temporal government could have a sure support without a national Church that adhered to it, and he thought England was capable of no constitution but Episcopacy: to which he told me he did not doubt but Cromwell would have turned"—it is certain that Cromwell treated Usher with profound respect, showed him much attention and consulted him on several occasions. Usher had lived in London during the Commonwealth and part of the Protectorate with the greatest honour, held the preachership to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and had a pension at the rate of £400 a year. He died on March 21, 1655-6, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, a sum of £200 having been voted for his funeral by the Protector and Council.

Whatever may have been Cromwell's views on Usher's model, it was believed that he had some intention of giving effect to it, so as to incorporate the most reasonable of the old Anglican clergy with the other elements in the Church of the Protectorate, and institute, along with the somewhat inorganic aggregate, a moderate Episcopal government. Usher's *Reduction of Episcopacy*, which was in private circulation since 1641, was published from the original manuscript

¹ Second husband of Cromwell's youngest sister.

by Dr. N. Bernard in 1658, and was brought much before the public notice. Fresh studying of it took place among the clergy, and from 1658 to January 10, 1661, there was every likelihood that it would be accepted by parties generally as the basis of a comprehensive Church, with toleration for religionists of any kind outside that Church. As it was with this Church movement that Robert Leighton sympathized, as it was his single-hearted, sincere endeavour to bring it as the remedy to distracted Scotland, let us examine it a little further, and see what rendered its realization impossible.

The movement was received generally in England with much sympathy, and would probably have attained sound practical expression but for Cromwell's death. Then followed the Restoration, with the great blunder that the Presbyterians made in letting Charles return absolutely without conditions. The hurricane of popular impatience with Monk's advice had swept aside the proposals for negotiation, and there was no other pledge in Church matters than was contained in one passage of his voluntary Declaration from Breda:—"And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in Religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other—which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood—we do declare a Liberty to Tender Consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of Religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and that We shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to Us, for the full granting that Indulgence." The affair was astutely managed, and in a manner most vague, but Hyde and the King's intimate counsellors knew quite well that with an easy crypto-Catholic on the throne, Episcopacy, not in its moderate,

but in the Anglican High Church form, and resting on the doctrine of Apostolic succession, was inevitable.

Having entered on his heritage without a definite expression of policy, the Presbyterians still hoped for what was now called a *Comprehension*, or a polity of the Church after Usher's model—an amicable blending of Presbyterians and Episcopalians in the Church with a *Toleration* outside for all other sects, or even a concurrent endowment of them—a point that was occasionally mentioned.¹ Private consultation had also taken place among the leading Presbyterian ministers as to the possibility of reverting to the Thirty-Nine Articles and an amended Liturgy, as well as to the ceremonies that might reasonably be regarded as optional in worship. All seemed hopeful and an open spirit prevailed. Fond expectations were expressed that the nine Bishops still surviving would waive all ideas of a Laudian Episcopacy and remain contented with Usher's model. Charles within a few weeks of his return appointed ten Presbyterian chaplains among others, and in interviews with the King, at which the other nine were present, Baxter spoke freely. "I presumed to tell him," says Baxter, "that the late usurpers that were over us so well understood their own interest that, to promote it, they had found the way of doing good to be the most effectual means, and had placed and encouraged many thousand faithful ministers in the Church, even such as detested their usurpation . . . Wherefore I humbly craved his Majesty . . . that he would never suffer himself to be tempted to undo the good which Cromwell or any other had done because they were usurpers that did it, or discountenance a faithful ministry." Others spoke likewise, and the requests made to the King were these:—that things not necessary should not be made terms of membership of the Established Church; that sound discipline should be maintained, and that faithful ministers should not be ejected,

¹ See Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. vi. pp. 590, 693.

nor unworthy ministers be thrust in. The King's answer was gracious, and he expressed himself as glad to hear of the inclination of the Presbyterians to come to an agreement with the Episcopalian clergy. He also expressed his resolution to draw them together himself—"which must not be," he said, "by bringing one party over to the other, but by abating somewhat on both sides and meeting in the midway."

On July 20, 1660, Parliament followed this hopeful beginning between the King and the Presbyterian clergy with a resolution that the Church difficulty be referred to the King, and that he act with the advice of such a Synod of Divines as he might call. He asked his Presbyterian chaplains to draw out a list of the concessions they would make on their side. This was accordingly done and sent in as an *Address and Proposals* to his Majesty. While disclaiming Prelacy as repudiated in the Covenant,¹ they were willing to accept "the true ancient and primitive Presidency" in the Church "as it was balanced and managed by a due commixtion of presbyters," and tendered Usher's model as one that suited the circumstances. They agreed with the lawfulness of a Liturgy, if not so imposed as to supersede oral prayer entirely, and they desired a new one or a careful revision of the old one. They pleaded for moderation in ceremonies generally; for respect for the scruples of those who might object to kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or to holidays of human appointment; for prohibition of the use of the surplice, the cross in baptism and bowing at the name of Jesus. They requested that the King would not meanwhile impose tests or subscriptions on holders of benefices as conditions of their remaining in the Church; that he would stay the putting in of new men into livings the former holders of which were dead, and which might now be held by their Puritan possessors without injury to old rights; and that he would

¹ P. 184.

provide some remedy against the return to livings of men notoriously insufficient or scandalous. Such were the Presbyterian proposals—and they indicated a willingness to come to terms—but the Presbyterians were greatly surprised that the Episcopal divines, instead of presenting a paper of concessions drawn up on the same principle, presented only one of severe criticism, assuming High Episcopacy as indubitably right, and incapable of making concessions unless it might be in the matter of some revision of the Liturgy and some relaxation of ceremonies to tender consciences at his Majesty's pleasure. A defence of their former proposals was offered by the Presbyterian ministers in reply, but failure was evidently stamped upon the movement by the action of the High Church, who were in the ascendant and were secretly favoured by the King.¹ It became evident by immediate legislation (the "Act for the confirming and restoring of Ministers") that the Establishment was to be cleared of all Anabaptists and of such Independents as had been very prominently Republican.

At a conference held in the King's presence at Worcester House on October 22, 1660, Baxter was emphatic in declaring that the name "Presbyterian" was now a misnomer, purposely kept up among the courtiers to discredit him and his friends. "None of them now," he said, "spoke for Presbytery or thought of bringing any of the essential differences between the Presbyterian and the Episcopal systems into discussion. They had all practically ceased to be Presbyterians and had consented to accept Episcopacy and a Liturgy: what they now desired *was simply an abatement of the excesses of Episcopacy and the excesses of Ritual*. They were all at one in regarding Usher's model of Episcopacy as the satisfactory solution of the question.

The Conference ended in disappointment, but Baxter and his friends were surprised and delighted by the King's

¹ Baxter, i. (231-351); Masson's *Milton*, vi. 66, 67.

Ecclesiastical Declaration of October 25, 1660. Baxter's comment is, regarding it, "Though not such as we desired, yet such as any sober honest ministers might submit to: and I was presently resolved to do my best to persuade all, according to my interest and opportunity, to conform." Among the promises of the Declaration for the reconstruction of the Church of England was one granting a National Synod, and another that no Bishop in any diocese should ordain or exercise jurisdiction involving church censure without "the advice and assistance of the presbyters." The old Liturgy was to be revised by a committee of an equal number of divines of both persuasions to be appointed by his Majesty, and meanwhile to be optional in whole or in part. The Declaration seemed to promise all that Usher proposed, satisfied parties, and England was in repose.

The Bill for confirming the King's *Ecclesiastical Declaration* came to a sudden collapse in the Commons on November 27, and then the Royalist forces at work became apparent. It was thrown out by 183 noes to 157 yeas, and *the King was very glad*, says Hyde. Baxter was justly indignant, and soon the Presbyterians saw that the King's Declaration was a mere concoction to answer the exigencies of the hour, but was never meant to be binding. The King was left by his Parliament to manage the Church, and no one of his promises was fulfilled.

On January 10, 1661, the proclamation was issued "restraining conventicles under pretence of religious worship and forbidding any meetings for worship except in parochial churches or chapels," and from this date, and strengthened by subsequent legislation, the fear passed into the certainty that there was to be no comprehension for Presbyterians within the Established Church, and no toleration for any outside of it. Soon the prisons were filled with what was bravest and best in the manhood and womanhood of England, and the Act of Uniformity of May 19, 1662,

followed by St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24, 1662), when 2,000 clergy were ejected from their livings and 500 more were silenced, was the death-blow to all the hopes for a Comprehensive Church. It is from this date that there has come down the great ecclesiastical division of England into the Church of England and the Non-Conformists; that the polity of Laud once more triumphed, and the conciliatory polity of Usher receded into the background; that many of England's best sons found themselves excluded from the National Church, because they refused what Conscience would not permit them to accept. Instead of a Church reconstructed after a primitive model; with a Low-Church Episcopacy adapted to Presbyterian forms; with the Bishops as permanent presidents and guiding the Church with the counsel of the Presbyters; the Church of England had now as principles, standing on legal record, to which all within the Church were officially pledged:—"The necessity and obligation of Diocesan Episcopacy: the necessity and obligation of Episcopal ordination for all the clergy: the use of the Liturgy and a defined ritual in worship: acceptance of State control in the Church: avowed recognition of monarchical government in the Stuart line, as of divine right or nearly so, with commensurate reprobation of the Commonwealth and of the memory of Cromwell: profession also of the doctrine of passive obedience, or the duty of non-resistance to the Crown in any contingency whatsoever"¹ If the Solemn League and Covenant helped to allow a great opportunity to pass in 1643, not less so did the Crypto-Catholicism of Charles II and the High Church policy of his Episcopal and Parliamentary advisers in 1662.

Now from 1658 Leighton sympathized with the movement that had been connected with the name of Cromwell, and was advocated by Baxter on the model of Usher.

¹ Masson's *Milton*, vi. p. 234.

Baxter refused a Bishopric, Leighton accepted a Scottish one, but he had taken the step before the Act of Uniformity in 1662. He believed Usher's scheme both possible and realizable, while he had not yet been taught to distrust Charles II. Burnet states that he had previously entered into correspondence with many of the Episcopal party, and with Burnet's own father in particular;¹ but the scheme he advocated as the basis of conciliation was Usher's, while he regarded Episcopacy merely as a matter of expediency and to be united with Presbytery exactly on the lines that Baxter approved for England. The Episcopacy he desired was of the Low-Church type.

We have already traced the records of the old mediaeval Bishops connected with his family (chap. i.): we have likewise traced the influence of the Jansenist movement over his mind (chap. vi.), and both must be taken into account. Still, such as they were they seemed to him to culminate in the opportunity which Usher's model afforded, and which he liked as a restoration of Church government to a primitive simplicity when Presbyter and Bishop were one, and the Bishop with the advice of the presbyterate guided the Church. He quotes Baxter in his appeals for union to the Scottish clergy, and in such a way as to show that he was one with him in his comprehensive endeavour. And had Leighton but had favourable circumstances in Scotland; had his unfortunate colleagues been of the same fine mould as himself; had Charles II and his coadjutors but risen to the great occasion and been generous in their treatment of a high-spirited people, there seems no reason in the nature of things why Leighton's ideal for the Church of Scotland might not have been triumphant. Leighton knew the feeling of the young men, and at the Restoration a wave of feeling in favour of Episcopacy had become visible among the Resolutioner clergy, not only in Aberdeenshire and the North, where it was already strong,

¹ *History*, vol. i. p. 242.

but even in the Lothian and the southern districts.¹ Bad and unscrupulous statesmanship turned it, but the fault of that is not to be attributed to Leighton but to the unworthy men with whom, by a strange turn of fortune, this saint was surrounded. Dr. Walter Smith's language is not exaggerated when he says, "Here was a servant of God who found himself strangely ranged on the devil's side in the great conflict of the age, though fully minded all the while to fight the battle of the Lord."²

Had the Restoration statesmen been but guided by this beautiful spirit that dominated Leighton; had they been but worthy of this majestic Christian idealist, there is no reason to doubt that the course of Scottish history might have been different. Among unworthy company this good man's lot was cast, but he took his part from generous, high-souled conviction for the Church's weal, and from a single-hearted purpose to serve his country. Like Baxter in England, he aimed at a comprehensive church for Scotland, "reconciling the devout on different sides"; for that ideal Leighton lived and struggled; for it he pleaded for twelve long years; the policy that prevented it in England annulled it in Scotland; but of all those who entered the field in Scotland as leaders of the Restoration Church, there is but one name on which no stain rests, and that is the name of Robert Leighton.

¹ See Masson's *Milton*, vi. p. 149.

² Preface to *The Bishops' Walk*, p. xiv.

CHAPTER XI

ROBERT LEIGHTON, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE

“An eminent and holy person (Robert Leighton), yet alive in our Church, said, ‘He would rather be instrumental in persuading one man to be serious in religion, than the whole nation to be Conformists.’”
—HENRY SCUGAL.

IN this chapter we have more specially to deal with Leighton's endeavour for a comprehensive Church in Scotland and the circumstances that made its realization impossible. Never had a monarch a better chance of realizing it than Charles II at the restoration, and never did a monarch more wilfully fail. The whole transaction was characterized by dishonour and duplicity, and there is only one in the whole group whose name is unstained, and that one is Robert Leighton.

The Restoration was for Scotland a dissolution of her recent political connexion with England, and among the various causes of Scottish rejoicing at the Restoration, not the least was the hope of getting back their nationality and their laws, and of having an independent government of their own in Edinburgh.

The preliminary arrangements for the government of Scotland were made in London, and from among the many eminent Scots in London, the beginnings of a Scottish Ministry and Privy Council were formed. Middleton was designated as the King's High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, when it should meet: Glencairn was made Chancellor of Scotland: the Earl of Crawford became Scottish Lord Treasurer: Lauderdale was made Scottish

Secretary of State, and Sir Archibald Primrose, Lord Clerk-Register or Keeper of the Rolls. These five were the centre round which the other Scots grouped themselves, and Hyde, Southampton, Monk, Ormond, Manchester and Secretary Nicholas were associated with them and might be present at their meetings with the King. Such meetings were frequent during June and July 1660, and the arrests of Argyll, Swinton and other prominent Protesters, made it quite clear in what direction the currents were running. The Resolutioner clergy at least hoped that a moderate Presbyterianism was to be maintained and the government of the Church not to be interfered with, even although the Protester type of Presbyterianism was to be put down. This hope was so far strengthened by the letter which Sharp brought with him from the King, addressed to Mr. Douglas, and to be communicated by him to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and by that Presbytery to all the other Presbyteries of Scotland. "We do resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation, and to countenance in the due exercise of their functions all such ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peacefully, as becomes men of their calling." But the letter was a deliberate equivocation, and the equivocal phrase was "as established by law." No restraint was to be put on Middleton, and by him the Scottish Kirk question was to be managed in accordance with his prudence and discretion!

Under the name of the Three Estates, the Scottish Parliament was opened on January 1, 1661, and it was composed of King's men, who were most prominent among the elected lairds and burgesses. The *Lords of the Articles*, who were such pliant tools to James I and Charles I, were revived, and to this committee of twelve selected nobles, twelve selected lairds and twelve selected burgesses, was entrusted the preparation of all Bills, if not the decision of

what the House should and should not do, while the rejection in the Parliament was merely nominal. The Scottish people before long witnessed an absolute despotism, directed from London, and operating by native agency ; and were called to obey Acts emanating from a Parliament that was known as the Drunken Parliament. "It was a mad roaring time" says Burnet, "full of extravagance : and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost *perpetually drunk*."

On the first day of their sitting they imposed upon themselves an oath of allegiance and supremacy, acknowledging the King's sovereignty "over all persons and in all causes," and binding them "never to decline" the same. This oath struck at the root-principle of Presbytery, which denies the supremacy of the civil magistrate in spiritual causes. On the 11th they passed an Act declaring it to be "His Majesty's prerogative to choose officers of State, Councillors and Lords of Session," and pronouncing all laws, acts and practices to the contrary since 1637, to have been undutiful and disloyal. On the same day they passed another, asserting it to be part of the King's prerogative to call, prorogue or dissolve all Parliaments or political conventions, declaring all meetings without his warrant to be null and void, and repealing all Acts to the contrary since 1640. On the 16th, among other Acts, they passed one vesting the sole power of peace and war in the King, as holding his crown from God alone. On the 22nd the Solemn League and Covenant with England was declared null and void. On the 25th Hamilton's Engagement of 1648 was approved of, and then there was a most comprehensive Act, imposing on all persons in any public trust, or to be appointed to such, an oath of supremacy and allegiance, formulated so as to recapitulate the Acts respecting Prerogative already passed in the present Parliament, and requiring sworn obedience to them all.

But now came the *direct* attack on Presbytery. On March

28th there was passed the *Act Recissory*, annulling all the Parliaments that had been held since 1633, and thus uprooting Presbytery from Scotland. To stay the outcry against this, there came soon afterwards *an Act concerning Religion and Church Government*, declaring that "as to the government of the Church, his Majesty will make it his care to settle and secure the same in such a frame as shall be most agreeable to the Word of God, most suitable to monarchical government, and most complying with the public peace and quiet of the kingdom." Such phrases might be construed as well as they could, but Presbyterians had at least the annexed assurance that "in the meantime his Majesty, with advice and consent" of his Parliament, "doth allow the present administration by Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods, they keeping within bounds, and behaving themselves as said is, and that notwithstanding of the preceding Act Recissory." But there was one thing conspicuous by its absence—there was no reference to the General Assembly promised in the King's letter of the preceding August. The purpose of that omission was soon to be visible.

On September 5, 1661, the Lord Chancellor presented to the Scottish Privy Council a letter from his Majesty, referring to ecclesiastical affairs. It began :

"Whereas, in the month of August 1660, we did, by our letter to the Presbytery, declare our purpose to maintain the government of the Church of Scotland settled by law ; and our Parliament having since that time not only rescinded all the Acts since the troubles began referring to that government, but also declared all those pretended Parliaments null and void, and left to us the settling and securing of Church government : therefore . . . we have, after mature deliberation, declared to those of your Council here our firm resolution to interpose our royal authority for restoring of that Church to its right government by Bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles, during the reigns of our royal father and grandfather of blessed memory, and as it now stands settled by law."

It is difficult to understand the reference to the

letter of August 1660, since the King's word was there solemnly pledged to maintain the "government of the Church as established by law," and this, on any fair principle of interpretation, could only mean the Presbyterian Church. The whole transaction, on the King's part and that of his satellites, was characterized by duplicity of the worst type, and the very first principle which could inspire trust in the people—faithfulness to the spoken and the written word—was ruthlessly violated. Even the moderate Low-Church Episcopacy, for which Leighton pleaded, never received a fair chance, and henceforth all Episcopacy became associated in the people's minds with despotism, and with the loss of national, political and spiritual independence. Its imposition, on an unwilling people by royal authority, was characterized both by tyranny and dishonour, and Principal Story has truly said :

"The history of Episcopacy in Scotland is not a heroic history. . . . The Presbyterian was the symbol of freedom, the Bishop of tyranny. It needs all the saintliness of Leighton to redeem the name of Scotch Bishops in the days of the Stuarts from utter execration."¹

That the Scotch Bishops now became the pliant tools of a monarch who dishonoured his word, was their condemnation, and by their unworthy action they lost the opportunity of restoring a reputation that was already sullied. And so impartial a historian as Dr. Samuel Gardiner, referring to the Tulchan Bishops of 1581, has said :

"*From that moment* Episcopacy was a doomed institution in Scotland. It was impossible for any man to submit to become a Bishop without losing every remnant of self-respect which he might originally have possessed. The moral strength which Presbytery gained from this compromise was incalculable. It soon became the earnest belief of all who were truthful and independent in the nation that the Presbyterian system was the one divinely-appointed mode of

¹ *Life and Remains of Dr. Robert Lee*, vol. ii. pp. 109, 110.

Church government from which it was sinful to deviate in the slightest degree. Whatever credit must be given to Andrew Melville for his share in producing this conviction, it is certain that the disreputable spectacle of the new Episcopacy was far more effective than any arguments which he was able to use.”¹

Such was the tradition in the people's minds, and with the exception of Leighton, there was no one among the Scottish Bishops ordained in Westminster, capable of restoring the reputation of the order in Scotland.

Their appointment followed from the same policy that produced the Act of Uniformity in England (May 19, 1662), and terminated the hopes of Baxter, who was willing to have a comprehensive Church. For the Scottish people to have accepted them, would have been to be traitors to the spirit which their past had created in them, and to the national independence which has made them what they are. The execution of the Marquis of Argyll and of James Guthrie, and the burning of the Covenant by the common hangman, set Scotland ablaze, and the history of the period resolves itself into a struggle between kingly despotism, with Episcopacy as its appanage, and spiritual independence, with Presbytery as its inspiration. The question of the hour was, Shall the anvil and the hammer break the iron that was to be beaten into a particular shape, or shall the iron break the anvil and the hammer? That the iron resisted, broke ultimately both anvil and hammer, and refused to take the shape intended for it by the hard strokes, is the glory and the vindication of the Covenanters, and forms a heroic period in Scottish history.

The King's letter of September 5, 1661, was followed by an Act of the Scottish Parliament, echoing it; and the proclamation restoring Episcopacy was made at the market-cross of Edinburgh. The only Scottish Bishop now alive of those who had been swept away by the Glasgow General

¹ *History of England*, vol. i. pp. 46, 47.

Assembly of 1638 was Thomas Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, and as two Archbishops and eleven Bishops were now required for the offices created, Sydserf might well expect office. He was accepted as a link of continuity with the Episcopate of James' reign, and was appointed Bishop of Orkney. Leighton was in London at the time, and with the views regarding Church government already indicated,¹ was persuaded by his brother to accept office.

"His brother (Sir Elisha Leighton),² who thought of nothing but the raising himself at court, fancied that his being made a bishop might render himself more considerable. So he possessed the Lord Aubigny with such an opinion of him that he made the King apprehend that a man of his piety and his notions (and his not being married was not forgot) might contribute to carry on their design. He fancied such a monastic man, who had a great stretch of thought and so many other eminent qualities, would be a man at least to prepare the nation for popery, if not directly to come over to them; for his brother did not stick to say he was sure that lay at the root of him. *So the King named him of his own proper motion, which gave all those who began to suspect the King himself great jealousies of him.* Leighton was averse to his promotion as much as was possible. His brother had great power over him; for he took care to hide his vices from him, and to make before him a great shew of piety. . . . When Leighton was prevailed on to accept a bishopric, he chose Dunblane, a small diocese as well as a little revenue. But the denearry of the chapel royal was annexed to that see. So he was willing to engage in that, that he might set up the common prayer in the King's chapel, for the rebuilding of which orders were given. The English clergy were well pleased with him, finding him both more learned and more thoroughly theirs in other points of uniformity than the rest of the Scotch clergy, whom they could not much value. And though Sheldon did not very much like his great strictness, in which he had no mind to imitate him, yet he thought that such a man as he was might give credit to Episcopacy in its first introduction to a nation much prejudiced against it. Sharp did not know what to make of all this: he neither liked his strictness of life nor his notions: he believed they would not take the same methods, and

¹ Pp. 303-307. ² Pp. 289, 290.

he fancied he might be much obscured by him : for he feared he would be well supported. He saw the Earl of Lauderdale began to magnify him, and so he did all he could to discourage him, but without any effect ; for he had no regard to him.”¹

Leighton was an idealist, and certainly his personal action was guided by the heavenly vision as he saw it. Still looking at the matter in the light of the history that followed in Scotland for the next twenty-seven years, it is almost unaccountable how such a man could have submitted so long to the degradation of being associated with colleagues like Sharp and some of the other Scotch Bishops. The only explanation is that he had lived so long apart, and regarded contemplation as the chief object of life, that he had neither any idea of the hostility in the Scottish mind to Episcopacy, nor of its utter unfitness to become the Established Church polity for the great mass of the people ; and that his gentle, child-like nature rendered him open to the persuasions that were addressed to him to add the lustre of his name to what became an unholy cause. He certainly had no conception that the object of the Government in establishing Episcopacy in Scotland was to make it subservient to despotism and persecution. What he did was done from his own religious ideal, as he saw it in the academic cloisters, and no one can question either his sincerity or his single-mindedness. His mind was fixed upon the early days of primitive simplicity, and to unite the Church upon a basis that did justice to the truth on all sides was his generous aim. Religion, like the early Apostles, he regarded as the recognition of Jesus as the Living Lord, and an actual experience of the life of God : while the leading of a holy life in purity and brotherly fellowship with all good men, was the duty to him of the hour. His religion was inwardness and the fulfilling of the law, and to a man with this ideal, all questions of Church government were of secondary importance. It was from such a stand-

¹ Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. 244, 245.

point that he acted, and any error of judgment he made, arose from the guilelessness and simplicity of his spiritual nature.

But this cannot be said of Sharp, who lacked all heroic qualities. Leighton was a hero, but Sharp was none. He shared and echoed the King's duplicity, and his name stands out in Scottish history with a stain upon it. As Burton puts it: "The Scots Presbyterians were represented by a traitor who abandoned all. James Sharp was sent to London as an ambassador in the cause of a Presbyterian polity, and he returned as the selected Archbishop of St. Andrews."¹ His doctor's degree of 1661 was, in Row's language, "but a stirrup to mount him to prelacy,"² and he stands forth from the unworthy transaction, as a man who betrayed those who trusted him, and sacrificed his brethren for his own personal aggrandisement and advancement.³ Even Row, while condemning Sharp, admits of Leighton "that he was never fixed in the point of Kirk government, counting it a thing indifferent, whether it was Independency, Presbytery, or Episcopacy,"⁴ but he can admit no such redeeming feature in the case of Sharp. Nor has recent research altered his judgment.⁵

Of the four bishops elect, only two had received Episcopal ordination, and before the consecration of Fairfoul as Archbishop of Glasgow and Hamilton as Bishop of Galloway, it was considered by the English Bishops as absolutely necessary to ordain Sharp and Leighton as deacons and priests.

¹ *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 398.

² Blair's *Life*, p. 373.

³ See article by Principal Tulloch in *North British Review* (1867), pp. 398-455.

⁴ Blair's *Life*, p. 398.

⁵ The Editor of the *Lauderdale Papers* (Mr. Osmund Airy) says, "A careful perusal of the whole series will save any future biographer from the temptation of endeavouring to palliate a life of petty meanness such as has seldom been exceeded in history. In the most comprehensive sense of the word Sharp was a knave, *pur sang*, and one who, to retain the price of his knavery, eagerly submitted to be cajoled, threatened, bullied, or ignored, by bolder men as served their turn." (Vol. i. p. x.)

The same necessity was not recognized at the consecration of Scottish Bishops in 1610; for when Bishop Andrewes maintained that they must first be ordained presbyters, as having received no episcopal ordination, Bancroft replied "that there was no necessity, seeing where Bishops could not be had, the ordination given by the presbyters must be esteemed lawful. Otherwise that it might be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the reformed churches."¹ Sharp stickled, but Leighton had sense enough and a sufficient acquaintance with Scripture and the writings of the early fathers to know that it was a matter of no consequence whether he submitted to it or not. Leighton never thought that orders given without Bishops were null and void, nor that episcopal ordination was necessary to the being of a Church.² It was but an outward sign or symbol of admission, creating nothing and conferring nothing. He could say, with John Milton :

"It is the inward calling of God that makes a minister, and his own painful study and diligence that manures and improves his ministerial gifts. In the primitive times many before they had received ordination from the Apostles had done the Church noble service—as Apostles and others. It is but an orderly form of receiving a man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge."

Burnet distinctly avers :

"Leighton thought that every Church might make such rules in ordination as they pleased, and that they might re-ordain all that came to them from any other Church; so that the re-ordaining a priest ordained in another Church imported no more but that they received him into orders according to their rules, and did not infer the annulling the orders he had formerly received."³

Row tells us that Sharp and Leighton would have their re-ordination only to be called "a confirmation of their former ordination,"⁴ and Wodrow preserves Leighton's

¹ Spottiswoode's *History*, p. 514.

² See p. 428.

³ *History*, i. p. 248.

⁴ *Life of Blair*, p. 399.

own words : "I will yield, although I am persuaded I was in orders before, and my ministrations were valid, and they do it *cumulative* and not *privative*: though I should be ordained every year I will submit."¹ But it is to be observed that neither in 1610 nor in 1661 did the Archbishop of York or the Archbishop of Canterbury preside, lest their presiding should have been regarded as claiming from the Church of Scotland any acknowledgment of subjection to the Metropolitan Sees of York or Canterbury.² And so even in the very act of subordination, some stand (such as it was) was made for the independence of the Scottish Church!

Leighton and Sharp were privately ordained deacons and priests; and this done, all the four were publicly consecrated in Westminster Abbey. The following description of the event is given by an eye-witness :

"The foure Doctors, Sharpp, Fairefoule, Hamilton and Lightoun, come in coach to the Dean of Westminster's house in the Cloister, where they were mett by four Englishe Bishopps, London, Wooster, St. Asaph, and Carlile, and were conducted by them to the church, where all were placed over against the pulpit. The 4 Scots in the habite of Doctors, with their Canonick coates, girdles, gownes, tippets, and corner caps. Sermon being ended they went to the east end of the church, where the altar stands. London having the action, placed himself upon the right side of the altar, Worcester on the left : the rest, Scots and English, standing before it. Then Canterburie being commissioner, the commission was read, and London proceeded to reade the forme of the booke of Common-prayer, each of the Scotts having one in their hand. After some time spent in reading, the Scotts sate downe before the altar on their knees, in which posture the oath of supremacie was tendered to them by the Bishop of London, they having their hands on the booke and kissing it. This done, they removed to a by-roome, and after a little returned having a linen garment above their gownes, such as a shirt without sleeves. In this garb they stood some time before the altar, and then returned to another roome, and after a little come in againe attired as Bishops, thus—Above the linen

¹ *Analecta*, i. p. 133.

² Bishop Skinner's *Primitive Truth and Order*, pp. 350, 351.

garment called a rochet, they have a gowne without sleeves, of a rich silk stuffe, and to it were pinned lawne sleeves. Having stode a little, they kneeled againe before the altar. Then came the English bishops, and laid their hands on their heads, one by one. The consecration being ended, they communicate thus—2 English Bishops and the foure Scotts, kneeling before the altar, receive the bread and wine from London. This done, they rose, and the foure Scots Bishops went toward the altar, one after another bowing as they went, and then kneeling laide downe the offering upon it. After which they went to Sir Abraham William's house, the place where ambassadours are received, and there had a sumptuous feast, where diverse of the Scottish nobilitie were present. But the Lords Middleton and Crawford were not, they being sicke. All this is testified by one who was an eye witnesse.”¹

Leighton was shocked at the jollity which prevailed at the feast, and when he spoke to Sharp about Archbishop Usher's scheme for union, found that Sharp had no idea on the subject at all. When he spoke to Fairfowl, he was only met with a joke or humorous story.

“By these means,” says Burnet, “Leighton quickly lost all heart and hope ; and he said often to me upon it, *that in the whole progress of that affair there appeared such cross characters of an angry Providence, that how fully so ever he was satisfied in his own mind as to Episcopacy itself, yet it seemed that God was against them, and that they were not like to be men that should build up His Church ; so that the struggling about it seemed to him like a fighting against God.* He who had the greatest hand in it proceeded with so much dissimulation, and the rest of the order were so mean and so selfish, and the Earl of Middleton, with the other secular men that conducted it, were so openly impious and vicious, that it did cast a reproach on everything relating to religion to see it managed by such instruments.” (Vol. i. p. 249.)

But it is a lovely contrast to turn from these three bringing down from London the inestimable gift of Apostolic succession, and breathe the atmosphere of two letters, written

¹ *Excerpta Ex Adversariis Reverendi Jacobi Bruni.*—MS. volume in Faculty Library published in *Analecta Scotica*, vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

by Leighton to his old friend and patron, Lord Lothian, and his friend, Mr. Aird.

A week after his consecration Leighton thus wrote to the Earl of Lothian :—

“MY LORD,

“I will not trouble your Lordship with many words touching so mean a thing as both I am, and really account myself and whatsoever may concern me : but the simple truth is, after much conflict with myself and others about the employment I am now design'd to, I found no way of escape, but either by sound scruple which I had not, or by pretending one, which, not having it, I durst not doe. But being forct to capitulate, I have at length obtained the indulgence of the lowest station, and they say the lightest burden of all the kind, whereas I was for some days threatn'd with one of the heaviest : and that the secular advantages of that I have yielded to are proportionable, being likewise called the least of all, is a thing that pleases mee not a little. One thing this change of mine will doe, which I account an advantage : 'twill mortify mee more thoroughly to a thing I never was very fond of—popular opinion, and that of many good people ; for whom, however they take it, *my affection will bee still the same, though my opinions in many things are not, nor for many years have not bin, the same with theirs : only I judg'd it uselesse and impertinent to tell them so* : and now I have truely a design of greater charity upon them than ever ; 'tis to use all the litle skill and strength I have to recall their zeal from all the little questions about rites and discipline to the great things of religion, and of their souls, which in these debates are litle or nothing concern'd. And truely if others engag'd in the same employment use as litle dominion and violence towards their brethren as I trust I shall doe, the difference will not be so considerable as it is imagin'd. And my purpose is, God willing, to indeavour and persuade all I can that they may bee in that of the same

mind and practice with mee. How things may succeed I know not, *nor doe I flatter myself with hopes of great satisfaction in any modell of human things under the sun : yet He is wise that rules them all, and to will nothing but His will in all is to mee all religion.* I now perceive I have broke the promise of the first line of my letter, but I know your Lordship will pardon it to the pleasure men naturally have to open themselves most to those they confide can best understand them. The young man your Lordship is pleas'd to recommend to mee, hath by that and many other respects very much right to whatsoever may bee usefull to him within my power, but for employments I doe not see how there likely can be any worthy of him within my dispose. I beleeve for myself I shall live as monastically as ever I did, and for aught I understand, the smallnesse of my provision will make it rather a necessity than a virtue ; but if at my return I can procure any place fit for him with any person of quality that I am acquainted with, and find him not better provided, I shall rather doe myself a pleasure in it then him, and would account it no part at all of that I so much long for, that in anything worthy of your notice and acceptance by which I might testify myself to bee, what indeed I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged and humble servant,

" R. LEIGHTON.

" London, *December 23, 1661.*

" May I give your Lordship the trouble of presenting my humble service to my Lady, and my Lord Ker and his Lady, if they bee with yow?

" For the right honorable the Earle of Lothian."

(Correspondence of the Earls of Ancram and Lothian, pp. 455 to 457.)

This letter is sufficient to establish Leighton's sincerity and unworldliness, if such a defence were now necessary. There is about it the heavenly-mindedness that characterizes his writings, and to read it is to be in contact with a soul that

was as a star and dwelt apart. Along with the second letter, written about the same period, it dispels the unworthy estimate of this saint by Kirkton :

“Leighton was made Bishop of Dunblane : thus he choose to demonstrate to the world avarice was not his principle—it being the smallest revenue—a man of good learning, excellent utterance and very grave, abstract conversation ; but almost altogether destitute of doctrinal principle, being almost altogether indifferent among all the professions that are called by the name of Christian” !

Let us place against this outside judgment the breathings of Leighton’s own heart, as they were expressed to another friend :

Letter of Bishop Leighton to the Rev. James Aird.

“MY DEAR FRIEND,

“I have received from you the kindest letter that ever you writ me : and that you may know I take it so, I return you the free and friendly advice, never to judge any man before you hear him, nor any business by one side of it. Were you here to see the other, I am confident your thoughts and mine would be the same. You have both too much knowledge of me, and too much charity, to think that *either such little contemptible scraps of honour or riches sought in that part of the world with so much reproach, or any human complacency in the world, will be admitted to decide so grave a question, or that I would sell (to speak no higher) the very sensual pleasure of my retirement for a rattle, far less deliberately do anything that I judge offends God.* For the offence of good people in cases indifferent in themselves, but not accounted so by them, whatsoever you do or do not, you shall offend some good people on the one side or other : and for those with you, the great fallacy in this business is, that they have misreckoned themselves in taking my silence and their zeals to have been consent and participation ; which, how great a mistake it is, few know better or so well as

yourself. And the truth is, I did see approaching an inevitable necessity to strain with them in divers practices, in what station so ever remaining in Britain: and¹ to have escaped further off (which hath been in my thoughts) would have been the greatest scandal of all. *And what will you say if there be in this thing something of that you mention, and would allow of reconciling the devout on different sides, and of enlarging those good souls you meet with from their little fetters, though possibly with little success?* Yet the design is commendable, pardonable at least. However, one comfort I have, that in what is pressed on me there is the least of my own choice, yea, on the contrary, the strongest aversion that ever I had to anything in all my life: the difficulty, in short, lies in a necessity of either owning a scruple which I have not, or the rudest disobedience to authority that may be. *The truth is, I am yet importuning and struggling for a liberation, and look forward for it: but whatever be the issue, I look beyond it, and this weary, weary, wretched life, through which the hand I have resigned to I trust will lead me in the path of His own choosing: and so I may please Him I am satisfied. I hope, if ever we meet, you shall find me in the love of solitude and a devout life.*

“Your unalter’d Brother and Friend,

“R. L.

“When I set pen to paper, I intended not to exceed half a dozen lines, but slid on insensibly thus far: but though I should fill the paper on all sides, still the right view of this business would be necessarily suspended till meeting. Meanwhile hope well of me, and pray for me. *This word I will add, that as there has been nothing of my choice in the thing, so I undergo it, if it must be, as a mortification, and that greater than a cell and haircloth: and whether any will believe this or no I am not careful.*”

¹ May this mean a contemplated retirement to the Port-Royal at one time? (see p. 105).

Leighton's action may have been inexpedient, and he certainly had to pay the price of being much misunderstood, but that it was sincere and single-minded is beyond doubt, as the above letters show. Religion (as he felt it) was behind it; and if his action was a mistake, it was at least a *generous* one. Leighton certainly did not achieve what Knox did, but beneath great outward differences, there is this in common—both acted from the highest motives, and the main source of the outward career was an *inner* life, secret, deep, rich and sympathetic. If these two letters illuminate much that would have remained otherwise obscure in Leighton's life, no less do Knox's own words to his wife on the last day of his life (November 24, 1572), "Go, read where I cast my first anchor."¹ Both of them, whatever may be said to the contrary of several of their associates, acted from the fear of God as the motive power of their lives. Knox achieved much because his statesmanship was on the line of the national aspiration. Leighton achieved little because he had associated himself with a distrusted class, but the motives were in both cases the most honourable and pure. Each was true to the heavenly vision as it appeared to him, and religion was the motive power in the action of both.

The late Bishop Wordsworth blamed Leighton for pusillanimity in retiring from a position where his presence was much needed.² On the contrary, it may be pointed out that nothing but magnanimous courage and brave adherence to a purpose could have *kept* him in a position for thirteen years, which from the first he regarded as a "mortification, greater than a cell and a hair-cloth," and the struggling for which seemed to him afterwards "like a fighting against God."

Upon the consecration of the four Bishops at Westminster, the Presbyteries of Scotland, that were still sitting, now began to declare openly against Episcopacy, and to prepare pro-

¹ 17th chap. of St. John's Gospel.

² *Episcopate of Charles Wordsworth*, p. 160.

testations or other acts and instruments against it. At the instigation of Sharp on January 9, 1662, a royal proclamation was read, declaring that Kirk judicatories, having now no power nor authority, were forbidden to meet in Synods, Presbyteries or Sessions, until they should be authorized and ordered by the Bishops.¹ The King commanded the Bishops to be received with all tokens of respect and honour and forbade all to speak, preach, write or print anything against them. But notwithstanding all this there was much denunciation, with not a few satires² and where a general obedience was given to it, the ministers met, and entered in their records a protestation against the proclamation, as an invasion of the

¹ Blair's *Life*, p. 403; Burnet's *History*, i. p. 250.

² Of these satires referred to by Row (Blair's *Life*, *Analecta* p. 403) I have found two preserved in Maidment's *Scotia. Anallecta Scotica*. The first is entitled—

“An Acrostick upon a worthy gentleman, Mr. Robert Lightone, Falsly, but by extract Lightbodie, now Bishop of Dunblane.”

R are are thy gifts—rarer thy works
Which thee so much decore :
O rarity of rarities,
Who would not thee adore ?
Because of singularity,
Though nought else thee commend,
E v'n this to all posterity
Shall much thy name extend,
Reporting thy compliencie
With each prevailing partie :
That whatsoever change fell out
Thou wast to it most heartie.

L ight heart, light head, light feet, light facts,
Thy true name is Lightbody :
I s this a pretty game to play
So oft the Palinody ?
G rave and retired thou seem'd to be,
Pomp worldly to defy,
H atch'd a religion thou has first
Does with all sorts comply.
T ush all divines of every sect,
Why are you all so busie ?

liberties of the Church, and to which they declared they gave obedience only for a time and for peace sake. The language of royalists, on the other hand, according to Row, was that they acknowledged no law in Scotland since 1633, and so, though the King had promised to preserve the government as settled by law, yet he might set up Bishops, as there was

O ne for you all the way to heav'n
 Makes plain to ev'ry husie.
 N ow farewell, all strait lac'd conceits,
 Lightbody beares the bell,
 E nter sects, Popes, all hereticks,
 There's roome within his cell.

(*First Series*, p. 84.)

In the Poems on Archbishop Sharpe, in which the Archbishop and the Restoration Bishops are severely referred to, Leighton is thus animadverted on :

- 2nd Part,
 verses 18, 19,
 23, 26, 30.
- “The Whig’s great curse to Hamilton,
 To Scougal wings to flee,
 To empty Paterson, the wind,
 To Honeyman, the sea.
 19. To Hoggy Wild, the mountain’s bear,
 To Wallace, venison,
 To Leighton and Forbess, I leave
 Ther father’s beneson.
 * * * * *
23. Yett some of yow were counted wise,
 And skilfull in the arts,
 But since Prelats, thers onlie one (Leighton)
 Seems to have witt or parts.
 * * * * *
26. To Church I leave a legend large,
 Of things indifferent,
 Which Master Lighton long since wrott
 But nev’r before in print.
 * * * * *
30. A map of sensuality,
 By all but Lighton fram’d,
 But of cheap set the virtues rare,
 Strahon can best commend.”
 * * * * *

(*Analecta Scotica*), 2nd series, pp. 95, 96.

now no law for abolishing them.¹ And yet Charles II was a covenanted monarch!

The Bishops left London in April, 1662, travelling together in the primate's coach, said to have been newly purchased for the occasion. Leighton was already weary of them, and they of him: and learning that they were to be received at Edinburgh with pomp, and that the magistrates of that city had commanded many of the townspeople to go out and meet them, he left them at Morpeth and came to Edinburgh before them, quietly and privately. The whole display and feasting at Holyrood were distasteful to one whose thoughts were fixed "on some of Jansenius' followers, who seemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and studied to bring things, if possible, to the purity and simplicity of the primitive ages, *on which all his mind's thoughts were fixed.*" He certainly offered a strange contrast to Sharp, who on taking possession of his ancient see on April 16, rode from Leslie to St. Andrews with an earl on each side of him, and a train of seven or eight hundred mounted gentlemen. On the first Sunday after the bishops came to Edinburgh, Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie (minister of Elgin and afterwards Bishop of Moray) and Leighton preached in the Tron Kirk.² Nine other bishops were before long consecrated, but Leighton was not present either on May 7 or at the beginning of June, or at the end of June, and so took no part in such services.³ Row states that he went to Dunblane and convened several ministers, and proposed some demands to them, all of which they refused.⁴

The problem now presented itself—what was to be done with the clergy of the disestablished Church? And to it there were three answers—the first was Leighton's, the

¹ Blair's *Life*, p. 381.

² The Tron was the only Church in Edinburgh that became Episcopal—the minister being known as the "nest-egg." Leighton and Henry Scougal were frequent preachers within it (cf. Row and Burnet).

³ Blair's *Life*, pp. 407, 411, 415.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 407.

second Sharp's, and the third was Middleton's. Leighton's method was the one he himself adopted in the Diocese of Dunblane, and not without success : it was one, too, that he believed would have succeeded over Scotland if it had been patiently and lovingly tried. It was this :—Displace no one ; enforce no subscription nor oath that will offend any tender conscience : let the bishops renounce all pomp and pride of office ; let them confine themselves to spiritual duties, and live after the simplicity of early days : let them be guided by the clergy in their deliberations, and by the wish of the heritors and the people in their presentations : let them endeavour to make public worship more beautiful, preaching less controversial, piety more diffuse : ¹ let them advance those things that unite and avoid those that separate or create divisions. Leighton's ideal was one to which he was himself loyal, but it was one that emanated from his own seraphic spirit, and that found no response either from his colleagues or from the representatives of the Government. The second answer, involving a different method, was Sharp's, and it was the expression of the worldly wise man. It was—Pursue a cautious, temporizing step-by-step procedure, which will gradually get rid of those opposed to the new system and supply their places with the compliant. But while Leighton was dreaming of a peaceful, comprehensive Church, governed by men, who reflected the spirit of the Good Shepherd ; while the worldly Sharp was evolving a temporizing policy, it was Middleton's answer to the problem that was acted on by the Parliament. It was—Assert the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical causes : enforce the rejection of the Covenants : compel the oath of allegiance : make it clear to the Presbyterian clergy that non-acquiescence is to be met with force, and that opposition is to be crushed with arms. The policy of the Parliament of 1662 was the outcome of this delusion, and Scotland witnessed for the

¹ Cf. *Synod Addresses*, pp. 366–394.

next twenty-seven years a tyranny over men's persons and consciences, that is alien to the Christian religion, and could never be the pillar of the Christian Church.

Then came the period of resistance, which Scotland justly regards with pride, and looks back towards as being for her *the heroic age*. Dean Stanley has wisely said : "The tombs of the Covenanters are to the Scottish Church what the Catacombs are to the early Christian Church."¹ That the Covenanters resisted is their glory : if they need a vindication, it is to be found in the Acts of the Scottish Parliament : that they ultimately prevailed, is the best proof that political intrigue in the name of religion, and an Erastian Church that lent itself as a pliant tool, are their own doom. Leighton was the one *pre-eminently* Christian minded leader on the side of the Government,² and he found himself ill at ease in that strange position to which he had been led by his own meditation, by the transparent guilelessness of his nature, by his being a Christian idealist and a political Nathaniel.

Let us recall the general policy, and its terrible consequences, before following the tracks of this peace-loving saint at Dunblane³ surrounded as they still are with a fragrance, which the centuries only make more attractive.

¹ *The Church of Scotland*, p. 80.

² Bishop Mitchell, of Aberdeen, and Bishop Wishart, of Edinburgh, brought also to their sacred office the qualifications that might have made Episcopacy acceptable. Of the others, Dr. Grub states that they were men "of respectable character, but not one among them was remarkable for learning or piety." After the prisoners were taken at Rullion Green they were mercilessly used by the Government, but none showed themselves more humane than Dr. Wishart, Bishop of Edinburgh. Although he had been barbarously persecuted by the Covenanters when in power, he not only urged that the prisoners should be forgiven, but daily supplied them with food.

³ The following verses by the late Mrs. Grant, of Laggan, may be here inserted : they are published in Jerment's Edition of Leighton's Works (vol. i. pp. xliii.-xliv.).

At the session of Parliament in April 1662, the first thing that was proposed by Middleton, was that since by the Act Recissory, which had annulled all the parliaments held since 1633, the former laws in favour of Episcopacy were now in force, the King had restored that function which had been so long glorious in the Church, and for which his blessed father had suffered so much ; and though the Bishops had a right to come and take their place in Parliament, yet it was a just piece of respect to send some of every state to invite them to come and sit among them ! This was agreed to ;¹ so upon the message that was sent, the Bishops came and took their places. On May 8, 1662, nine Bishops were added to the

“ON DUNBLANE AND LEIGHTON.

“When simple piety is seen,
To flourish with unfading grace,
Since Leighton taught and blest the place,
Dear, lov'd, rever'd and honour'd name !
Whose sound awakes devotion's flame ;
When musing in the lofty aisle
Of yon Cathedral's mould'ring pile ;
By thy bless'd memory inspir'd,
What sacred joy my bosom fir'd ;
With mild, complacent spirit, meek,
And placid brow, in act to speak ;
Methought I saw his form appear,
While crowds in silent awe revere,
The Evangelic Shepherd kind,
Who feeds the hungry, leads the blind,
And gently draws the sheep that stray,
To his lov'd Master's living way.
In meditation wrapt profound,
Or pouring balm in misery's wound ;
I see his humble mitre bright
With purest beams of heavenly light ;
Bold fancy check thy downy wing,
Nor strive 'midst trivial themes to sing,
Of him who far beyond our praise
With Seraphs joins immortal lays !
Sweet warbling through the courts above
The raptures of celestial love.”

¹ Burnet, i. p. 253.

Lords of the Articles by the King,¹ but Burnet significantly adds, "*Leighton came not with them, as indeed he never came to Parliament but when there was something before them that related to religion or to the Church.*"

Episcopacy was formally restored on May 27, 1662 ; and now that the Episcopal bench was filled, legislation went forward with speed. An Act was passed by the pliant Parliament requiring from every man in public office or place of trust, an abjuration of the Covenant, and a declaration of its unlawfulness. As patronage had practically been in abeyance since 1638, and had been by law abolished since 1649, another Act declared, that all ministers, who had since 1639 been appointed to parishes, "without presentation from the lawful patrons," must either now quit their charges, or accept presentation from the patron and collation from the Bishop. All who refused to do this were to leave their manse before November 1, 1662, and were forbidden thereafter to reside within twenty miles of their own parishes ; six miles of Edinburgh, or any cathedral town ; or three miles of any royal burgh. The clergy at first took no notice of this Act, but the Privy Council decided to enforce compliance. Soon after² the demand to "*own and submit*" to Episcopacy as established by law, some of the preachers in the West were summoned to answer before the Parliament for reflections made in their sermons against Episcopacy. Nothing could be made of their words, for they were general and capable of different senses ; so it was resolved, for a proof of their loyalty, to tender them the oath of allegiance and supremacy, but the nine ministers said they were willing to take it, provided they were permitted to give their sense of it. They gave in under their hands, to the Lords of the Articles, an orthodox sense, which Archbishop Usher had put on it in James' time, but the Lords would not permit them to give

¹ *Acts of the Scottish Parliament*, vii. 371.

² Row says in the end of May.

any sense of it, nor would they receive any paper from them, urging them to take the oath in *terminis*, as tendered to them. The ministers then urged the Lords to give their sense of it, which they likewise refused to do.

In connection with this, Leighton for the first time, appeared in Parliament, and he spoke in favour of the ministers. Row gives an account of his speech : " These men have been misrepresented to be of unsound principles : but now, I find them, upon a sound principle, acknowledging the King's lawful supremacy, and ought to be cherished and embraced, for they acknowledge his Majesty to be supreme civil governor, etc., and in this sense the King himself acknowledges the oath, for he must either be supreme civil or ecclesiastic governor ; but this last he is not : ergo, only civil he must be." While Leighton was thus debating, the Commissioner alleged that he had no right to speak in that judicature, since he had not taken the oath himself. He replied he had taken it, though not as a member of Parliament, for he minded not to come to Parliament, but when they were about Church affairs : " Neither had I " (said he) " been here to-day, were it not that I understood you were to be about Church affairs, and that which concerns ministers. But, however, I am ready to take the oath, but in that orthodox sense given by these honest ministers." Prelate Sharp alleged that he had been too bold and rash, to speak and debate in that question " before he had asked liberty." ¹

Regarding Sharp's displeasure, Burnet supplies additional details.

" Sharp took this ill from him, and replied upon him with great bitterness : he said it was below the dignity of government to make acts to satisfy the weak scruples of peevish men : it ill became them, who had imposed their covenant on all people without any explanation, and had forced all to take it, now to expect such extraordinary favour. Leighton insisted that it might be done for that very reason,

¹ Blair's *Life*, p. 409.

that all people might see a difference between the mild proceedings of the government now, and their severity; and said it ill became the very same persons that had complained of that rigour now to practise it themselves: for then it may be said, the world will go mad by turns. This was ill taken by the Earl of Middleton and all his party: for they designed to keep the matter so, that the Presbyterians should be possessed with many scruples on this head, and that when any of the party should be brought before them that they believed in fault, but had not full proof against him, the oath should be tendered as the trial of his allegiance, and that for refusing it they should censure him as they thought fit.”¹

The ministers refused to take the oath as it stood in the law, and six of them were commanded to be kept close prisoners in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

Leighton's first endeavour for conciliation signally failed, but his failure shows how wide was the breach between him and his unfortunate coadjutors. Nor did he try to hide the difference from the people. He preached in Edinburgh (June 1), the Sunday after the imprisonment of the ministers, and offended all the Bishops by speaking against their ways and by desiring them to consider the words of St. Peter: “Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly: not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind: neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock.”

St. Bartholomew's day in England was soon to have its counterpart in Scotland, and in both countries permanent marks were left behind. The clergy at first took no notice of the Act affecting collation, but the action of the Commissioner and the Secret Council at Glasgow (October 1 1662) showed that it was to be strictly enforced.² Then followed the day of heroic covenanting resistance, and the meetings of Synods in October showed generally the spirit of the country. In the north they were well attended by the

¹ *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. pp. 256, 257.

² *Ibid.*, p. 269.

ministers, but in the southern and western districts it was different. At Glasgow, there were only thirty-two present of above two hundred and forty ministers, while in the Synods of Argyll and Galloway, there were none present but the two Deans. The conformists appealed to the non-conformists to comply, citing the example of the Presbyterian ministers from 1610 to 1638, when the strange combination of two opposite systems also existed in the Scottish Church. Row's statement well expresses the grounds of resistance, and represents the Presbyterian attitude :—

“ Our case and theirs in former times differed very wide : First the King then did not set up bishops by virtue of his supremacy, but brought them in by kirk judicatories, though corrupted. Secondly, the King then did not discharge all kirk judicatories until they were anew authorized by the Prelates, and so put other courts in their place, but the judicatories containing the Prelates intruded upon them, and usurped over them, therefore these honest unconform men resolved to hold what they could of these judicatories, and to keep their possession, still protesting against the intrusion and usurpation of bishops, and all innovations and corruptions, etc., the judicatories never being by the King or his Council discharged, or unconform ministers really disenabled to come to them, and to retain what they could of them. Thirdly, the King then did steal in the bishops, and made them intrude upon the standing judicatories *gradatim*, making them first commissioners to the Parliament to see *ne quid detrimenti ecclesie capiat* : then constant moderators : then bishops : then giving them high places in the estate, to be counsellors, extraordinary Lords of the Session : then giving them a High Commission, etc. Fourthly, Unconform ministers that were then deposed by the bishops (for none were deposed by the Parliament or Secret Council) were never hindered to preach publicly, wherever they got a call. And lastly, the bishops then were more moderate (especially Spottiswood), deposing but a few, and unconform ministers that were not deposed were gently dealt with. But now the King, by open proclamation, January 9, having discharged all kirk judicatories, and the bishops being set up by his supremacy, and that *per saltum*, to the very height, at first authorizing other judicatories in their place, of another nature, that were destructive of Presbyterial government,

which all were sworn to maintain, honest ministers thought they could not countenance nor keep these meetings : so many honest ministers being already outed by the Parliament and Secret Council, and discharged public or private teaching. So in the end it was concluded that they should not countenance these meetings.”¹

The Presbyterians were not contented to submit to an absolute monarchy, interfering in the region of the spirit where it has no right to be ; neither were they to accept an Erastian Church ; and no less than three hundred and fifty ministers suffered themselves to be driven from their churches, rather than “own and submit.” During the close of 1662, over large districts throughout all the Lowlands of Scotland, the parish churches were shut, the sacraments were not administered, and the sound of the bell was not heard on the Lord’s Day, Edinburgh was left alone with a single minister, and the outed ministers represented the moral worth and spiritual power of the Church. Burnet states “that they were very popular men, both esteemed and beloved of their people ; they were related to the chief families in the country, either by blood or marriage : and had lived in so decent a manner that the gentry paid great respect to them. . . . It can hardly be imagined to what a degree they were loved and revered by their people.”² Their places had to be filled, and this could only be done with men, who were in all respects inferior to those they had supplanted, and who, (according to Burnet, “entirely episcopal” as he was,) were worthless persons, with little learning, less piety, and no sort of discretion ”³ . . . Middleton “stuck at nothing,” and with his Court of High Commission, Acts of Parliament, and latterly military law and military force, sought to attain by compulsion from a high-spirited people what would not come by spontaneous response. The Parliament of 1663 decreed as follows :

¹ Blair’s *Life*, pp. 429, 430.

² *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. pp. 269-273. ³ *Ibid.* pp. 270, 271.

“ Hereby it is ordained, that such as ordinarily absent themselves from their parish kirks on the Lord’s Day incur these penalties : each nobleman, gentleman, and heritor, the loss of a fourth of each year’s rent ; and each yeoman or tenant the loss of such a part of their movables as the Lords of Council shall modify, not exceeding a fourth : and every burgess his liberty, and the fourth of his movables ; and the Council is to execute this Act against all who, after admonition of the minister before two sufficient witnesses, and by him so attested, shall be given up to them, with power to them to inflict further corporal pains, as they shall judge necessary, and to do every other thing for procuring obedience to this Act, and for the executing thereof.”

The Act said nothing about women, but the Privy Council supplemented it by resolving, that husbands were to be held responsible for the church attendance of their wives, and that no recusant minister should reside within twenty miles of his own parish, six miles of Edinburgh, or any cathedral town, or three miles of any royal burgh, on pain of being treated as a seditious person. With such appendices the Act was known as the “ Bishops’ drag-net.”

The fact, that nearly 600 ordained ministers actually conformed to Episcopacy, conclusively shows, that the yoke imposed by the rulers of the Covenanting Church during the time of supremacy had been uneasily borne.¹ It indicates, that had the Bishops been after Leighton’s mind, and had they been guided by his conciliatory attitude in Church and State, Episcopacy *on the basis of Usher’s reduction* might have been carried ; but it also pointed to the necessity of further concessions in questions of worship and discipline. And these were actually allowed, or at least granted, by the necessities of the case. The Episcopalian Church of the Restoration differed little from the Presbyterian in its communion service, public worship, and even discipline.²

¹ Dr. Story’s *Church of Scotland*, iv. 241.

² See this excellently proved by the Rev. Robert Stevenson, of Dunfermline, in *The Communion and some other Matters in Dunfermline in the 17th Century*.

The Church was Episcopal in government, but no more. Had not the bishops *as a whole* rendered themselves the instruments of kingly tyranny, their existence would hardly have been obvious to their fellow-countrymen. Except that they held certain dignities; exercised some spiritual authority over certain districts called "dioceses," named presbyteries "precincts," and had seats in the Scottish Parliament; they were "Bishops" more in name than reality.

The Scriptures and the Apostles' Creed were practically the only rule of faith.¹ There was no liturgy used in public worship, except in one or two places—the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, and the parish church of Salton, where Gilbert Burnet was minister. We have from Leighton himself this testimony, "There is in this Church no change at all (from that before the Restoration) neither in the doctrine, nor worship, no, nor in the substance of the discipline itself."² The doctrine was Calvinistic as before: the worship was conducted without liturgy, surplice, or ceremony: the worshippers sat during prayer and at the Lord's Supper, which Sacrament was rarely celebrated.³ *There was no three-fold ministry*: Confirmation was unknown, and, as Mr. West admits, ordination seems very much to have been *ad libitum*.⁴ Synods, Presbyteries, Kirk-Sessions, and Elders continued as before.

"The bishops did not demand subscription to the old and first Confession of the Reformers, *but connived at the Westminster Confession and Catechism*: they enjoined no holidays, and observed but few. In every parish the minister chose several of the most noted inhabitants to assist him in parochial discipline, which in effect were as ruling Elders. So indulgent was the Government, that in many parishes Presbyterian ministers, if they would but pray for the King (which divers of them would not do), were allowed to officiate in the churches, and receive the whole profits

¹ See Stephen's *History of the Scottish Church*, vol. ii. p. 350. Cf. p. 431 (in text).

² *Let.* i. p. 409, also p. 428. ³ West's *Leighton*, vii. p. 177.

⁴ *Ibid*; cf. Appendix at end of this volume with Extracts from Records of Dunblane Presbytery.

without being any ways accountable to the Bishop, or ecclesiastic establishment, on any score whatsoever."¹

Sir George Mackenzie wrote, "We had no ceremonies, surplice, altar, cross in baptism, nor the meanest of those things which would be allowed in England by the Dissenters in way of accommodation." Speaking of the church where he worshipped, he adds, "The way of worshipping in our church differed nothing from what the Presbyterians themselves practised, excepting only that we used the doxology, the Lord's Prayer, and, in baptism, the Creed."²

The moderator of presbytery was chosen by the Bishop, and candidates for orders were, after examination by the presbytery, returned to the Bishop for ordination, and inducted by the presbytery to the charge; but, as West admits, even this was not strictly enforced, and the presbytery ordained as before by the laying on of hands, the Bishop taking part as one of the brethren.³ The Bishop presided at the Synod, but the Episcopal "General Assembly" differed from the Presbyterian General Assembly in so far as the former was a supreme court, composed of Bishops, Deans, two members from each presbytery (one of them to be the nominee of the Bishop) and one member from each university. The calling of the Assembly rested wholly with the Crown, and nothing was to be proposed in it but by the King or his commissioner, nor was anything done by it to be of force till ratified by the sovereign.⁴ The limitation of the Assembly was the obnoxious point to the Presbyterians, implying an Erastianism in the Church, and pointing, as subsequent events showed, to the monstrous Assertory Act

¹ *The Present State of Scotland*, by Matthias Symson, Canon of Lincoln, pp. 241-2.

² *Vindication of Charles II's Government: Works*, ii. 243.

³ See Dr. Blair in *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, (1869), pp. 349, 350; also Appendix to this volume, giving account of Ordination Service.

⁴ Moodie's *Present State of Scotland* (1682); Story's *Carstairs*, p. 178.

of 1669, which gave the King a more than papal power in matters ecclesiastical. It was this that led McWard to say, "The supremacy, as at present established, hath clearly everted and swallowed up all true ecclesiastical government. The Episcopacy now among us is not so much as Christ's, but merely his Majesty's usurpation over the house of God."¹

On the other hand, had the King been a constitutional monarch; had the establishment of Episcopacy been attained in a constitutional form (on Usher's basis) through the General Assembly of the Church; had force and dishonour been absent; had the spirit of Leighton prevailed in the Scottish Parliament and the other bishops been of his type; had Leighton been Archbishop instead of Sharp, and had he succeeded in banishing Erastianism from the Church—there is no reason in the nature of things, as one recalls the great following the Resolution clergy had in the country, and the obloquy that the Protester clergy had brought upon Presbyterianism during the time of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, why Leighton's scheme of accommodation should not have triumphed, and the Church of Scotland embodied a polity that was truly Presbyterian with a limited Episcopacy connected with it. Had this been so, how different would have been the subsequent stream of Scottish history, and how many later strifes and discussions would have been avoided.

Having stated the general scheme, we have now specially to deal with Leighton as he sought to interpret it.

By a commission from the King under the Great Seal he was designated Bishop of Dunblane and Dean of the Chapel Royal.² Burnet states (and the statement is one to be expected) that Leighton chose Dunblane because it was a small diocese, and had a little

¹ *Case*, pp. 13, 42.

² *Nicoll's Diary*, p. 354; *Register Book of Archbishop Juxon*, fol. 237.

revenue.¹ He accepted the Deanery of the Chapel Royal, Holyrood, that he might set up the common prayer in the King's chapel, for the rebuilding of which orders were given. The restored nave of Holyrood was converted into a chapel royal,² and a throne was erected for the sovereign and twelve stalls for the Knights of the Thistle, while the floor was tessellated with variously coloured marble. This seems, however, to have been done, not immediately after Leighton's appointment, and how often he read common prayer in

¹ From a table as accounted for by the Receiver-General of Bishops' rents in the Scottish Exchequer, the following figures (*in money sterling*) represent the Scottish Bishops' incomes at the Restoration. The sums include the revenues in money Scots and what was paid to the Archbishops and Bishops in *produce*.

					£	s.	d.
Archbishop of St. Andrews ...	...	...	...	...	1,544	6	1
Bishop of Edinburgh ...	...	...	...	...	93	6	10
„ „ Moray ...	...	...	...	...	198	8	1
„ „ Brechin ...	...	...	...	...	76	6	11
„ „ Aberdeen... ..	...	...	...	...	288	10	11
„ „ Dunkeld ...	...	...	...	...	152	8	8
„ „ Dunblane... ..	...	...	...	...	43	19	1
„ „ Caithness... ..	...	...	...	...	547	4	10
„ „ Ross ...	...	...	...	...	452	0	7
„ „ Orkney ...	...	...	...	...	1,366	2	8
Archbishop of Glasgow ...	...	...	...	...	1,294	5	7
Bishop of Galloway ...	...	...	...	...	228	12	0
„ „ Argyll and Isles...	...	...	...	...	140	0	0

(Lawson's *Episcopal Church in Scotland*, p. 26.)

The above small income of Dunblane was increased from other sources. In 1617 the benefice of Crossraquel Abbey (already annexed to the Crown in 1587) was annexed to the bishopric of Dunblane in order to provide a suitable support for the Bishop, and on the overthrow of Episcopacy in 1689 the revenues reverted to the Crown (*Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, ii. 405). The Bishop of Dunblane was also styled "Parson of Monimusk," for the priory of Monymusk was also attached to the bishopric of Dunblaneshire in 1617 (Walcott's *Scoti-Monasticon*, p. 322). Probably *in toto* the income would be about £200 per year.

² *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, p. lxxvii.

Holyrood is unknown. Still, when there, the Abbey would appeal to him most potently :

“Those ancient ruins :

We never tread upon them, but we set our foot
Upon some reverend historie.”

Holyrood and the bishopric of Dunblane were founded by the same Scottish monarch, David I—the former in 1128, the latter about 1150. Holyrood was a religious house for the canons regular of the Order of St. Augustine, and was dedicated in honour of the holy cross or rood brought to Scotland by Margaret, the King's mother. This cross, called the Black Rood of Scotland, fell into the hands of the English at the Battle of Neville's Cross in 1346. The abbey was several times burned by the English, and the nave, on the last of these occasions (1547), was repaired with the ruins of the choir and transepts. This was used as the parish church of the Canongate till the time, in the reign of Charles II, when it was restored as the Chapel Royal. The abbey was the occasional abode of the Kings of Scotland, and James II was born, crowned, married, and buried within it. The foundations of a palace apart from the abbey were laid in the time of James IV, and it was thenceforth the chief seat of the Scottish sovereign. In it the nuptials of James IV were celebrated. Here also Mary Queen of Scots took up her abode in 1561 on her return from France, and here James VI dwelt much before his accession to the throne of England in 1603.

But as lovely in situation and not less potent in historic influences, as well as in the voices of stream and glade, of mountain and sky, was Leighton's home and Cathedral at Dunblane.

“A gray old minster on the height
Towers o'er the trees and in the light ;
A gray old town along the ridge
Slopes, winding downward to the bridge—

A quaint, old, gabled place,
With Church stamped on its face.

The quiet close, secluded, dim,
The lettered scroll, the pillar slim,
The armorial bearings on the wall,
The very air you breathe, are all
Full of Church memories,
And the old sanctities.

And beautiful the gray old place
With characters of antique grace,
That tell the tale of pious work
Beneath the spire and round the kirk
And growth of Law and Right
Where Christ had come with light.

* * * *

A quaint old place—a minster gray,
And gray old town that winds away,
Through gardens, down the sloping ridge
To river's brim and ancient bridge,
Where the still waters flow
To the deep pool below."

The Bishop's Walk is still associated with Leighton's name, and leads southward from the Cathedral, not far from the river, and is overshadowed by fine beech trees. It is thus finely referred to by Dr. Walter Smith, the venerable poet, who still lives not far from it :

"Where looks the western window far
Unto the liquid evening star,
And can Benledi dimly view,
And the gray mists on Benvenue,
And long brown uplands, felt
In distant air to melt ;

There where the green ash interweaves
Irregular branch and slender leaves,
For umbrage soft—a pale green shade
With broken sunlights in the glade,
There lies a pleasant way
In gloaming all the day.

And far below the waters clear
 Murmur their presence on the ear,
 Scarce seen for dipping boughs that seek
 The light, or only when a streak
 Of sunshine cometh home
 Upon the crisp white foam.

A pleasant walk, when singing bird
 Upon the bending twig is heard,
 And rustling leaf that bids you hush !
 And hear the slow still waters gush
 Far down below unseen,
 Beneath the branches green.

* * * *

How swell the Ochils green : and there
 The Cromlex melts in distant air :
 Benledi and Benlomond far
 Front the rude crags of U-am-var ;
 And by the shady way
 Still towers the minster gray."¹

Such were the surroundings of Leighton's home at Dunblane, but the great church had also a great past, and is one of the sacred places of Scotland. It was an old Celtic foundation, and the first place of worship dates back to the seventh century, and seems to have been an offshoot of the Church of Kingarth in Bute, the founder of which was St. Blane, whose name is still perpetuated in that of the Cathedral Town. The church of Dunblane had a chequered history, for the ancient town was burned (844-860) by the Britons of Strathclyde, and in 912 was again destroyed by Danish pirates. Bishop Keith thinks there was a college of Culdees at Dunblane, but we do not hear anything about it in history, and the important college was at Muthill, where the Dean of Dunblane afterwards had his seat. About 1150 David I established the bishopric of Dunblane, and from that date its history begins as a Cathedral town. The square tower of Dunblane (at least the four lower storeys of it) dates back

¹ The Bishop's Walk.

to the twelfth century, and reveals characteristics of Norman work, while it may have been associated with an earlier church.

The see seems to have fallen into a forlorn condition, for when the learned Dominican Clement was bishop (1233-1258) he made a pilgrimage to Rome, and represented to the Pope among other things that "its rents were barely sufficient to maintain him for six months: there was no place wherein he could lay his head: there was no collegiate establishment, and that in this unroofed church the divine offices were celebrated by a certain rural chaplain."

Evidently the fourth part of the tithes of all the parishes within the diocese was given for the building of the Cathedral, and Clement left it "a stately structure." The greater portion of the beautiful building is of First Pointed Date, and represents work of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,¹ and above the western window is a lovely vesica, praised much by Ruskin, and invariably admired as an architectural gem. The Cathedral has a lovely situation, and in its neighbourhood were the Abbeys of Inchaffray and Cambuskenneth, and the Priory of Inchmahome, now in ruins. About the Reformation period the Cathedral of Dunblane suffered much, and the choir afterwards served as the parish church. In 1893 the Cathedral was re-opened after a complete restoration, but in Leighton's time service was conducted only in the choir. To the south-west of the Cathedral there are some vestiges of the bishop's palace still left. Here Leighton was bishop from 1661 to 1670, and verily he needed all the quietness and solace of the quaint Scotch town, with its lovely surrounding scenery, to brace his spirit; for he was both ill at ease with the party he had joined, and much misunderstood by those whom he had left. We know now that Burnet's estimate of him is the right one, but the follow-

¹ *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 92-102.

ing were the estimates of the contemporary Presbyterian leaders; and Leighton had to bear them as the current speech of his time.

The author of *Napthali* says: "Mr. Leighton, prelate of Dumblain, under a Jesuitical-like vizard of pretended holiness, humility and crucifixion to the world, hath studied to seem to creep upon the ground, but always up the hill toward promotion and places of more ease and honour, and as there is none of them hath with a kiss so betrayed the cause and smitten religion under the fifth rib, and hath been such an offence to the godly, so there is none who by his way, practice and expressions, giveth greater suspicion of a popish affection, inclination and design."¹ The *average* estimate of him was that preserved by Wodrow, who generally is credited with fairness and candour: "he was judged void of any doctrinal principles," and regarded "as very much indifferent to all the professions which bore the name of Christian"!

In the continuation of Robert Blair's life by his son-in-law, William Row, the most innocent of Leighton's acts have a malicious interpretation put to them. When he resigned Newbattle, "he pretended inefficiency for the ministry, by people's not profiting by him."² When he returned to Edinburgh as a bishop and expressed an opinion in favour of the English liturgy and ceremonies, "it was suspected that he was Popish and Jesuitic."³ When he refused the title of lord and carried himself modestly and humbly, he was named a "pawky prelate."⁴ When he *persisted* in refusing the title of lord, Burnet tells us he was thought too stiff, and provoked the other bishops, while his refusal furnished those "who were prejudiced against him with a specious appearance to represent him as a man of odd notions and practices."⁵ When he spoke in Parliament

¹ Pp. 341, 342.

² Blair's *Life*, p. 398.

³ *Ibid.* p. 404.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 407.

⁵ *History*, vol. i. p. 251.

in favour of the outed ministers, and thought that they ought to be "cherished and embraced," offending all the other prelates by the course he took, Row states "it was difficult what to judge of his actings or sayings, he carried so smoothly among the ministers of his diocese."¹ While some spoke well of him, "others thought that he spoke from a Popish principle."² When he was gentle and forbearing to the clergy of his diocese, telling them to hold their presbyteries and sessions as before, and suggesting without commanding anything, it was "thought that he was but straking cream in their mouths at first," while by others it was regarded as "a happiness to live in his diocese."³ When he was disgusted with the proceedings of the other bishops about 1665 in "outing so many honest ministers and filling their places with insufficient and for the most part scandalous men," and intimated his wish to demit his office in consequence, he was "only pretending to be displeased."⁴ When the King wrote to the Council in 1668 that some of the most peaceable and moderate ejected ministers might have liberty to preach, and Leighton pleaded that *all* might have the same liberty, it was "thought that he did this of purpose to oppose and crush it."⁵

The good man could do or say nothing, that did not bring upon him calumny and reproach,⁶ and verily he needed all the possible sympathy of his friends around Dunblane, with the quiet

¹ Blair's *Life*, p. 410.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 427.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 480.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 518.

⁶ The following is illustration :—

Shortly after his arrival in Edinburgh as Bishop of Dunblane, he was invited to dine at Goodtrees or Gutters (now called Moredun near Gilmerton, three miles from Edinburgh), the residence of Sir James Stewart, his father's friend, and Robert Leighton's guardian in his student days. Leighton called him his "old friend" or "best friend." The first salute was "Welcome, Robin! you loved gauding abroad too much: you have the fate of Dinah, Jacob's daughter, and now I may say the Schekamites have catched and defloured you." He made no further reference to the subject, but Sir James' son was rude, for Leighton on his return was reported to have said: "I have

reposeful influence of its air and scenery, to strengthen him in bearing a daily cross. It is, too, not without significance that the tradition of Dunblane still recalls "the good bishop," silent and companionless, pacing up and down the sloping, tree-shaded walk along the river bank, and under the beautiful western window of the Cathedral. Meditation was the bent of his life—its strength, and perhaps also its weakness ; and superior in intellect and piety as he was, it does seem strange that he had so little influence in moulding the characters or conduct of his contemporaries.

Leighton was as one born out of due time, and as Burnet's friendship commenced with him during the Dunblane period, we can place opposite the false judgment of his contemporaries, an estimate of the man that is the true one.

"He came to be possessed with the highest and noblest sense of divine things that I ever saw in any man. He had no regard to his person, unless it was to mortify it by a constant low diet, that was like a perpetual fast. He had a contempt both of wealth and reputation. He seemed to have the lowest thoughts of himself possible, and to desire that all other persons should think as meanly of him as he himself did. He bore all sort of ill usage and reproach like a man that took pleasure in it. He had so subdued the natural heat of his temper, that in a great variety of accidents, and in a course of twenty-two years' intimate conversation with him, I never observed the least sign of passion but upon one single occasion. He brought himself into so composed a gravity, *that I never saw him laugh and but seldom smile.* And he kept himself in such a constant recollection, that I do

dined at Goodtrees. I wish I had stayed at home and chawed gravell ! That young man, Sir James Stewart's son, Thomas, is as hott as pepper : he was never off this turff of Scotland, has got a presbyterian crochét in his pericranium, and will never get it out again." When the Bishop left Gutters, all Sir James said was : "Mr. Leighton is a man of many oddities or singularities, and it does not surprize me what he has done, still I shall think him a pious good man. The Court have called up three (Sharp, Fairfowl, Hamilton) little better than Judas, and seduced one Nathaniell (Leighton)" *Coltness Collections*, pp. 21-24).

not remember that ever I heard him say an idle word. There was a visible tendency in all he said to raise his own mind, and those he conversed with, to serious reflection. And though the whole course of his life was strict and ascetical, yet he had nothing of the sourness of temper that generally possesses men of that sort. He was the freest of superstition, of censuring others, or of imposing his own methods on them possible: so that he did not so much as recommend them to others. . . . His preaching had a sublimity both of thought and expression in it: and, above all, the grace and gravity of his pronounciation was such that but few heard him without a very sensible emotion; I am sure I never did. It was so different from all others, and indeed from everything that one could hope to rise up to, that it gave a man an indignation at himself and all others. It was a very sensible humiliation to me, and for some time after I heard him I could not bear the thought of my own performances, and was out of countenance when I was forced to think of preaching. His style was rather too fine: but there was a majesty and beauty in it that left so deep an impression that I cannot yet forget the sermons I heard him preach thirty years ago. And yet with all this he seemed to look on himself as so ordinary a preacher, that while he had a cure he was ready to employ all others: and when he was a Bishop he chose to preach to small auditories, and would never give notice beforehand.”¹

This is the final estimate, and it is not only confirmed by the impression received from a study of Leighton's works and letters, but by the addresses which he delivered to the Synod of Dunblane. These bring before us “the good Bishop,” settling the difficulties in his diocese by conciliation, and seeking to raise both clergy and people to an atmosphere with which his own spirit was very familiar.

In accordance with the Act of Privy Council (September 10, 1662), the day fixed for the Synod of Dunblane to meet was the second Tuesday of October, but Leighton anticipated the time appointed and invited the clergy of his diocese to meet him on September 15. Most of

¹ *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. pp. 239-241.

them complied with the invitation, "very few being absent, of whom the most sent their excuses either by word or writt." His diocese included the Presbyteries of Auchterarder and Dunblane, with several parishes from other Presbyteries, and at the first meeting he submitted a few proposals which were approved of unanimously by the Synod. There were no violences committed in his diocese, and he went round it constantly every year, preaching and catechising from parish to parish.¹ He continued in his private and ascetic life, and gave all his income, beyond the small expense on his own person, to the poor. "He studied," says Burnet, "to raise in his clergy a greater sense of spiritual matters, and of the care of souls, and was in all respects a burning and shining light, highly esteemed by the greater part of his diocese : even the Presbyterians were much mollified, if not quite overcome, by his mild and heavenly course of life."²

*He re-ordained no minister in his diocese,*³ but regarded their Presbyterian ordination as good and as valid as any which a Bishop could confer. In fact none of the Scottish Bishops imposed re-ordination except Bishop Wishart, of Aberdeen, although they did not refuse it to such as desired it.⁴ He did not interfere with the presbytery or kirk-session, but sought to aid both by friendly counsel. In every respect the government was as before, *only the Bishop presided at the Synod meetings*. Sharp always exercised his prerogative of appointing the minister who was to preside at the Exercise, but under the government of Leighton, as the

¹ Very few traditions now survive regarding Leighton's visits. The only one I can find is in connexion with Culross, where he is said to have lodged in a house in the Middle Causeway opposite the Dundonald Arms. Culross was included in the diocese of Dunblane. (Beveridge's *Culross and Tuliallan*, vol. i. 389 (cf. ii. 309, 360).

² *History*, i. 382.

³ See p. 428 (important).

⁴ Symson's *Present State of Scotland*, p. 241 : West, vol. vii. p. 201. Skinner's *Eccles. History*, ii. 462 : Crookshank's *History of the Church of Scotland*, i. 126.

Synod Records¹ testify, Presbyteries were left to choose their own Moderator. It is thus put : October 10, 1666, the Moderator was appointed "by advice or consent of the brethren" : or as on October 13, 1664, the Moderator "was nominated by the Bishop, and willingly accepted by the brethren." There was no ritual nor prescribed form of prayer, and all that he sought to enforce within the diocese was the use of the Lord's Prayer, Doxology, Creed, and repetition of the Ten Commandments. He condemned the people's practice of sitting at prayer, and charged the clergy to exhort them to kneel or stand, as a more befitting attitude in the worship of God. He commended the more frequent celebration of Communion, and regarded the neglect of the ordinance as the chief defect in the worship of the time. He recommended the clergy to prefer long texts and short sermons, to the short texts and long sermons then in vogue, which wearied more than edified the people. He advised them also to read the Scriptures without note or comment, and reminded them that with all their zeal against popery, they might be too much of the Roman opinion, that the Word of God could not be safely trusted to speak for itself without continual exposition. In other words, Leighton sought to have more of the beauty of holiness in the Church services, more of *worship*, than elaborate and lengthy sermons, with the worshipful element put to the background. He sought to get his clergy and people away from what had become a custom, through the influence of the Protesters and their English Independent friends—of substituting a lecture for the lessons, so that not a word of Scripture was often heard in the *worship* of the Church as conducted by the minister, but the text of the sermon or some quotations in the prayers and discourses ; while even the Lord's Prayer itself came to be regarded with suspicion, because it savoured, as was thought, of popery, or rather because the use of it was a

¹ See p. 368 *et seq.* ; cf. p. 385.

virtual acknowledgment that set forms of prayer were not unlawful nor unbecoming in Christian worship.¹ In doing so they were going against their own Directory (adopted in 1645), which appointed that at each diet of worship two chapters of the Bible should be read—one from each Testament,—and that the Lord's Prayer should be used.

Leighton was thus on the lines of the best traditions in the Church, and his addresses not only reveal a heavenly-mindedness and wisdom, but are their own best vindication. As religious literature they are unique, and the passages omitted here are purely local references, or repetitions of the usual procedure.

REGISTER OF THE DIOCESAN SYNOD OF DUNBLANE.²

SYNOD I.

September 15, 1662.

This day the Synod of the Diocese of Dunblane being met, the Bishope preached; and after sermon and prayer, the names were callit, and very few being absent, off whom the most sent their excuses either by word or writt.

The Bishope propounded some few particulars, which by the unanimous voyce of the Synod were approved and enacted. And because having noe further to doe at this meeting, there was not ane clerk nominated. The Bishop left with the brethren a note of particulars propounded, and written with his awne hand, the true copie whereof is heir inserted as follows :

FOR DISCIPLINE.

(1) First, That all diligence be used for the repressing of profaneness, and the advancement of solide pietie and holinesse, and therefore :—

(2) Secondlie, That not onlie scandalles of unchastitie, but drunkenness, swearing, cursing, filthie speaking and mocking of religion, and all other grosse offences, be brought under Church censure.

(3) Thirddie, That scandalous offenders be not absolved till there appear in them very probable signs of true repentance.

(4) Fourthlie, The enquirie be made by the minister, not onelie

¹ Dr. Robert Lees' *Reform of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 33, 34.

² Bishop Ramsay then speaks of these Addresses: "I look on the Register as beyond some volumes of the Ancient Councils" (p. 394).

into the knowledge, but the practise and tenor of lyffe of those that are to be admitted to the holy communion, and all profane and evidentlie impenitent persons are to be secluded till their better conversation and obedience to the Gospel be more apparent.

(5) Fifthlie, That familie prayer be enquired after, and those that can be exhorted to joyne with it reading of the Scriptures.

FOR WORSHIP.

(1) First, That instead of lecturing and preaching both at one meeting, larger portiones of the Scriptures—an whole chapter at least of each Testament and Psalms—shall constantlie be read : and this not as a bye-work while they are conveyning, but after the people are well conveyned, and the worshipe solemnlie begune with confession of sins and prayer, either by the minister or some ffit personne by him appoynted.

(2) Secondlie, That the Lord's Prayer be restored to more frequent use, likewyse the Doxologie and the Creed.

(3) Thirdlie, That dailie public prayer in churches, morning and evening, with reading of the Scriptures, be used where it can be had convenientlie, and the people exhorted to frequent them, not so as to think that this should excuse them from dailie private prayer in their families and in secret, but rather as ane helpe to enable them and dispose them the more for both these : and let the constant use of private prayer be recommended to all personnes as the great instrument of sanctifying the soull, and of entertaining and increasing in it the love of God.

(4) Fourthlie, That the younger sort and the ignorant be duly catechized at fitt tymes all the year through, and soe that it be not whollie laid over on some days or weeks before the celebration of the communion : but that the enquiry at that tyme be rather of their good conversatioune, and due disposition for partaking that holy ordinance, as was said before in ane article touching discipline.

(5) Fifthlie, That ministers use some form of catechism, such as they may require account off, till ane common form be agreed on.

(6) Sixthlie, That preaching be plain and useful for all capacities, *not entangled with useless questions and disputes, nor continued to a wearisome length.* The great and most necessarie principalles of religione most frequentlie treated upon, and oftentimes larger portions of Scripture explained, and suitable instructions and exhorta-

tions then deduced, and that be the sermon at that tyme, and be doubtlesse as truly preaching and useful, if not more so, than insisting for ane whole sermon or more upon ane short verse or sentence.

The Bishope propounded to the brethren that it was to be reminded by himself and themselves to what eminent degrees of purity of heart and life their holy calling doth engadge them, to how great contempt of this present world and enflammed affectiouns towards heaven—springing from deep persuasiouns within them of those things they preach to others, and from the daily meditation of them and secret prayer, and that we consider how ill it becomes us to be much in the trivial conversation of the world; but when our duty or necessitie involves us in companie, that our speech and deportment be exemplarlie holie, ministering grace to those with whom we converse. And to add but this one thing so suitable to ministers of the Gospel of peace—that we be meek and gentle, and lovers and exhorters of peace, private and public, among all ranks of men—*endeavouring rather to quench than to increase the useless debates and contentions that abound in the world: and be always more studious of pacific than of polemic divinitie*, that certainlie being much diviner than this, for the students of it are callit “the sons of God.”

And so having closed with prayer the Synod was dissolved.

The Moderators of the two Presbyteries belonging to this Synod were not then nominated: but some weeks after they were nominated with joynt consent,¹ viz. Mr. Johune Edmonstone for the Presbytery of Dunblane, and for Ochterarder Mr. Archibald Drummond.

SYNOD II.

The Second Synod of the said Diocese was held April 28, 1663. Mr. John Edmonstone, minister of Kilmadock and present Moderator of the Presbyterie of Dunblane, preached. After sermon, the roll being callit, diverse of the absentees were excused by sickness or other just impediments made known to the Synod.

The Bishope propounded the choice of a clerk: and two being lysted, both readers and precentors, the one of Dunblane, the other of Kilmadock, Master David Wilsone, reader and schoolmaster of Dunblane, was chosen clerk by the vote of the Synod, and his dues appoynted to continue as was formerlie in custome.

¹ Cf. p. 361.

The books of the two Presbyteries, as to what they contained since the former Synod, were revised by some brethren of the other Presbytery respectively, and were approved.

There being at this tyme *onlie two kirks vacant* within this diocese,—the one at Balwhidder, in the Presbytery of Dunblane, by the transportation of Mr. William Andersoune from thence to the kirk of Buchanan: the other of Kinkell, in the Presbytery of Ochterardour, by the decease of Mr. Johne (Murray), last incumbent thereof,—it was recommended to the respective Presbyteries to supplie them as frequentlie as they could during the vacancies, and to put the personnes concerned in mind of using all due diligence and despatch for provyding them: and because it is necessarie that the minister of Balquhidder have the Irish tongue, and that so expeditely as to preach in it, it was particularlie recommended to Mr. Donald M'Vicare, minister at Aberfoil, to enquire for such a one, as having more acquaintance with such than any of the brethren.

. . . It was enacted that the readers at kirks doe keep a register of burials, as well as of baptisms and marriages.

. . . The public reading of the Scripture, and the use of the Lord's Prayer and the other particulars agreed on in the former Synod, was again recommended, and that dewlie qualified readers be provided where they are wanting for that purpose, and that in the meantyme the ministers themselves doe read.

Full Freedom of Speech and Vote allowed. It was declared by the Bishope that the Synod and each member of it hath now as full and free libertie of voting and declaring their assent and dissent in all things that occur as ever they had in the former tymes: and having exhorted them to eminent and exemplarie holiness in their personnes and conversations, and diligence in their holy calling, and to be of good accord amongst themselves, closed with prayer, and the Synod dissolved.

SYNOD III.

The Third Synod of the Diocese of Dunblane was held October 13, 1663.

Mr. Thomas Lindsay, minister and present Dean of Dunblane, preached this day, and, in the absence of the Bishope, did moderate.

*	*	*	*	*
A.L.				24

SYNOD IV.

The Fourth Synod of the Diocese of Dunblane was held upon the twelve day of April 1664.

This day Mr. Archibald Drummond, minister of Ochterardour, and Moderator of the Presbyterie there for the tyme, preached.

After sermon the Synod conveyed, and after prayer made by the Bishope, the roll was callit, and some of the brethren being absent, of whom was excused by letters—Mr. George Moray, minister of Foulis, Mr. Archibald Moncrieffe, minister at Abernethie, Mr. Matheu Fleming, minister at Culross, and Mr. Andrew Rynd, minister at Tulliecultrie.

This day it was agreed and enacted that the brethren within this Diocese who as yet has never kepit presbyterial nor synodical meetings, that for the samyen end they be exhorted and spoken to, either by the Bishop himself or by some of the brethren within the foresaid Diocese, to keep the presbyterial and synodical meetings, in tyme coming: and failing herein, the respective Presbyteries whereof the said brethren are members, are ordained to refer them to the next ensuing Synod.

It is statute that upon the Sabbath-day in each kirk within this Diocese at least two chapters, one of the Old Testament and another of the New Testament, with a portion of the Psalms, be read in the congregation before sermon begin, both in the forenoon and the afternoon, either by the minister or be ane fit and qualified reader. It is enacted that hereafter the Ten Commandments, with the Belief, be repeated either by the minister or reader, the congregation being fullie conveyed upon the Sabbath-day in the forenoone. The constant use of the Lord's Prayer formerlie appoyntit was now again recommended by the Bishope: and having closed with prayer, the Synod for this day dissolvit, and ordained to meet to-morrow againe be ten o'clock in the forenoone.

SESSION 2.

At Dunblane, the 13th of Apryl, 1664 years.

. . . It is agreed and enacted, that if any of the brethren within the Diocese shall be found to come to the Synod too late, or to goe away before the dissolving of the Synod without leave asked and given, he shall pay a dollar to be bestowed on pious uses.

It is likewise enacted, that if any brother within the Diocese shall

absent himself totallie from the Synod without any just reasone accepted by the Bishope and Synod, beside Church censure, he shall pay, *toties quoties*, two dollars, to be bestowed on pious uses.

It is agreed and enacted, that if any brother within the two respective Presbyteries shall be found to absent himself any dyet from his own Presbyterie without some just reason to be accepted of the Presbyterie, he shall pay twelve shillings Scotis, *toties quoties*.

The books of the respective Presbyteries, as to what they contain since the foregoing Synod, being revised be some brethren of the other Presbtery *respective*, were approven.

The Moderators of the two Presbyteries for the ensuing half-year were nominated by the Bishope, and were willingly accepted by their brethren—viz. Master Thomas Lindsay, minister and Dean of Dunblane, for the Presbyterie of Dunblane: and Master James Forsyth, minister at Monzie, for Auchterarder.

SYNOD V.

The Fifth Synod of the Diocese of Dunblane was held at Dunblane, eleventh day of October 1664.

The quhilk day Mr. James Drummond, minister at Muthill, preached: and after sermon, the Synod being convened, and prayer being made by the Bishope himself, the roll was read, and some of the brethren being absent, particulare ministers was excused by their letters to the Bishope. . . .

This day the Bishope did enquire at the Moderators of the respective Presbyteries if there was any brother within their divisions who did not make use of repeating the Ten Commandments, the Belief, and the Lord's Prayer, with frequent reading of the Holie Scriptures upon the Sabbath-day, as was formerlie recommended to them. They answered that to their knowledge they knew of none such. . . . It was enacted by the Bishope and Synod, that in everie congregation within the Diocese the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper be celebrated once everie year at the least: and if any within the bounds of the Diocese shall be found to failzie herein it is ordained that whatever is allowed upon the minister of the parish be decreet for buying of the elements for that end, it is to be bestowed upon pious uses at the decernitour and pleasure of the Presbyterie, and that by and att ovr public censure.

It was recommended by the Bishope to the brethren within the two respective Presbyteries, that they exhort the people within

their several congregations that they repair more frequentlie to the reading of the Holie Scriptures in public upon the Sabbath-day, and that there be choice made of qualified readers for that effect, who are men of good life and conversatione, and of grave habit (at least) upon the Sabbath-day.

It was again recommended by the Bishope that the brethren be careful to exhort their auditores that in tyme of divine service they behave themselves in a most decent and humble manner but especieable that in tyme of prayer they be exhorted either to kneel or stand.

It being lykwyse recommended by the Bishope that those whom they make choice of to be elders and overseers of their several congregations be understanding men, and men of a good lyfe and conversatione, and free of any known scandal: and having concluded with prayer, the Synod was dissolved for that nyght.

SESSION 2.

At Dunblane, the twelwe day of October, ante meridiem, 1664.

. . . This day it was made known to the Bishop and Synod of some who does intrude themselves into some paroches within the Diocese,—who does take upon themselves to teach the grammare and English schools, and does not acquaint the Presbyteries therewith, and in particulare at the kirk of Noriestoune Therefore the Bishope and Synod ordains that hereafter none within the Diocese make paction with, nor admit of any schoolmaster for the forsayd effect until that first it be made known to the Presbyterie: and lykwyis it is ordained that the school at Noriestowne be discharged and dismissed. . . .

SYNOD VI.

At Dunblane the 11 of April jajvi^e threescore five years.

. . . SESSION 2.

. . . This day the Bishope produced before the Synod ane letter, quhilk was sent to him by the Lords of His Majestie's Privy Council, in pursuance of the Act of Parliament for the help of Universities—bearing that everie minister within the nacione is to pay threttie poundes Scottis out of their thousand merkis of yearlie stipend, or conform to that proportioun: and the first

year's payment hereof to begin at the year jajvi^e three-score four, and so forth, continue for the space of five years. Whereupon it was agreed by the Bishope and Synod that those in the Presbyterie of Auchterardore and be east it belonging to this Diocese, shall bring in their proportion to the Moderator of said Presbytery. And the brethren of the Presbytery of Dunblane, with Culross, are to bring in their proportions to Dunblane, either to be delivered to the Bishope or Moderator there. . . . That day it was earnestly recommended by the Bishope to the brethren that if there was any amongst them who neglected to cause the parents of children to repeat the Belief at the baptism of their children, that they would not neglect it in tyme coming.

It was againe recommended be the Bishop to the brethren that the Belief and the Ten Commandments be read or repeated before the whole congregation convened upon the Sabbath-day, and that either by the minister or reader.

It being lykwys recommended be the Bishop to the brethren that the doxologie be not neglected after the psalms, and lykwys that the brethren be careful to exhort their people to use reverend gestures in tyme of divine service, but especiallie in tyme of prayer that they be exhorted either to stand or kneel thereto.

¶ This day it being lykwys seriously considered and grievously lamented be the Bishope and Synod that godliness is so little esteemed in the land, and that prayer and family exercise is neglected for the most part in all families. Wherefore it is seriously recommended be the Bishope that the brethren would be very careful to exhort their people within their respective congregations to make conscience in going about the samene dutie, and that they would make narrow search and enquire where the samene is neglected, whither in common or in great men's families.

It was recommended by the Bishope to the brethren that they examine their people frequentlie throughout the year, both in poynt of knowledge, and also of their lyffe and conversatione.

SESSION 3.

At Dunblane, the 12 day of Aprill, 1665 years.

. . . It being very notour to the Bishope and Synod that people within their several congregations does not frequent ordinances, and especiallie the reading of the Word upon the Sabbath-day in publick, although they have been several tymes

admonished by their respective ministers of the Word for doing of the same.

Wherefore it is ordained be the Bishope and Synod that the ministers of the Word be careful to exhort their people within their respective congregations to make conscience in hearing of the Word preached, and also to be more obsequious in frequenting the reading of the Word, and to rebuke those whom they find to be contumacious herein.

SYNOD VII.

. . . SESSION 3.

At Dunblane, the 11 day of October jajvi* threescore five years.

. . . This day it is ordained that the several ministers within the boundis of the Diocese put the Acts of the Synod in execution for repression of the prevailing vices of drunkenness and swearing, and cursing and filthie speaking, and all profaneness, and for the pressing familie worship, and the advancing the power of godliness by all due means.

. . . After the affaires of the Synod were ended, the Bishope showed the brethren he had somewhat to impart to them that concerned himself: which, though it imported little or nothing either to them or to the Church, yet he judged it his duty to acquaint them with it. And it was the resolution he had taken of retiring from this public charge, and that all the account he could

Bishop's Resigna- give of the reasons moving him to it was briefly this,
tion and Reasons. *the sense he had of his own unworthiness of so high a station in the Church, and his weariness of the contentions of this charge, which seemed rather to be growing than abating, and by their growth did make so great abatements of that Christian meekness and mutual charitie, which is so much more worth than the sum of all that was contended about.* He thanked the brethren for all their undeserved respect and kindness manifested toward himself all along, and desyred their good consideracion of the poore endeavoure he had used to serve them, and to assist them in promoting the work of the ministrie, and the great designs of the Gospel in their bounds. And if in anything in word or deed he had offended them, or any of them, he very earnestlie and humblie craved their pardon. And having recommended them to continue in the study of peace and holiness, and ardent love

to our great Lord and Master, and to the soules He hath so dearlie bought, he closed with these words of the Apostle: "Finallie, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace: and the God of love and peace shall be with you." And after prayer the Synod was dissolved.

SYNOD IX.

(This Synod is so numbered in MS. It ought to have been VIII., there being no meeting of Synod in April 1666, as the Bishop was in London.)

At Dunblane, the 9 day of October 1666, Synodos nona. The quhilk day the Bishope did preach. . . .

SESSION 2.

Post meridiem, hora tertia.

. . . It was condescended and agreed upon by the Bishope and Synod that the Presbyterie of Dunblane nominate one of their number to preach before the Synod in April: and the Presbyterie of Ochterardon one of theirs, to preach before the Synod in October.

Enacted—1. That all the ministers endeavour to bring their people to a high esteem of the Holy Scriptures and of the reading of them in publick, and to give evidence thereof by a reverend and attentive hearing, none being permitted to stand about the dores or ly in the kirk-yard during the tyme of reading: and if after warning them of this, any shall be found to continue in the same disorder, they are by due rebuke and censure to be brought to obedience.

2. That the ministers be careful to direct the readers what parts of Scripture are most frequentlie to be read, as the history of the Gospel and the Epistles, ane of the Old Testament *the most intelligible and particular parts*—particularly large portionis of the Psalms at all tymes, being both so excellentlie instructive, and withal soe dyvine forms of prayers and praises, and therefor have been so much used by the Christian Church in all ages, and always made so great a part of their public service.

3. That noe readers be permitted but such as are tryed and approved by the Presbyterie.

4. That besides the reading between the second and third bell

which is but in the interval for those that are come till the rest doe convene, some part of the Scriptures be read after the last bell is rung out, and the congregatione more fullie mette, and the minister is come in, either be himself or the reader at his appointment, one chapter at least, together with some of the Psalms, one or more as they are of length, and of which some part afterwards may be sung, and so the people shall the better understand what they sing: and thus shall this soe useful ordinance of publicke reading of the Scriptures be performed with more solemnitie, and brought into greater respect and reverence, and the people be more universallie and plentifullie edified by it. But together with this, the reciting of the Ten Commandments and the Belief, according to the Acts of former Synods, is noe Lord's Day to be omitted; nor is this onlie or mainlie meant as a help to the people learning the Word of God, and so being made able to repeat them, but as a solemne publicatione of the law of God as the rule of our life and solemn professione of our believing the articles of our Christian faith, and the quickening of our affections towards both.

And as to that exercise of reading the Scriptures, it cannot be imagined that anie well-instructed and solide-minded Christian can questionne the great expedience and usefulness of it for all ranks of people: for besydes that manie of our commons cannot read, and so cannot use the Scriptures in private, and too many that can, yet doe neglect it, even they that use them most in private will not onlie not with the less, but so much the more, be well satisfied and edified with hearing them read in publick, and will more reverentlie and religiouslie attend to them, and with the blessing of God upon their soe doing, nor fail to find (what others can say they have found) diverse passages and sentencies falling frequentlie in upon their hearts in public reading with particular warmth and divine force nothing below, if not sometymes beyond, what they usuallie find in private.

If the minister think fit to make his sermon for that tyme upon some part of what be himself, or be his appointment, hath been read, it may doe well, and so much the better the longer that be and the shorter the sermon be: for it is greatly to be suspected that our usual way of verie short texts and verie long sermons is apt to wearie people more and profit them lesse.

But whatsoever they doe in this they should bewarre of returning to their long expositions besides their sermon at one and the same

meeting, *which, besides the tediousnesse and other inconvenients, is apt to foment in people's myndes the foolish prejudice and proude disdain they have taken against the Scriptures read without a superadded discourse: in which conceit, for all their zeal against Popery, they seeme to be too much of the Romish opinion, as accounting the Holy Scriptures so obscure in themselves that it is somewhat dangerous, or at least altogether unprofitable, to entrust the common people either with reading or hearing any part of them at any time, unless they be backitt with continual expositiones.*

5. That ministers doe indeavour to reduce the people from the irreverent deportment they have generally contracted in publick worshipec, particularly from their most undecent sitting at prayer. To kneel or stand as conveniently they may, that as we may worshipec both with our bodies and souls Him that made both, and made them for that very end. Oh, how needful is that invitation to be often rung in our ears that seemes wholly to have forgott it, "Oh come, let us worshipec and bow downe, and kneel before the Lord our Maker" !

6. That people be frequently and earnestly exhorted to morning and evening prayer in their families, especially the pryem families in parishes as most exemplary.

7. That the way of catechising be more adapted to the capacity of our rude and ignorant people: and that our sermons, particularly those of the afternoones, may be more frequentlie bestowed on the most plaine and intelligible way of explaining some poynt of catechetical doctrine.

8. It was recommended that convenient utensiles be provyded in every kirk for the administration of the Holy Sacramentes.

9. That according to our great and standing duty we be still more and more zealous and careful, by doctrine and discipline, to purge out all profanenesse, particularlie the most common and crying sines, as drunkennesse, cursing, swearing, railing, and bitter speaking, and rotten, filthy speaking, so usual among the common sort in their house or field labour together, particularlie in harvest. And that it be by all ministers recommended to the owners of the cropec and overseers of the reapers to range them so to their work and in such divisiones as may give least occasione to any thing of that kynd.

10. That as wee ourselves would be exemplary in holiness, we would endeavour that our *seniores plebis*, or elders of the people,

be so too: and for that end rather to have them well chosen, though fewer, than a great number of such, as too often they are.

II. That the Presbyteries doe enquire of each one of their number concerning the celebration of the Communion, that at least our usual returns of it be neglected by none: *for it is one of the great defects and reproaches of our Church that that great ordinance, being so usefull for the increase of holinesse, should be so seldome administered as with us it is, even where it is oftenest.* For the way of examination in order to it somewhat is sett downe in our first Synod, which may be lookit on, if possible it may prove to be of any use. . . .

*

*

*

*

*

SESSION 2.

At Dunblane, the 10 of October 1666—ante meridiem hora octava.

. . . The Bishop, having exhorted the brethren to eminent and exemplarie holienesse in their persons and conversationes, and diligence in their holie calling, closed with prayer, and so the Synod dissolved.

SYNOD X.

Att Dunblaine, the 10 of Aprill jajvi^c thriescore seevyne years.

SESSION 3.

A paper was given in by the Bishope to the Synod containing some proposalles, as follows :

I confess that my own unactive and unmedling temper may be too apt to prevail against the knowne duty of my station, and may enclyne me rather to enquire too little then too much into the deportment of others, and rather to be deficient than to exceed in admonitions and advices to my brethren in matters of their duty: and besides this naturall aversione, the sense of my owne great unworthiness and faultiness may give me check, and be a strong curb upon me for censuring others for what may be remiss, or offering any rules for the redress of it. And there is yet another

consideration that bends still further that way, *for I am so desyrus*
Prejudice to keep farre off from the reach of that prejudice that
against abounds in these parts against the name of my function
Bishop. as apt to command and domineire too much, that I may
possiblie erre in the other hand, and scarce perform the duty of the
lowest and most moderate kind of Moderator, so that I am forced to
spurre and dryve up myself against all these retardmentes to suggest
any thing how useful soever beyond our road and accustomed way,
especially finding how little any thing of that kynd takes and prevails
to any real extent. And I may remember that good old word,
 “τὰ μηδέν ὠφελοῦντα μή ποιεῖ ματήν.” However, when anything
 appears to mee of evident reasone and usefullnesse, and that easily
 joins in and peiceth with our standing customs, I judge it my duty
 to offer it to you : and shall hope, if that you sall find it of any
 use, you may not reject it, but rather improve it to somewhat better
 that by occasion of it may arise in your owne thoughts.

Something of this kynd I have formerly moved, concerneing the
 way of dealling with persones fallen into scandalous sine : frequent
 speaking with them in private to the convinceing and awaking their
 consciences to a lively sense of sin, and directing them in the exer-
 cises of repentance, and exhorting them to sett apart some tyme for
 a more solemne humbling of their soules in fasting and prayer, and
 not to admit them to publick confessioun untill they have, to our
 best discerneing, some real heart-sense of sine and remorse for it, and
 serious purposes of newness of life.

Lykewyse I suggested somewhat touching the way of examineing
 of all persones towards their admission to the Holy Communion
 besides the ordinarie way of catechizeing the younger and more
 ignorant sort, and some other particulars much like these that I will
 not now repeat.

That which I would recommend at this tyme relates to the
 bussines of privy tryalls (as they are called) of ministers in their
 Presbyteries towards the tyme of the Synod, in which I have
 perceived in some places (if I may be pardoned that frie word)
 very much of superficiall empty forme : for the helpe of which,
 besydes other ways which may be thought on, that which occurs
 to me at present is this, that some certaine questiones be askit of
 every minister before he withdrawes, and these the same or much
 the same that usually are or fitly may be propounded to the elders
 and people concerning their minister at the visitation of particular

kirks : for though in the case we now speak off we can have nothing but every man's own word concerneing himself, yet does not this render it ane useless thing : for besides that divers of the questions will be of things obvious to publick knowledge that no man will readily adventure to give ane untrue answer where it may be easily traced, there is much to be given to the presumed ingenuity and veracity of a minister, especially in what is solemnlie and punctuallie enquired of him, and whatsumever formerlie hath been or hath not been his former degrie of diligence in the particulares, the very enquiry and asking concerneing them will be very lykely to awaken in every man a more serious reflection upon himself touching each poynt, and the drawing furth an expresse answer to each before his brethren will probablie excite and engage him to better exactness in all of them for the tyme to com.

The particulars, I conceive, may be these, and such others like them as may be further thought fitt :—

I. Whether he be constantly assiduous in plane and profitable preaching, instructing, and exhorting, and reproving most expresslie and frequentlie those sines that abound most among his people, and in all things to his best skill fitteing his doctrine to the capacityes and necessities and edification of all sortes within his charge ?

2. Whether he be diligent in catechizing, employing throughout the year those seasoness and times for it as may be easiest and fittest for the people to attend it, and not wholly casting it over upon some few dayes or weekes near the time of the Communion ?

3. How often in the year he celebrates the Holy Communion for I am ashamed to say, whether at least once a year ?

4. Whether he does faithfully and impartially exercise discipline, and bring all known scandalls to due censure, and does speak privately, and that oftener than once, with the persons convicted, and admit them not to publick acknowledgement till he sees in them some probable signs of true repentance ?

5. Whether he be diligent by himself and his elders and all convenient wayes to know the deportment of the several families, and not only ask, but do his best certainly to enforme himself, whether they constantly use morning and evening prayer together, and reading of the Scriptures, if they have any that can do it, and whether this point of family exercise be specially provyded for in the chiefe families in the parish ?

6. Whether hee be careful of the relief of the poor, of visiting the sick whenever he knows of any, even though they neglect to send for him, and for this end make enquiry and the rather prevents their sending, because they commonly deferre that till it can be of litle or no use to them ?

7. Whether hee does in privat plainely and friely admonish those hee knowes, or hath cause to suspectt to be given to uncleannesse, or drunkennesse, or swearing, or any kynd of inordinat walking, especially if they be of that quality that engages him frequently to converse with them : and if they continue such, leaves of that converse, and if their miscarriage be publick, brings them to publick censure ?

8. Whether he watches exactly over his owne conversacioun in all things, that hee not only give noe offence, but bee an example to the flock and preach by liveing ?

9. Whither he spends the greatest portiones of his tyme in privat in reading and prayer and meditacioun, a thing so necessarie to enable him for all the other parts of his duety ?

10. Whither he makes it the great bussines and withall the great pleaseure of his life to fulfille the work of his ministrie, in the severall partes and duties of it, out of love to God and the soules of his people ?

11. Iff hee does not only avoid grosse offences (which in a guide of soules were intolerable) but studies daylie to mortifie pryd, and rash anger, and vaine glorie, and covetousnes, and love of this world, and of sensuall pleaseures, and selfe-love, and all nordinat passionnes and affectiones, even in those instances wheirin they are subtilest and best discernible by others and commonly too little discerned by ourselves ?

12. If hee not only lives in peace with his brethren and his flock, and with all as much as is possible, but is ane ardent lover and promoter of it, reconciling differences and preserving agriement all he can amongst his people ?

It hath not escaped my thoughts that some of these questionnes, being of things mor in word, may seeme lesse fitt to be publicquely propounded to any : and that the best observers of them will, both out of modestie and reall humility, and seveirre judgeing of themselves, be aptest to charge themselves with deficiencie in them, and will only owne at most sinceir dezyres and indeavour, which lykewyse they that practise and mynde them

least may in generall professe, neither is ther any more particulare and punctuall account to be expected of such things from any man in publick: but the maine intent in these (as was said before) is serious reflexion, and that each of us may be stirred up to ask ourselves over againe those and more of the lyke questiones in our most privatt tryalles and our secret scrutinies of our owne heartes and lives, and may redouble our diligence in purgeing ourselves that wee may be in the house of God vesselles of honour, sanctified and meet for the Master's use, and prepared to every good work: and for those other things more exposed to the knowledge of others, if any brother heares of any faultinesse in any of the number, he shall not doe well, I think, crudely to vent it in the meeting tell first hee have made all due enquiry after the truth of it: yea, though he hath it upon enquiry to be true, yet ought hee not even then to mak his first essay of rectifeing his brother by a delacioun to the full meeting without haveing formerly admonisht him first alone, and then (according to our Saviour's rule) in the presence of one or two more: but having done, if neither of these reclaime him, then followes of necessity to tell the Church: but that is lykewyse to be done with great singleness of heart and charity and compassion, and the wholl procedure of the wholl company with the person so delated is to be managd with the same temper, according to the excellent advyce of the apostle, Gal. vi. 1: "My brethren, if any man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spirituall restore such a one in the spirit of meeknesse: considering thyselfe, lest thou also be tempted."

And having concluded with the prayer, the Synod dissolved.

SYNOD XI.

Synodos undecima, Sess. I. 8bris 8, 1667.

. . . A committie was appointed to think of overtures for the advancing off pietie and repressing of profainenenes.

* * * *

SESSION 2.

8bris 8, post meridiem.

The Bishope and Synod being come together againe, and after prayer the roll was read according to the custome, and non absent who were present in the forenoone: and after conference about somethings moved in the comittie, the Bishope presented a paper containing proposalles touching the following particulares:

1. Solemne reading of the Scriptures.
2. Reducing the people to a reverend gesture in prayer.
3. Plain and practicall and catecheticall preaching.
4. A weekly day for catechizeing, and the reading of the Scriptures joynd with it.
5. A short and plaine forme of catechisme.¹
6. A more exact and spirituall way of dealling with publick penitentes.
7. As lykewyse of preparing people for the Communion : more frequent celebratioun whereof is so much to be wished, but so litle or scarce at all to be hoped in this Church.
8. That in preaching, the most abounding and crying sines be more sharply and frequentlie reprov'd, particularly curseing and sweareing : and the worships of God in families more urged.
9. The due educatteing and moulding the myndes of young students in Presbyteries.
10. More frequent and more exacte visitacioun of churches, and the visiteing of families by each minister in his owne charge.

The words of the paper were as follows :

1. That the reading of the Holie Scriptures in our publique meetings when they are solemnest and fullest, be constantlie used : and that wee endeavour to bring our people to a reverent and affectionat esteeme of that ordinance and attention to it.

2. That both by our owne example and by frequent instruction and exhortacioun, wee studie to reforme that extreame irreverence and indecencie that hath generally prevailed in people's deportment in tyme of publique worships, and particalarly of prayer : and that they be reduced to such a gesture as may signifie that wee are acknowledgeing and adoreing the great majestie of God.

3. That wee indeavour to adapt our way of preaching, witha evidence and plainnesse, to the enformeing of the people's myndes and quickneing their affectiones, and raiseing in them renewed purposes of a Christian lyfe : and that some part of our sermones be designd for the plaine and practicall explicacioun of the great principles of religion.

4. That wee fixe some certaine tymes—at least one day in the week—throughout the year for catechizeing, and that withal there be reading of the Scriptures and prayer at the same tyme: to which,

¹ See p. 57.

besydes that parte of the people that are for each tyme warned to be present, those others that are niere the church and at leasour may resort, for the work of the ministerie a husbandrie of more continuall labour and attendance then that of our countrey people that labour the ground, and, theirfore, cannot well be duellie discharged, being whollie cast over upon the Lord's Day, without evere meeting with them or bringing any considerable parte of them together all the week long.

Short and plain Catechism. 5. It seemes absolutely necessarie that each minister would resolve on some short and plaine forme of catechisme for the use of his people: for it is not, I think, to be imagined that ever people will have any fixt knowledge of the articles of religioun by laxe and continuallie varied discourses and formes, or by catechismes too long and too hard for them: *and some would draw up severall short formes. They might be revysed at the next Synod, and possibly one framed out of them, which, by consent, might be appointed for the use of this Diocese for the interim untill one shall be publisht for the wholl Church.*¹

6. That which hath bene formerlie proposed would be remynded of a more exact and spirituall way off dealing with publick offenders, that their receptioun might be both more apt to recover the penitentes themselves and to edifie the Church.

7. For more frequent communion (if it could be hade), or, however, for the better improveing it: when wee have it, seldome as it is, what hath been formerly suggested touching the way of examineing, and prepareing people to it, and other particulares relating theiirto, need not be repeated, but need very much to be really practised, if they can be of any use.

8. Lykewyse enough hath bene formerly said—it were well if anything might once appeare to be done—touching the worshiipe of God in families, especially the pryve ones within our boundes, as lykewyse the exercise of discipline for the repressing of swearing, and drunkennesse, and all profainnesse so much abounding everywhere, and that our doctrine be lykewyse more particularly and frequently applyed to that purpose.

Students. 9. Something hath lykewyse bene said concerneing the training upe of such young men amongst us as intende the ministry, not onely as to their straine of preaching, *but the moving of their myndes to more inward thoughtes, and the study of a devout*

¹ See pp. 57, 58.

life, and more acquaintance with the exercises of mortification and purging of their owne heartes by these divine truethes which they are to preach to others for the same purpose : for how shall they teach what they have not learnit?

10. That churches be more frequently and exactly visited, and by each minister the families of his congregation.

This paper being publicquely read, was consented to, *and approved by the unanimous vote of the Synod*: and conforme to it was framed the following actt :

The Bishope and Synod, haveing seriously considered and regrated the hight of profainnesse and grosse sines abounding among their people, particularlie drunkennes and uncleannes, and, most universallie, the heinous sine of curseing and sweareing, and that which fomentes and increases those and all sines, the great contempt of the Lordis holy day and ordinances, and the grosse and almost incredible ignorance of the common sort under so much assiduous preaching and catechiseing, for the more effectuall redresse of all these eviles, have agried and resolved throw the Lordes helpe each one within himselfe to stirre the grace and zeall of God that is within them to renewed vigour and fervor, and more earnest endea-voures in the use of all due means for that effecte, and particularly :

1. The applyeing of their sermones and doctrines more expresly and frequently to the reproofe of those wickednesses, especially of that horrible sine, which almost all rankes of men doe more easilie and frequently committ than they can possiblie doe other grosse sines, and that with lesse sens and remorse, curseing and sweareing: and that they will by Godis assistance not onely use short and frequent reproofes of this and other sines, but at some tymes more largely insist in representing the excieding sinefulnes and vilenes of such a particulare sine, and the great danger of the Lordeis wrath and heaviest judgements upon those that persist in it.

2. That with this they will joyne constant privat inspection overe the lives of their people, and by all due meanes particulare enquiry into them ; and when they find any one guyltie of any grosse sine, privately to admonish him meekly and affectionately, but yet with all friedome and plainness: and if upon that they mend not, to proceid in the regulare way of discipline and censure within their owne charge: and if they be not by that reclaimed, but prove obstinate, then to delate them to the higher judicatories in the usuall order of this church.

3. To the more frequent catechiseing, and that in so plaine a method and way as may be most apt both to enforme the myndes of the most ignorant, and through the blessing of God to make more deep impression upon their heartes.

4. That as much as is competent for ministeres, they will indeavour to procure the executeing of these penall lawes made against curseing and sweareing and other scandalous offences, in such way as may be best convenient and feasible in each of their respective paroches.

5. That they will indeavour both by exhortacioun, and wheir neid is by use of discipline, to bring their people to more carefull and constant attendance on all the ordinances of God, at all tymes of the accustomed publick meetings, and to a more religious and reverent deportment in them throughout the wholl, but particularly in tyme of prayer.

6. That they be particularlie carefull to enquire after the daylie performance of the worshipec of God in families, and wheir they find it wanteing to enjoyne it, and make enquiry againe after it, and this would be especiallie provyded for in the chiefe and most eminent families in the severall congregaciounes as exemplary to all the rest.

SYNOD XII.

April 24, 1668.

. . . For preventing of tippling and drinking in aill houses upon the Lord's Day, it is ordained that the bell of the paroch church be runge about halfe ane houre after afternoones sermone, and if that they sal be found in aill houses after the said bell, then those persones are to be censured by the minister and session : lykewise hyreing of servantes on the Lord's Day to be curbed. Itt was recommended by the Bishope to the brethren that they would be carefull to presse family exercise in the families within their severall congregaciounes, and especiallie in the chiefe families as most exemplarie to all the rest.

Ordained that ministeres within this Diocese shall in all companies abstain from drinking of healthes themselves, and also discountenance and dissuade it in otheres.

Aprill 25, 1668.

* * * * *

. . . The Bishope haveing commended the brethren for their

unity and concord and good conversation, and exhorted them to continue therein, and to be more and more exemplare in holienesse and in modestie and gravity, even in the externalles of their haire and habitt and their wholl deportment, and to the regulating of their children and their wholl families to be paternes of religion and sobriety to all about them: and that they themselves aspyre daylie to greater abstraction from the world and contempte of things belowe, giveing themselves whollie to their great work of watching over soules, for which they most give account, and to reading and meditacioun, and to prayer that drawes continuall fresh supplies from heaven to enable them for all these duties.

After some short discourse to this purpose, he closed with prayer, and the Synod was dissolved.

SYNOD XIII.

*

*

*

*

*

. . . SESSION 2.

It is ordained that ministers both in their preaching and prayer indeavour to make people sensible of God's goodness in given a good harvest for the most parte. . . .

. . . That which has been sometymes spoke of before, the Bishope now againe recommended to the brethren, that at their sett tymes of catechising and examineing their people that they would take particulare notice of young persones, and towards their first admissioun to the Holy Communion: and haveing before taken account of their knowledge of the grounds of religion, would then cause them each one particularly and expreslie to declaire their beleiff of the Christiane faith into which in their infancie they were baptized, and remynding them of that their baptismal vow, and the great engadgement it layes upon them to a holie and Christiane lyfe, would requyre of them ane explycit owneing of that vow and engagement, and their solemne promise accordingly to indeavour the observeing and performance of it in the whole course of their following lyfe. And then, in their prayer with which they use to conclude these meetings, would recommend the said young persones now thus engagd to the effectual blessing of God, beseeching Him to owne them for His, and to bestowe on them the sanctifeing and strengthening grace of His Holie Spirit, and His signature upon them sealling them to the day of redemption.

And this practice, as it hath nothing in it that can offend any, even the most scrupulous mindes, so it may be a very fitt suppletory off that defectt in infant baptism which the enemies of it doe mainly objectt against it, and may through the blessing of God mak a lasting impression off religion upon the heartes of those young persones towardes whom it is used, and effectuallie engage them to a Christiane life : and if they swerve from it, make them the more inexcusable and cleirly convincible of their unfaithfulnes and breach off that great promise and sacred vow they have so renewed to God before His people. And for authority of divines, if wee regard that, it hath the general approbacioun of the most famous reformers and the most pious and learned that have followed them since their tyme : and being performed in that evangelicall simplicity as it is here propounded, they doe not onely allow it as lawfull, but desyre it and advyse it as laudable and profitable, and of very good use in all Christian churches.

The Bishope did recommend to the brethren within the respective Presbyteries to appoint one day in the week at least for catechiseing and reading a portion of the Holy Scriptures, singing of a psalme and prayer.

Lykewyse the Bishope againe did recommend to the brethren that they would indeavour to bring their people to a reverend gesture in tyme of prayer, and also the brethren did undertake to doe in the samyne so farre as possiblie they could.

And haveing concluded with prayer, the Synod was ordained to meet at eight aclock in the morneing.

SESSION 3.

14th Oct. 1668.

. . . The Bishope haveing commended the brethren for their unity, and concord, and good conversacioun, and exhorted them to continue therein, and to be more and more exemplare in holienes, modestie, and gravitie : and haveing concluded with prayer, the Synod was dissolved.

SYNOD XIV.

At Dunblane, the 13 of Aprill 1669.

. . . SESSION 2 (post meridiem).

. . . It being considered by the Bishope and Synod
 Act anent Night Wakes. that ther is great profanity committed be some light
 conceited persones at night walkes whier dead persones

are, and for curbeing of the same, it is ordained that ministeres gravelie reprove and inhibit such in tyme comeing, and also that the minister of the paroch appoynt the eldares of the severall quarteres to tak notice of such persones, and give up their names : and if that they transgresse heirin after tymous warneing, they are to be punished for the samyne. . . .

SYNOD XV.

5th Oct., 1669.

SESSION 2 (post meridiem).

Conventicles. . . . Itt is ordained that ther be commissioners chosen be the brethren to goe to the justices of peace anent the private conventicles within the Diocese of Dunblaine, and anent those preacheres who keipes private meitings.

Itt is thought fitt be the Synod that the Bishope would represent to the ensueing Parliament anent vagabondes and travellares upon the Lord's Day, that the Parliament may provyde some remedie for curbeing of the samyne.

SYNOD XVI.

At Dunblaine, April 11, 1670.

The Bishop
absent. Mr. James Donaldson, minister at Port, preached, and after sermon the brethren convened : but the

Bishope was not yet returned from Edinburgh, whither he was unexpectedly called the week before upon bussines of importance.¹ His intention was to have been with them that

¹ The "important business" which took Leighton to Edinburgh was the prosecution of his favourite scheme for accommodation by comprehension, under which he endeavoured to combine Presbyterians and Episcopalians under a kind of modified Episcopacy. After repeated conferences between leading men on both sides, the scheme was not successful. Dr. Burnet, who was himself an agent in the matter, says : "The Episcopalians thought that if it took effect, and the Presbyterians were to be generally brought into churches, they would be neglected, and their people would forsake them : and the *Presbyterians thought it was a snare, and the doing that which had a fair appearance at present, and was meant only to lay that generation to their grave in peace, by which means Episcopacy, that was then shaking over all the nation, would come to have another root and grow again out of that.*"

day, but in case it myght fall out otherwayes (as it did) *he left order with the Dean to preside in his stead.* But the brethren finding that there was litle or nothing to doe, chose rather to weave the meiting synodicalle for that tyme.

And the Bishope, returneing the day after, writt to both the Presbyteries to meit at the kirk of Blackfoord the verie next week, on Wednesday, being the 20th of Aprill, wher the particulares following came before them and were dispatcht.

Att the kirk of Blackfoord, Aprill 20, 1670.

The Bishop presiding (business ordinary).

SYNOD XVII.

11th Oct., 1670.

SESSION 2. . . .

In connection with a case of ministerial suspension for unworthy conduct, and a petition from Lord Madderty and others for restoration (Leighton being present), there is the following which illustrates how the Bishop exercised authority in conjunction *with* the Presbyteries and not apart from them. "The quhilk suplication of the heretores and otheres foresaids, the Bishope and Synod haveing taken seriouslie to their consideraciounes declared that for the present they could not satisfie the desyres of the foresaids parishioners of Monzie in restoring the said Mr. John to his former employment : *but did referre the samyne to a meiteing of the two respective Presbyteries, to be holden at Dunblaine upon the sixteine of November nix to come—to whom the Bishop and Synode (if at that tyme it shall fall out hee bee absent himselfe) gives full and absolute power to determine in the samyne, or to prorogate their meiting, as they shall think to be fitt and expedient untill the determination thereof.*" And haveing concluded with prayer, the Synod was ordained to meit at eight houres in the morning.

SESSION 3.

12th Oct., 1670.

. . . The Bishope recommended to the brethren the reading of the Holie Scriptures in publick, that they be read in Irish to those that hes the use of it, and in English to those that have the use of it.

The Bishope haveing exhorted the brethren to be carefull in goeing about the dueties of the holie calleing, and to mutuall love,

quhilk is a marke of the true disciples of Jesus Christ, and haveing concluded with prayer and singing of a psalme, the Synod was dissolved.

15th Dec., 1670.

Meeting of Presbytery. . . . After prayer, Mr. Thomas Lindesay, Moderator, presenteing ane letter from the Bishope of Dunblaine, in relation to his commission in the former meiting, the brethren having the same read with the former letter, finds themselves to have full power by the Bishop's order in the samyne to cognosce and determine in that bussines. (Here follows an account of the process.) The *Moderator* did intimate the samyne (the judgment of restoration to the ministry) to the said Mr. John, "which the Moderator did, with ane grave and holie exhortacioun, desyreing the said Mr. John to walk circumspectlie, begging strength from God earnestlie, that hee might not disanull his owne voves, or disappoynt the brethren's charitable expectacioun of him hereafter, to become a new creatour, a mor faithfull minister of the Gospell : also they ordained the foresaid Mr. John to evidence his repentance where the scandall was given, at the church of Dunblaine the nixt Lord's Day by preaching there : as also that Mr. James Row should preach at Monzie, and intimate the foresaids Mr. John his reponeing againe to his ministerie. And haveing concluded with prayer, the meeting dissolved.

The above instance is quite sufficient in showing that Leighton did not interfere with the spiritual functions of the Presbytery, and is an example of the conciliatory and liberal policy which he adopted in the government of the Diocese.

SYNOD XVIII.

Att Dunblaine, the ellevinth of April, jajvi^e thrie score and ellevne yeares (1671).

The quhilk day Mr. David Litlejon, minister at Blackfoord, and present Moderator to the Presbyterie of Ochterardor, did preach : and sermon being endit, the Synod did meett, and after invocacioun of the name of God, the roll was read, and some of the brethren found to be absent . . . but all of them were excused for reasones made knowne to the Synod.

The Bishope at his goeing to Glasgow (being uncertaine of his returneing) did leave with the clerk of the Synod ane paper under his owne hand, giveing warrand to the Dean to presyde in his

absence. And hee not being returned as yet from thence, did wriatt ane letter to the Synod, which cam to their hands this day, the tenor whereof followes :

Glasgow, Apr. 6, 1671.

REVEREND BRETHREN,

The superadded burdon that I have here sits so hard upon me that I cannot escape from under it to be with you at this tyme, but my heart and desyres shal be with you for a blessing from above upon your meeting. I have nothing to recommend to you, but (if you please) to take a review of things formerly agried on, and such as you judge most usefull to renew the appoyntment of putteing them in practise, and to adde whatsoever shall further accurr to your thoughtes that may promotte the happie discharge of your ministrie and the good of your people's soules. I know I need not remynd you, for I am confident you daylie think of it, *that the great principle of fidelitie and diligence and good successe in that great work is love, and the great spring of love to soules is love to Him that bought them.* Hee knew it well Himselfe, and gave us to know it when He said, "Simone, lovest thou me : feed my sheepe : feed my lambs." Deep impression of His blessed name upon our heartes will not faill to produce lively expression of it, not onelie in our words and discourse in privat and publick, but will make the wholl track of our lives to be a true copie and transcrip of His holie life : and if there be within us any sparkles of that divine life, you know the best way not onelie to preserv them but to excitt them and blowe them into a flamme, is by the breath of prayer. *Oh prayer, the converse of the soule with God, the breath of God in man returneing to its Original—frequent and fervent prayer, the better halfe of our whole work, and that which maks the other halfe livelie and effectuall, as that holie company tells us, when, designeing deacones to serve the tables, they add, "But wee will give ourselves continuallie to prayer and the ministrie of the word."*

And is it not, brethren, our unspeakeable advantage, beyond all the gainfull and honorable employmentes of the world, that the wholl work of our particulare calling is a kind of liveing in heaven, and besides its tendencie to the saving of the soules of others, is all along so proper, and adapted to the purifieing and saveing of our owne? But you will possiblie say. What does hee himselfe that speaks these things to us? Alas ! I am ashamed to tell you, all I

dare say is this, I think I see the beauty of holiness, and am enamoured with it, though I attain it not : and how little soever I attain, would rather live and die in the pursuit of it, than in the pursuit, yea, or in the possession and enjoyment, though unpurified, of all the advantages that this world affords. And I trust, dear brethren, you are of the same opinion, and have the same desire and designe, and follow it both with more diligence and with better success.

But I will stop here, lest I should forget myself, and possibly run on till I have wearied you, if I have not done that already ; and yet if it be so, I will hope for easy pardon at your hands, as of a fault I have not been accustomed heretofore, nor am not likely hereafter often to commit. To the all-powerful grace of our great Lord and Master I recommend you and your flocks, and your whole work amongst them, and do earnestly intreat your prayers for your unworthiest but most affectionate brother and servant,

(Signed) R. LEIGHTONNE.

SYNOD XIX.

At Dunblaine, the 10th of October, 1672.

. . . : Section 2. . . .

. . . The Bishop having exhorted the brethren to love and amity amongst themselves (as formerly severall times he has done) and to be very careful over the flocks of whom God has made them overseers, and having concluded with prayer and singing of a psalm, and thereafter the Synod was dismissed.

The first Synod at which Bishop Ramsay (Leighton's successor at Dunblaine) presided, was held at Dunblaine on September 30, 1673, and in his address to the brethren, he thus referred to his predecessor, then the Archbishop of Glasgow :—

I doubt not but all of us judge it one great end meeting together, that we may consider one another and stir up one another to greater and more fervent zeal in the discharge of our high and holy calling : and while I was thinking with myself what might be fit for me to move to you, your Register (which I have read with very great satisfaction) lets me see that your last most reverend and pious Bishop has so fully discharged himself that no new thing can be proposed ; for therein I perceive that whatever can be thought upon for purifying our minds, for making our conversation harmless

and blameles, as that sones of God without rebuk in the midst of a pervers generacioun, among whom we ought to shyne as lyghtes in the world, or for fulfilling of our ministrie, is so amplie, and in so convinceing and persuasive a straine alreadie upon yor record, that a much wyser and experienced person than I dare pretend too, would be forced to sitt downe with this of the wise man, "What can hee say that comes after?" *for I look on your Register as beyond some volumes of the ancient concilles.*

One thing I must tell you I have observed, that in everie Synod I find that holie and grave Bishop renewing his desyres, and recommending the same thing, so often as ye mete together: and although his meikness was such as not to give yow the check in plaine and direct termes, yet to any persone of the most ordinarie capacitie, who shall read over your Register, as I have done, it will appear that at least some amongst yow are much to be blamed for giveing him occasion to teach precept upon precept, lyne upon lyne, etc., and to put yow in remembrance of those things yow knew before. Dear brethren, shall you and I complaine of any people, "Who hes believed our report?" and regrate that in sieing they perceive not, and in the mean tyme, we ourselves have as little regard to what is recommended to us, in the name of the Lord, though we have as great need to observe it as any of our people have of the dueties we recommend to them? Doubtless these things shall witnes against us: and in the day when the book shal be opened, this yor Register shall not be closed nor silent. Therefore I doe seriouslie recommend to yow all yor owne Actes, and particularlie that Act, page (blank) whereby everie moderatore (if you please) I would have every member appointed to search the Register, and extract these things of so generall use, that they may be recorded in your heartes and made legible in your conversacioun, especiallie these who are neulie entered into the ministrie, and were not so happie as to hear them delivered viva voce. . . .

Leighton's Addresses to the Synod of Dunblane reveal the high ideal, and gentle, conciliatory spirit that guided him in the discharge of his duties, but there are also several letters belonging to the Dunblane period of his life that may here be inserted, all of which manifest the same spirit as the Addresses.

The following indicates the manner in which he sought to discharge his duty as a Patron. Since 1638 patronage had been practically in abeyance, and in 1649 it had been abolished by law. In 1662 it was restored by the Scottish Parliament in a manner most offensive to the Scottish people, and placed autocratic power in the hands of the Bishops. Leighton did not exercise this, but, as the letter indicates, sought to ascertain the desire of the heritors and parishioners, and present the man whom they nominated. The letter is dated Edinburgh, September 22, 1662.

“ To the Heritors of the Parish of Straton.

“ WORTHY GENTLEMEN AND FRIENDS—

“ Being informed that it is my duty to present a person fit for the charge of the ministry now vacant with you, I have thought of one, whose integrity and piety I am so fully persuaded of, that I dare confidently recommend him to you as one who, if the hand of God do bind that work upon him amongst you, is likely, through the blessing of the same hand, to be very serviceable to the building up of your souls heavenwards, but is as far from suffering himself to be obtruded as I am for obtruding any upon you : so that unless you invite him to preach, and, after hearing of him, declare your consent and desire towards his embracing of the call, you may be secure from the trouble of hearing any further concerning him, either from himself or me ; and if you please to let me know your mind, your reasonable satisfaction shall be to my utmost power endeavoured by

“ Your affectionate friend and humble servant,

“ R. LEIGHTON.

“ The person's name is Mr. James Aird ; he was minister at Ingram, in Northumberland, and is lately removed from thence, and is now at Edinburgh. If you write to him, direct it to be delivered to Hugh Paterson, writer in Edinburgh, near the Cross, on the north side of the street. This, if you

please, may be communicated to such of the inhabitants of the parish as you shall think fit."

The minister here recommended by Leighton was evidently not acceptable to the heritors and people of Straiton, and he was not admitted to a parish until July 15, 1668, when he was inducted to Torryburn, on the presentation of Alexander, Earl of Kincardine. The following letter to Mr. Aird refers to Straiton, and was written prior to the one, sent to the heritors.

Edinburgh, July 5, 1662.

"SIR—

"Waving all other discourse till meeting, though you are possibly enamoured with your vacancy, yet if you find any return of appetite to employment in the ministry, I am once again to offer you an invitation, for there is a place or two now vacant at my dispose. *'Tis true 'tis by the removing of the former incumbents against their will: but you are not guilty of that by succeeding them, nor I by giving a call to any that will, for you may be sure they are not within the bounds I have charge of, but in other dioceses.* There is one place indeed in my *precinct*¹, now vacant, and yet undisposed of, by the voluntary remove of the young man that was in it to a better benefice, and this is likewise in my hand: but it is of so wretchedly mean a provision that I am ashamed to name it—little (I think) above 500 marks by year. If the many instances of that kind you have read have made you in love with voluntary poverty, there you may have it but wheresoever you are or shall be for the little rest of your time, I hope you are, and still will be, advancing in that blest poverty of spirit that is the only true height and greatness of spirit in all the world entitling to a crown, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Oh! what are the scraps that the great ones of this world are scrambling for compared with that

¹ Presbytery.

pretension ? I pray you as you find an opportunity, though possibly little or no inclination to it, yet bestow one line on

“ Your poor friend and servant,

“ R. LEIGHTON.” ¹

The following letter brings Leighton before us in the aspect of business,² and is worthy to be compared with a previous letter (p. 212). He was certainly not exacting in his demands for what were his legal dues.

Letter from Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, to Sir George Stirling. Edinburgh, March 20 (n.y.).

“ HONOURED SIR—

“ Yow know well how painful and unusuall a thing it is to me to dispute these matters either by word or writt. I have wholly intrusted the clerk with that buisnesse (the renewal of a lease of teinds), and not limited him to any sune. If yow make it appear to him reasonable that yow give nothing, nothing bee it : whatsoever is my meannesse of estate and the ability God has blessed yow with, I am far from the meannesse of mind to plead that : but if the clerk inform you that others have given some acknowledgment for the very like buisnesse, and that though no new advantage accreases

¹ Secretan's *Archbishop Leighton*.

² The following charter still survives :—

“ 23rd March, 1666. Charter by Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane and Dean of the Chapel Royal, as superior of the subjects dispoened, granting to William Maxwell, of Murreith, (Moureith), his heirs and assignees, that fishing on the water of Dee called the fishery of Culdooch otherwise called the “ Dooches,” with the fisher's croft and pasturage, etc., within the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, which had belonged to the late Sir John Vaus of Lungcastell, and been apprised from Patrick Vaus, his son and heir. The reddendo not given. Edinburgh, 23rd March, 1666. Witnesses, Hugh Paterson, W.S., George Hutcheson, the Bishop's servitor, and Alexander Pettigrew, writer, Edinburgh. Signed, R. Dunblain, Decan^s Sacelli Regii.” Bishop's round seal attached, but defaced.

The Laing Charters : 2600 : pp. 607, 608.

to yow (for that is not vsuall in any leases), but only the continuance of the case yow have, and securing yow from being scru'd higher for so many years : if upon this yow be pleasd to give him any thing, it will help to discharge some litle charities that I have left vpon him to doe for mee ; but if that please yow not, whatsoever yow doe shall not displease,

“ Sir,

“ Your very affectionate and humble servant,

“ R. LEIGHTON.” ¹

The following letters were written to his relative, Mr. Lightmaker, of Broadhurst, Surrey, and his friend Mr. Aird, of Torryburn.

To his brother-in-law (Mr. Lightmaker) on the death of his son.

“ I am glad of your health and recovery of your little ones : but indeed it was a sharp stroke of a pen that told me
 Love of your pretty Johnny was dead : and I felt it truly
 children. more than, to my remembrance, I did the death of any child in my life-time. Sweet thing ! and is he so sweetly laid to sleep ? Happy he ! Though we shall have no more the pleasure of his lisping and laughing, he shall have no more the pain of crying, nor of being sick, nor of dying, and hath wholly escaped the trouble of schooling and all other sufferings of boys, and the riper and deeper griefs of riper years, this poor life being all along nothing but a linked chain of many sorrows and many deaths. Tell my dear sister she is now much more akin to the other world, and this will quickly be passed to us all. John is but gone an hour or two sooner to bed, as children use to do, and we are undressing to follow. And the more we put off the love of this

¹ “ *Historical Manuscripts* ”—*Manuscripts of Sir J. Stirling Maxwell of Keir, Bart.*, p. 80.

present world, and all things superfluous beforehand, we shall have the less to do when we lie down."

To the Rev. Mr. Aird.

"DEAR FRIEND—

"I trust you enjoy that same calm of mind, touching your present concernment, that I do on your behalf. I dare not promise to see you at Edinburgh at this time, but it is possible I may. I know you will endeavour to set yourself on as strong a guard as you can against the assaults you may meet with there from divers well meaning persons, but of weak understandings and strong passions ; and will maintain the liberty of your own mind both firmly and meekly. Our business is the study of sincerity and pure intention ; and then, certainly, our blessed guide will not suffer us to lose our way for want of light ; we have his promise, that if *in all our ways we acknowledge him, he will direct our paths*. While we are consulting about the turns and new motions of life, it is sliding away, but if our great work in it be going on, all is well. Pray for

"Your poor Friend,

"R. L.

"Dunblain, Jan. 13th."

To the Same.

"SIR—

"I long to hear how you dispose of yourself, if it be determined. If still in suspense, I still wish you the favourable impression of that hand to which I know you have delivered up yourself ; if you be resolved upon a removal, and incline to the like charge, here upon a fair call, I desire to know it by the first opportunity, for I hear there is somewhat of that kind in the West likely to be at my disposal ; I would not have this unsettle your propension to stay where you are, if you find anything within you, for thorns grow

everywhere and from all things below: and to a soul transplanted out of itself into the root of Jesse, peace grows everywhere too, from him who is called our Peace, and whom we still find the more to be so, the more entirely we live to him, being dead to this world, and self, and all things besides him. Oh! when shall it be? Well, let the world go as it will; let this be our only pursuit and ambition, and to all other things *flat voluntas tua, Domine.*"

To the Same.

"DEAR FRIEND—

"Being at present not well, I shall say no more but that I take these communications as a singular act of the truest kindness and friendship, and heartily thank you for them, and am glad to find that there are some souls in this world truly sick of it all, that being, in my opinion, a very happy symptom and prognostic of a prevailing health—such a degree of it at least as may be had in the diseased, defiled cottages wherein we dwell, and may be to us a certain pledge of real beginning of that full health we look for at our removal, and therefore have so much reason to long and wish earnestly and sigh and groan for that day, and yet have no less reason to wait patiently for it. Pray for

"Your poor Friend,

"R. L.

"March 21, 1669."

The following letter to his sister, expressing his desire for retirement, indicates that even at Dunblane Leighton was conscious of the wide discontent in the country, and desired retirement from what seemed to him more and more an impossible situation. It was written probably about 1665 or 1667.

"Dunblane, April 19.

"DEAR SISTER—

"I was strangely surprised to see the bearer here. What

could occasion it I do not yet understand. At parting he earnestly desired a line to you, which, without his desire, my own affection would have carried me to, if I knew what to say, but what I trust you do : and 'tis that our joint business is to die daily to this world and self, that what little remains of our life we may live to Him that died for us. For myself, to what purpose is it to tell you I grow old and sickly? and though I have here great retirement—as great and possibly greater than I could readily find anywhere else—*yet I am still panting after a retreat from this place and all public charge, and, next to rest in the grave, it is the pressingest desire I have of anything in this world and, if it might be, with you or near you.* But our heavenly Father, we quietly resigning all to Him, both knows and will do what is best. Remember my kindest affection to your son and daughter, and to Mr. Siderfin, and pray for

“Your poor weary brother,

“R. L.”

The letter is evidently to be read in connexion with his statement to the Synod of Dunblane on October 11, 1665,¹ expressing his resolution “of retiring from his public charge” with the reasons given : “the sense he had of his own unworthiness of so high a station in the Church, and his weariness of the contentions of this charge, which seemed rather to be growing than abating, and by their growth did make so great abatements of that Christian meekness and mutual charitie, which is so much more worth than the sum of all that was contended about.” The country was ruled by tyranny, and responded in the west and south-west by rebellion. The people were dissatisfied with the “King’s curates,” treated their ministries with scorn, and forsook their churches. They were brought before the Council and Ecclesiastical Commission for absenting themselves from

¹ P. 374 ; cf. also p. 379.

ordinances that they did not desire, on the information of the clergy, and were condemned to imprisonment, fines, and even whippings on defective proof. Guards were quartered through the country, under the command of the fierce Sir James Turner, who was ordered by Rothes to act, according to Archbishop Burnet's instructions.¹ The government of the country became an inquisition rather than a legal court, and on the temper produced by such dealings there is a significant comment by the then Archbishop of Glasgow himself:—"the least commotion in England and Ireland, or encouragement from foreigners abroad, would certainly engage us in a new rebellion."²

Leighton went to London and informed the King of the proceedings of the Government of Scotland as headed by Lauderdale, Rothes and Sharp. He described it *as so violent, that he could not concur in planting Christianity itself in such a manner much less a form of government. He begged leave to quit his bishopric and to retire, for he considered he was in some sort accessory even to the violencies done by others, since he was one of them, and all was done with a pretence of establishing their order.* The King seemed touched with the state of the country, would not suffer Leighton to quit his bishopric, spoke very severely of Sharp, assured Leighton that he would quickly come to other measures and put a stop to violent ones. He ordered the ecclesiastical commission to be discontinued, and promised that another way was necessary for his affairs. Leighton seemed, as far as promises went, to have achieved his mission and returned home with the purpose of achieving all that a single-hearted, conciliatory spirit could propose.

But alas! for any promise made by the perfidious Charles II; Sharp before long attained the upper hand; under the fear of help from Holland Dalziel was promoted to

¹ Burnet's *History*, i. 376-379.

² *Lauderdale Papers*, i. 215 note.

be a general; and it required the Pentland Rising of 1666 with the awful horrors of "Haddock's Hole," perpetrated on the Covenanters, to prove that the severities of Rothes and Sharp were a blunder, and to make Lauderdale begin an administration with milder methods. It was not till June 7, 1669, that "the First Letter of Indulgence" was issued, and from 1665 Leighton was but as a voice crying in the wilderness. His endeavours for conciliation, if impossible of achievement, were at least sincere, and it is pleasant to find a relieving feature in the black picture.

The following two letters were written by Leighton before the Accommodation Movement, as it was technically called (1667-1671), and were intended for private circulation in manuscript form. They were incorporated by McWard in his *Case of the Accommodation*, printed at Rotterdam in 1671. They are valuable as an embodiment of Usher's Scheme, as applied to Scotland, and as an interpretation of it, in connexion with the Covenants.¹

Moderate Episcopacy as now established in Scotland, considered with a view to Accommodation.

"SIR—

"In the late Conference I had with your friend, the sum of what I said was this :

"1. That Episcopal Government, managed in conjunction with Presbyters in Presbyteries and Synods, is not contrary either to the rule of Scripture, or the example of the Primitive Church, but most agreeable to both.

"2. Yea, it is not contrary to that very Covenant, which is pretended by so many as the main, if not the only, reason of their scrupling : and for their sakes it is necessary to add this. For notwithstanding the many irregularities both in the matter and form of that Covenant, and the illegal and violent ways of pressing and prosecuting of it, yet to them who remain under the conscience of its full force and obligation, and in that seem invincibly persuaded, it is certainly most pertinent, if it be true, to declare the consistence

¹ Cf. pp. 124-126, 183-185.

of the present Government even with that obligation. And as both these assertions, I believe upon the exactest (if impartial and impassionate) inquiry, will be found to be in themselves true: so they are owned by the generality of the Presbyterians in England: as themselves have published their opinions in print under this title, *Two Papers of Proposals humbly presented to his Majesty by the Reverend Ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion. Printed at London, Anno 1661.*"

Besides other passages in these *Papers* to the same purpose, at pages 11 and 12 are these words: "And as these are our general ends and motives, so we are induced to insist upon the form of a Synodical Government, conjunct with a fixed Presidency or Episcopacy, for these reasons:

"1. We have reason to believe that no other terms will be so generally agreed on, etc.

"2. It being agreeable to the Scripture and Primitive Government, is likeliest to be the way of a more Universal Concord, if ever the Churches on earth arrive to such a blessing: however, it will be most acceptable to God and well-informed consciences.

"3. It will promote the practise of Discipline and Godliness without disorder, and promote order without hindering Discipline and Godliness.

"4. And it is not to be silenced (though in some respect we are loth to mention it) that it will save the nation from the violation of their *Solemn vow and Covenant*, without wronging the Church at all, or breaking any other Oath, etc." And a little after they add, that "the Prelacy disclaimed in that Covenant was the engrossing of the sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, and exercising of the whole Discipline absolutely by Bishops themselves and their delegates, chancellors, surrogates, and officials, etc., excluding wholly the Pastors of particular churches from all share in it."

"And there is one of prime note amongst them, Mr. Baxter, who in a large Treatise of Church Government,¹ doth clearly evince, that this was the mind both of the Parliament of England, and of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as they themselves did expressly declare it, in the admitting of the Covenant, 'that they understand it not to be against all Episcopacy, but only against that particular frame,' as it is worded in the article itself. Because

¹ *Five Disputations of Church Government and Worship.*

every one hath not the book, I have transcribed here Mr. Baxter's own words.

"In the 3rd part of his Treatise, at p. 275, he asserts, 'An Episcopacy desirable for the Reformation, Preservation, and Peace of the Churches.' And at p. 297 he asserts the desirableness of 'a fixed President, *durante vita*.' The objections to this, drawn from the Covenant, he thus answers at p. 330.

"But some will say, *we are engaged against all Prelacy by Covenant, and therefore cannot yield to as much as you do, without perjury*. Ans. That this is utterly untrue, I thus demonstrate.

"1. 'When the Covenant was presented to the Assembly with the bare name of *Prelacy* joined to Popery, many grave and reverend Divines desired that the word *Prelacy* might be explained, because it was not all Episcopacy they were against. And thereupon the following concatenation in the parenthesis was given by way of explication, in these words: *That is, Church government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy*.' By which, it appears, that it was only the English hierarchy, or frame, that was covenanted against, and that which was then existent, that was taken down.

"2. When the House of Lords took the Covenant, Mr. Thomas Coleman, that gave it them, did so explain it, and profess that it was not their interest to covenant against all Episcopacy: and upon this explanation it was taken: and certainly the Parliament was most capable of giving the due sense of it, because it was they that did impose it.

"3. And it could not be all Episcopacy that was excluded, because a parochial Episcopacy was at the same time used and approved commonly here in England.

"4. And in Scotland they had used the help of Visitors for the reformation of their churches, committing the care of a county or large circuit to some one man, which was as high a sort of Episcopacy, at least, as I am pleading for. Besides that, they had Moderators in all their Synods, which were temporary Bishops.

"5. Also the chief Divines of the late Assembly at Westminster, that recommended that Covenant to the Nations, have professed their own judgments for such a Moderate Episcopacy as I am here defending: and therefore never intended *the exclusion of this by the Covenant*.

“After, he adds, ‘As we have the old Episcopacy to beware of, so we have the contrary extreme to avoid, and the Church’s Peace (if it may be) to procure. And as we must not take down the Ministry, lest it prepare men for Episcopacy, so neither must we be against any profitable exercise of the Ministry, or desirable order amongst them for fear of introducing Prelacy.’ Thus far Baxter’s own words.

“There is another that hath writ a Treatise on purpose, and that zealous and strict enough, touching the obligation of the *League and Covenant*, under the name of Theophilus Timorcus.¹ And yet therein it is expressly asserted that “however, at first, it might appear that the Parliament had renounced all Episcopacy, yet upon exacter inquiry, it was evident to the Author that that very scruple was made by some members in Parliament, and resolved (with the consent of their Brethren in Scotland) that the Covenant was only intended against Prelacy, as then it was in being in England, leaving a latitude for Episcopacy, etc.”

“It should be noted that when that Covenant was framed, there was no Episcopacy at all being in Scotland, but in England only : so that the extirpation of that frame only could then be meant and understood. Likewise it should be considered, that though there be in Scotland at present the name of *Dean*, and *Chapter*, and *Commissaries*, yet that none of them at all do exercise any part of the Discipline under that name, neither any other, as Chancellor or Surrogate, etc., by delegation from Bishops, with a total exclusion of the community of Presbyters from all power and share in it, which is the great point of difference betwixt that Model and this with us, and imports so much as to the manner of Discipline. I do not deny that the generality of the people, yea even of the ministers in Scotland, when they took the Covenant, might likewise understand that Article as against all Episcopacy whatsoever, even the most moderate, especially if it should be restored under the express name of *Bishops* and *Archbishops* : never considering how different the nature, and model, and way of exercising it may be, though under the same names, and that the due regulating of the thing is much more to be regarded than either the retaining or altering of

¹ The Covenanters Plea against Absolvers : or a Discourse showing why those who in England and Scotland took the Solemn League and Covenant cannot judge their consciences discharged from the obligation of it.

the name. But though they did not then consider any such thing, yet certainly it concerns them now to consider it, when it is represented to them, that not only the words of the Oath itself do very genuinely consist with such a qualified and distinctive sense, but that the very composers and imposers of it, or a considerable part of them, did so understand and intend it. And unless they make it appear that the Episcopacy now in question with us in Scotland is either contrary to the Word of God, or to that mitigated sense of their own Oath, it would seem more suitable to Christian charity and moderation, rather to yield to it as tolerable, at least, than to continue so inflexibly fast to their first mistake and excessive zeal, as for love of it to divide from their Church, and break the bond of Peace.

“It may likewise be granted that some learned men in England, who refused to take the Covenant, did possibly except against that Article of it, as signifying the total renunciation and abolition of all Episcopacy: and seeing that was the real event and consequent of it, and they having many other strong and weighty reasons for refusing it, it is no wonder that they were little anxious to inquire what passed amongst the contrivers of it, and what distinction or different senses either the words of that Article might admit, or those contrivers might intend by them. And the truth is, that besides many other evils, the iniquity and unhappiness of such *Oaths* and *Covenants* lies much in this, that being commonly framed by persons that, even among themselves, are not fully of one mind, but have their different opinions and interests to serve (and it was so even in this), they are commonly patched up of so many several articles and clauses, and those, too, of so versatile and ambiguous terms, that they prove most wretched snares, thickets of briars and thorns to the consciences of those that are engaged in them, and matter of endless contentions and disputes amongst them about the true sense and intendment, and the tie and obligations of those doubtful clauses, especially in some such alterations and revolutions of affairs as always may, and often do, even within few years, follow after them: for the models and productions of such devices are not usually long-lived. And whatever may be said for their excuse in whole or in part, who, in yieldance to the Power that pressed it, and the general opinion of this Church at that time did take that *Covenant* in the most moderate and least schismatical sense that the terms can admit: yet, I know not what can be said

to clear *them* of a very great Sin, that not only framed such an Engine, but violently imposed it upon all ranks of men, not ministers and other public persons only, but the whole body and community of the people, thereby engaging such droves of poor ignorant persons to they know not what, and, to speak freely, to such a hodge-podge of various concernments, Religious and Civil, as *Church Discipline and Government, the Privileges of Parliament and Liberties of Subjects, and Condign Punishment of Malignants*, things hard enough for the wisest and learnedest to draw the just lines of, and to give plain definitions and decisions of them, and therefore certainly as far off from the reach of poor country people's understanding, as from the true interest of their souls: and yet to tie them by a Religious and Sacred Oath either to know all these, or to contend for them blindfold without knowing them:—*Can there be instanced a greater oppression and tyranny over consciences than this?* Certainly they that now govern in this Church cannot be charged with anything near or like unto it: for whatsoever they require of intrants to the Ministry, they require neither Subscriptions nor Oaths of Ministers already entered, and far less of the whole body of the people. And it were ingenuously done to take some notice of any point of moderation, or whatsoever else is really commendable even in those we account our greatest enemies, and not to take any Party in the world for the absolute standard and unfailing rule of Truth and Righteousness in all things.

“As for our present model in Scotland and the way of managing of it, whatsoever is amiss (and it can be no wrong to make that supposition concerning any Church on earth), or whatsoever they apprehend to be amiss, though it may be upon mistake, the Brethren that are dissatisfied had possibly better acquitted their duty by free admonitions and significations of their own sense in all things, than by leaving of their stations, which is the one thing that hath made the breach, I fear, very hard to cure, and in human appearance near to incurable. But there is much charity due to them, as following the dictate of their own conscience: and they owe, and, I hope, pay the same back again to those that do the same in another way: and whatsoever may be the readiest and happiest way of reuniting those that are mutually so minded, the Lord reveal it to them in due time. This one word I shall add:—That this difference should arrive to so great a height may seem somewhat strange to any man that calmly considers that there is i

this Church no change at all, neither in the Doctrine nor Worship, no, nor in the substance of the Discipline itself : but when it falls on matter easily inflammable, a little spark, how great a fire will it kindle !

“ But oh, who would not long for the shadows of the evening, and to be at rest from all these poor childish, trifling contests ! ”

POSTSCRIPT.

“ Whatsoever was the occasion of copying out the passages cited in this Paper, and of adding these few thoughts that then occurred touching that subject, I would have neither of them understood as intended any way to reflect upon or judge other Churches where this Government is otherwise exercised : but what is here said is only *argumentum ad hominem*, and particularly adapted to the persons, and notions, and scruples we have to do withal in this Church. And though this is designed to come to very few hands, yet I wish that what is here represented were by some better way brought to the notice of such as know least of it and need it most, that, if it be possible, their extreme fervour might be somewhat allayed by this consideration, that this very form of Government, which is so hateful to them, is by the Presbyterians of the neighbour kingdom accounted a thing, not only tolerable, but desirable.¹ And I might add that, upon due inquiry, the Reformed Churches abroad will be found in a great part much of the same opinion : yea, I am not afraid to say yet further, that I think there is good reason to believe that it were not only lawful for those that now govern in this Church, but, if prejudice hindered not, might prove expedient and useful for the good of the Church itself, that they did use in some instances a little more authority than they do, and yet might still be very far off from proud and tyrannical domination, never applying their power to obstruct what is good, but to advance it, and not at all against the Truth, but always for it. And while they do so, the Atheism and Profaneness that abounds cannot reasonably be imputed to the nature of the Government, as too commonly it is by some, but rather to the schism that is made by withdrawing and dividing from it : for there is not a greater enemy in the world to the power of Religion than the wranglings and contentions than are raised about the external forms of it. *Εἰρήνη φίλη, εἰρήνη φίλη, ποῦ πότε ἀπελίπες ἡμᾶς* ; as Nazianzen pathetically begins one of his Orations for Peace. I

¹ See pp. 309–322, especially pp. 317, 319.

confess I have somewhat wondered to see some wise and good men, after all that can be said to them, make so great reckoning of certain metaphysical exceptions against some little modes and formalities of difference in the Government, and set so little a value upon so great a thing as is the Peace of the Church. Oh, when shall the low and harsh noises of our Debates be turned into the sweeter sound of united Prayers for this blessed Peace, that we might cry with one heart and voice to the God of Peace, who alone can give it. *Pacem te poscimus omnes!* And if we be real suppliants for it, we should beware of being the disappointers of our own desires, and of obstructing the Blessing we pray for, and therefore should mainly study a temper receptive of it, and that is great Meekness and Charity. And certainly whatsoever party or opinion we follow in this matter, the badge by which we must be known to be followers of Jesus Christ is this, *that we love one another*: and *that* Law unquestionably is of Divine right, and therefore should not be broken by bitter passion and revilings, and rooted hatreds one against another for things about which the right is in dispute betwixt us. And, however that be, are we Christians? Then doubtless the things wherein we agree are incomparably greater than those wherein we disagree, and therefore in all reason should be more powerful to unite us than the other to divide us. But to restrain myself, and stop here, if we love both our own and the Church's Peace, there be two things I conceive we should most carefully avoid, viz., the bestowing of too great zeal upon small things, and too much confidence of opinion upon doubtful things. It is a mad thing to rush on hard and boldly in the dark, and we all know what kind of person it is of whom Solomon says, *That he rages and is confident.*

LETTER II.

“SIR—

“The question betwixt us is not concerning Bishops governing absolutely by themselves and their delegates, but concerning Bishops governing in conjunction with Presbyters in Presbyteries and Synods. Of which we affirm that it is neither contrary to the Scriptures, nor the example of the Primitive Church, but most agreeable to both: if any think otherwise, let them produce their evidences of Scripture and Antiquity. If they say, it is not enough to make such a form lawful, that it is not contrary to the Scripture, but there ought to be an express command or rule in Scripture to

warrant it, they will, surely, be so just as to be subject to the same law themselves. Let them then produce such an express command or rule for their own model of Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods Provincial and National, Commission of the Kirk, and their several dependencies and subordinations for the ordinary and constant government and exercise of discipline in the Church, and the necessary changing of the Moderators in these meetings, excepting only that of the Kirk-Session, wherein the Minister is constantly to moderate. For without such an express rule as this, a Bishop or fixed President may very well consist with that whole frame they contend for ; and it is really and actually so at this present in this Church, and they stand so much the rather obliged to bring a clear command for these Judicatories, and their subordinations, because they affirm them to be of unquestionable Divine Right, and the very Kingdom of Christ upon earth, and the only lawful and absolutely necessary Government of the Christian Church,¹ whereas the assertors of other forms do not usually speak so big. If they shall say they are not against a fixed President or Bishop, or call him what you will (for to contest about names, especially in so grave a matter, is trivial and childish), but that the question is above their power, then we beg that it may be so. Let that be all the question betwixt us, and then we hope the controversy will be quickly ended : for we trust we shall be found not at all desirous to usurp or affect any undue power, but rather to abate of that power which is reasonable and conformable even to Primitive Episcopacy, than that a Schism should continue in this Church upon that score. But be it supposed that Bishops do stretch their power somewhat beyond their line, let all the world judge whether Ministers are for that engaged to leave their station and withdraw from those meetings of the Church, which themselves approve of, for the exercise of Discipline, yea and (as many of them have done) to separate from the Public Worship, and whole Communion of the Church, because of some degree of wrong done them as they think, in that point of power : or whether they had not sufficiently acquitted themselves, and discharged their consciences by free declaring of their opinion concerning that matter, and modestly desiring the redress of it : and patiently waiting for it, though it be not presently redressed, and continuing in the performance of their own duty to their power, though others above them, or about them, do transgress theirs, or seem at least to them

¹ Cf. pp. 186-194.

to do so. Otherwise, if we think ourselves obliged for everything that is, or that we judge faulty in other persons, or in the frame of things in the Church, to relinquish either the communion of it, or our station in it, what will there be but endless swarms of separations and divisions in any Church under the sun ?

“But there is one thing in this business of ours that sticks after all the rest : *the Covenant*. As to that, waiving all the irregularities of it, though so many and so great, that in the judgment of divers both wise and good men they seem to annul the obligation of it, suppose it still to bind all that took it, and suppose likewise that the present Episcopacy in this Church is that same that was abjured in the Covenant : yet the article relating thereto obliges each one only to this, *to endeavour within their calling and station to extirpate it*, if such an Episcopacy shall be introduced and continued against their will. But the truth is, if men would have the patience to inquire into it, and consider the thing without prejudice and partiality, this our Episcopacy will be found not to be the same with that abjured in that Covenant : *for that is the Government of Bishops and Archbishops absolutely by themselves and their Delegates, Chancellors, Archdeacons, Officials, etc.*, as it is expressed in the very words of the Article, and was on purpose so expressed to difference that frame from other forms of Episcopacy, and particularly from that which is exercised by Bishops jointly with Presbyters in Presbyteries and Synods : and that is it which is now used in this Church. And that the Presbyterians in England do generally take notice of this difference, and to that degree, as to account the one Model contrary to the Covenant and the other not contrary to it, but very well agreeing with it, is a thing that none can deny, nor any that uses diligence to inquire can be ignorant of it, for it is clear in divers Treatises extant in print. These things, to my best discerning, are Truths : and if they be indeed so, I am sure are pertinent Truths, toward the healing of our sad Divisions : *but if any like to be contentious*, I wish I could say of this Church, *we have no such custom*, but—this certainly may be said, that there is no custom doth more disedify the Churches of God, and less become the followers of the Prince of Peace. I shall only add one word, which I am sure is undeniable, and I think is very considerable, that he that cannot join with the present frame of this Church could not have lived in the communion of the Christian Church in

the time of the first most famous General Assembly of it, the Council of Nice: yea (to go no higher up, though safely I might) he must as certainly have separated from the whole Catholic Church, in the days of the holy Bishop and Martyr Cyprian, upon this very scruple of the government, as Novatus did upon another occasion."

The other Scottish Bishops concerned in the affairs of Scotland were not as Leighton. Burnet's was the worst possible appointment that could have been made to the Archbishopric of Glasgow, and his unrelaxing efforts to dragoon the western clergy and people to episcopal authority, appear to have been as potent a factor in the discontent of the time as the knavery of Sharp, and the brutality of Rothes, Hamilton and their merciless coadjutors.¹ But Leighton's influence seems to have had some power over Lauderdale, and nothing so demonstrates it as the letter of the Scottish Bishops (dated Edinburgh, September 16, 1667). Burnet reported to Sheldon² that at a meeting of the Scottish Bishops, which after great pressure Sharp had been induced to summon, he had urged that a letter should be written to Sheldon, in the name of all present, expressing their sense of the danger to which they were exposed by the *conciliation* policy of Lauderdale and his friends, and their earnest hope that this policy might be stopped. He goes on to say that to frustrate his objects Sharp moved that a letter should also be written to Lauderdale himself; that it was thereupon arranged that Sharp should draft this letter, while that to Sheldon was left to him: that when Sharp told him, he must not speak with his accustomed freedom, and that former letters of his had been displeasing to Lauderdale, he declined to have anything to do with the matter.

There is no reason to doubt Archbishop Burnet's account, but Sharp in his letter to Sheldon³ gives a different one. He speaks as if it were the result of an independent and un-

¹ Cf. *Appendix to Lauderdale Papers*, ii. pp. xxix., xxxiv., xlii., xlv.

² *Ibid.* p. xlix.

³ *Ibid.* p. .

biassed view of affairs ; that he is beginning to regard the violence of former years as a mistaken policy ; praises the loyalty to the Church showed by Lauderdale and Murray ; mentions lightly that at the Bishops' meeting it was judged fitting to write a letter expressing this, and only at the very end of the letter, and as it were incidentally, refers to the fact that it had been moved to write also to Sheldon himself, as though *this* had been the second thought, nor does he hint at the causes of that motion. The Scottish Bishops' letter to Lauderdale, as drafted by Sharp, says nothing whatever about the alarm which Burnet declares prompted his motion, and is entirely concerned with their expression of belief in Lauderdale's virtues and in his zeal for the welfare of their order. Either Burnet or Sharp was lying, and there can be no doubt that it was Sharp. The trick was a clever one, but its smartness was seen by Robert Moray, who writes on September 20 :

"Though S. S. and I laughed till we were weary at the letter of the Bishops that was sent you, yet you may pick out of it some passages that may sway you to comply with the advice I give. But in sum you will soon observe, as we have done, what a silly company of people they are, *and how useful one of them is in managing of the rest.*"¹

Sharp had been made to feel that the safest game was to accept Lauderdale's mastery and confine himself, as he was ordered, to his own diocese. But the letter of the Scottish Bishops, drafted by him, shows that on account of Lauderdale's apparent acceptance of Leighton's conciliatory attitude, Sharp was forced to *appear* as falling in line with it, and this at a time when, as Burnet shows, he was particularly hostile to Leighton.²

The letter of the Scottish Bishops is another instance of Sharp's craft, and proves, along with other irrefragable evidence, that the estimate of James Sharp's character, pro-

¹ *Ibid.* p. 70.

² *History of His Own Times*, i. 372.

nounced by Mr. Osmund Airy, the editor of the *Lauderdale Papers*, is, although severe, the only possible one :

“We have showed that Sharp was reckoned a poltroon and a liar : but a poltroon of serviceable ability, and a liar whose lies could be counted upon : that, unstable as he was in all else, he might always be depended upon to betray his associates and the cause which he was supposed to represent ; that cajolery, however coarse and careless, would instantly draw from him the most fawning recognition and timely menace the most abject surrender : that, after being the most trusted minister of that kirk which had waged a century’s war against crown and nobility, he had acquired through various stages this supreme merit in the eyes of king and nobility alike, that, when dirty work had to be done, he did it really well.”¹

The letter is one of the few in which Leighton’s name appears in association with those of the Scottish Bishops, and it is the only one in which he signs himself “R. Dunblane” —it being a noteworthy fact that even in his official letters to Lauderdale and others, he invariably, and contrary to the custom of his colleagues, signs himself “Robert Leighton.”

The Scotch Bishops to the Earl of Lauderdale.

Edinburgh, 16th September, 1667.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP—

“Wee having mett at this place for consulting what may be incumbent to us upon the juncture of affairs, for obviating and curing those evils which doe infest and threaten the Church, doe find ourselves oblidge to tender to your Lo^p our humble acknowledgment of that favour and care for the legall government of this Church you were pleasid to express by your civilities to those of ourselves when we had occasions to wait upon yow, and your readines to assist us in our addresses to his sacred Ma^{ty} and in the dispatches of his royall instructions and comānds from tyme to tyme in order to the settlement and quiet of this Church.

Next, we shall crave leave to say, y^t, as by the Institution of our offices and his M^{aty}’s favour which placed ws in them, we are bound to direct all our actions and administrations for the glory of God, the honour and greatness of the King, the peace of Church

¹ *Scottish Review*, July, 1884.

and Kingdom, with the maintenance of Episcopall government in its authority allowed by the lawes, so we shall not doubt of your Lo^{p^s}. countenance of ws, and concurrence in pursuance of these ends ; some of ws having heard your Lo^p. to our great content express your judgment as to the basis and right upon which the order of episcopacy is foundit, and all of us may know the great trust our royall master does repose in your Lo^{p^s} eminent abilities and fidelity, and have been acquainted with the assurance yow have laityly given of the sincerity of your professed kyndes and concernment for the Church government as now settled by Law ; in the management whereof we propose no other design but yt the clergy and people comitted to our inspection may live in the awe of the religion professed in the conscience and practise of Loyalty to the King, obedience to his Laws, and charity and peace amongst themselves, wee make it our care in the way proper to ws, to endeavour the suppressing of error, profainnes, shism, and sedition, which to our great greif have gott too much ground in this kingdom ; wee find our interest, how wigorously soever imployed, insufficient to prevaile over these, without the reale assistance of the Ministers of State and justice of the Kingdom : we profess ourselves servants in sincerity to all who serve the King ; we sufficiently know yt under God we have no dependance nor security but upon the favour and protection of our most gracious master, and in our own innocency and integrity in the discharge of our duties ; and doe desire without any jealousy or reserve to rely and putt ourselves upon your Lo^{p^s} patrociny and freindship, hoping yt the great interest God hath given your Lo^p with the King, and in the administration of his affairs, shall have its auspicious and benign influence for the flourishing of the Church, and our encouragement in the service of it, which will inviolably ingage our duty and prayers, yt the like signs from heaven which in all ages have been observed to attend the persons and howses of the freinds of the Episcopall order (the known and experienced channell of conveyance and preservation of truth and power to the Christian world) may be multiplyed and ensured upon your person and noble family ; wee presume yt your Lo^{p^s} ends and ours are the same, and if ther happen any difference about the meanes conducing thereunto, we shall not stick in our opinion, but in submission and paying all becoming deference to your Lo^{p^s} great judgment and experience.

By your Lo^{p^s} permission we shall moreover offer our

humble sute, first for the Church and then for ourselves, That by your Lo^p's intercession the King may be graciously pleasit, yt after the signifying of his will about the expedients for the quiet of the kingdom upon the disbanding of the forces, the disturbers of the peace of the Church, who continue their insolent and scandalous affronting and contempt of the Lawes, may effectually find yt though in the method of provision for the publick quiet the peace of the State may be first taken into consideration, yet the quiet of the Church cannot saifely nor reasonably be disregardit or separated from it, seeing the attempts against the one have been found in all Christian kingdoms not to hold long without the detriment and concussion of the other; and for ourselves we humbly intreat y^r your Lo^p may not intertain mistakes of any of ws, but yt yow would be assured yt as we place our great releef from despondencie under the many difficulties and discouragements we meet with in your Lo^p's good opinion of ws, and beeng concerned for our order, so we shall, by the grace of God, be carefull to deserve well of your Lo^p and yt the tenour of our actions may witness yt we are in all dutifulnes,

Your Lo^p's most humble and obedient Servants,

GEO. EDINBURGEN,
HENR. DUNKELD,
PAT. BP. OF ABERDEEN,
DA. BRECHINEN,
WILL. LISMOREN,

ST. ANDREWS,
ALEX. GLASCUEN,
JA. GALLOBIDIEN,
ALEXAN. MORANIENS,
R. SODOREN,
R. DUNBLANE.

It is curious that Leighton did not separate from his party, for his heart could not be with the blood-stained Dalziel, "the Muscovite," as he pursued his awful work in Ayrshire and Dumfriesshire, and whose cruelty made the people of the West think kindly of his predecessor, Sir James Turner. Leighton's sympathies were with the cloud of witnesses—with men like Hugh McKail, who believed, as Renwick did in 1683, "that if the Lord could be tyed to any place, it is to the mosses and muirs of Scotland."

We know that it was his longing to *reconcile* that detained him at his post, as well as his hope that he might succeed in

the establishment of milder measures. Had he been at Glasgow from the first, or had he accepted the station which Sharp dishonoured, the history of the country might have been different. Lauderdale's change of policy (at least for a time) was evidently the occasion of fresh hope, and that must be Leighton's vindication, as it was the outcome of Leighton's pleading with the King. The fall of Clarendon was followed unquestionably by a change for the better in Scotland, as Rothes was dismissed from office, Sharp had to confine himself to his diocese and come no more to Edinburgh,¹ and worthy men like the Earl of Tweeddale² and Sir Robert Murray acquired an influence in the conduct of affairs. The First Letter of Indulgence (June 7, 1669) allowed such ejected ministers, as had lived "peaceably and orderly," to reoccupy their churches if they happened to be vacant. Only about forty ejected ministers succumbed to the temptation (among them George Hutcheson and Robert Douglas), but by a large number of the people their acceptance of the Indulgence was regarded as a base compliance. It was soon seen that this acceptance meant

¹ Burnet's *History*, i. 428.

² "Lord Tweeddale took great pains," says Burnet, "to engage Leighton into the same counsels with him. He had magnified him highly to the King, as the much greatest man of the Scottish clergy; and the Lord Tweeddale's chief aim with relation to church matters was to set him at the head of them: for he often said to me that more than two parts in three of the whole business of the government related to the church. So he studied to bring in a set of episcopal men of another stamp, and to set Leighton at their head. . . . Leighton was prevailed on to go to London, where, as he told me, he had two full audiences of the King." (*History of His Own Time*, i. p. 443.) At these audiences Leighton impressed on the King the madness of the former administration, the necessity for moderate counsels, and his comprehension of the Presbyterian, which by abatements for the present might preserve the whole for the future. (*Ibid.*)

Tweeddale sent a commission to inquire into the Western atrocities, and Sir Robert Murray, who went personally through the West reported that no support could be given to the "ignorant" and "scandalous" clergy or curates in Burnet's diocese. (*Ibid.* pp. 440, 441.)

the acceptance of Episcopacy and the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown, and this was indicated in a measure of the Parliament, which met in October, with Lauderdale as King's commissioner. By another Act of November 16, it was once more declared that the King possessed "supreme authority and supremacy over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical."¹ On the other hand, Archbishop Burnet, of Glasgow, and many of the Episcopal clergy were enraged, because the Indulgence allowed benefices to be held, without a direct acknowledgment of the authority of the Bishops. In the Remonstrance of the Synod of Glasgow, drafted by Burnet, it was affirmed that the late Indulgence had been granted against the interests and desires of the Church, and that as a result of the Government policy, the religious condition of the country was more unsatisfactory than ever.² The Episcopal remonstrants were as summarily dealt with as their Presbyterian brethren, and before the close of the year, Archbishop Burnet was removed from his see by the express command of the King.³ Leighton was put in his place, and for three years attempted reconciliation in the stormy West; but the first application of the Assertory Act was the expulsion of Archbishop Burnet from the see of Glasgow.

Two days before it was passed, Robert Leighton preached before the Commissioner and Parliament at Edinburgh (November 14, 1669). His sermon was a beautiful one, and reveals a spirit that lived in the atmosphere of God; but it is also the expression of a saint, who failed to see the principle involved in the time-struggles, or to recognize what the Covenanters felt to be as dear to them as life itself. If the practical genius may be so developed as to injure the spiritual side of man's nature; if the spiritual may be so developed as to make man shrink from the practical duties

¹ *Acts of Parliament*, vii. 554.

² *Appendix to Lauderdale Papers*, vol. ii. pp. lxiv.-lxvii.

³ *Ibid.* p. lxix.

of life ; no less may an elevated nature be so wrapt in its own contemplation as to fail to see the principle for which strong, practical men are contending. And this is what strikes one in reading Leighton's sermon before the Scottish Parliament. It is the message of a saint, who was led by his conviction to be a practical statesman, and yet although his motives were pure, he somehow or other failed to see what was involved in the struggle, although he could not possibly be altogether ignorant of what was to follow in the Parliament two days later.¹ We know from Leighton's own pen that the differences were to him "a drunken scuffle in the dark."²

His text was, "What is that to thee? Follow thou Me" (John xxi. 22).

. . . "Some will say that although we be not concerned in the private affairs of others, or in matters of state, yet the affairs of the Church are such, as we ought not a little to concern ourselves in them. I shall only say that all truths are not alike clear, nor are duties alike weighty to all, and do not equally concern all parties. Christians may very well keep themselves within the compass of their own sphere. Many things about which men dispute very warmly are of remote relation and affinity to the great things of Christianity. Some truths are of so little evidence and importance, that he who errs in them charitably, meekly and calmly, may be both a wiser man and a better Christian than he who is furiously, stormily, and uncharitably orthodox. If it be the mind of God that that Order, which from the primitive times has been in constant succession in this and other Churches, do yet continue, what is that to thee or to

¹ "Leighton" (says Burnet) "was against any such act, and got some words to be altered in it. He thought it might be stretched to ill ends, and so he was very averse to it : *yet he gave his vote for it, not having sufficiently considered the extent of the words, and the consequences that might follow on such an act ; for which he was very sorry as long as he lived.* But at that time there were no apprehensions in Scotland of the danger of popery. Many of the best of the episcopal clergy, Nairn and Charteris in particular, were highly offended at the act. They thought it plainly made the King our pope, as the Presbyterians said it put him in Christ's stead." (*History of His Own Times*, i. pp. 512, 513.)

² *Lauderdale Papers*, iii. 76.

me? If I had one of the loudest, as I have one of the lowest voices, yea, were it as loud as a trumpet, I would employ it to sound a retreat to all our unnatural and irreligious debates about religion, and to persuade men to follow the meek and lowly Jesus. There is great abatement of the inwards of religion, when the debates about it pass to a scurf outside, and nothing is to be found within but a consuming fever of contention, which tendeth to utter ruin. If we have not charity towards our brethren, yet let us have some compassion towards our mother. But if this cannot be attained, I know nothing rather to be wished for, next to the silent shades of the grave, than a cottage in the wilderness. Ah, my beloved, the body of religion is torn, and the soul of it expires, while we are striving about the hem of its garment."

. . . "This is the substance of religion, to imitate Him whom we worship. Can there be a higher or nobler design in the world than to be God-like and like Jesus Christ? He became like us that we might be the more like Him. He took our nature upon Him that He might transfuse His into us. . . . Charity was so dear to Him, that He recommended it as the characteristic by which all might know His disciples, *if they loved one another*. But that we may imitate Him in His life we must run the back-trade, and begin with His death, and must die with Him. Love is a death. He that loves is gone and lost in God, and can esteem or take pleasure in nothing besides Him. When the bitter cup of the Father's wrath was presented to our Lord, one drop of this elixir of love and union to the Father's will, sweetened it so that He drank it off without more complaining. This death of Jesus mystically acted in us must strike down all things else, and He must become our All. Oh, that we would resolve to live to Him that died, and to be only His, and humbly to follow the crucified Jesus! All else will be quickly gone. How soon will the shadows that now amuse us and please our eyes fly away!"

Verily that was the message of a man, whose soul was as a star and dwelt apart. It sounds like an appeal from the other world in the midst of strife, and the messenger was a seraph.

Two days afterwards from the Prelatist Parliament came the Assertory Act, and can the Covenanter be blamed for resisting it, and standing up for the spiritual liberty which

is man's prerogative as a child of God, in obedience to God alone?

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI.

The following letter is taken for the most part from Leighton's papers and speeches, and was drawn up by his friend Gilbert Burnet, minister of Salton and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. It was written between June and November 1669, that is between the issue of the First Indulgence and Burnet's removal from Salton to Glasgow College. It was printed for the first time by West (vol. vii. pp. 195-206) from the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library. McWard refers to it, as well as to the other two (pp. 404-414), in his "Case of the Accommodation."

"SIR,

"My retirement in the country doth not secure me from the great noise that is abroad about the intended *Accommodation* betwixt the Episcopal and Presbyterian parties. It is in the thoughts and mouths of all: every one according to his measure and affections censuring it. The great distance both have stood in from one another, now of a great many years, hath engaged them into such rivalry that it can scarce be expected they can be of a sudden cured of their mutual jealousies. I know you are desirous to know of me how this proposition takes, and such is your opinion of my thoughts, that though you be no stranger to the most secret of them, yet you are pleased to call for my sense of it. It is true these things do not engage me to many thoughts about them. It is long since all the niceties of the metaphysics and matters of contention lost this value with me, so that I seldom reflect on them except it be to pity and pray for those who are entangled with them: and having made an escape from these bitter wranglings into the cool shades of calmer thoughts, I have no itch to return to these briars and thickets from which I was delivered, yet so as by fire. However, I shall not be so sullen as to deny a free and copious account both of what I understand from others, and what occurs to myself on this head. And this I know will be doubly welcome to you, if I intermingle with it what I had on this subject from our excellent and noble friend (Bishop Leighton), and transcribe his words as occasion brings them in my way. You know the man and his communication so well that you will easily discern his gold among my ore.

“The state of things among us is deplorable and next to desperate. The minds of people are so rankled with the divisions, that they can scarce with patience hear anything spoken for cooling of their passions or clearing of their understandings. Nay, so bent are they on these matters, that I fear this feverish heat among them discovers all is not sound within. Are we not carnal, when one says, I am for Bishops, and another, I am for Presbyterians? The effects of these things are as sad as the disease. The power of godliness is under great and visible decay, so that the very visage of religion is dying among us. The young folk are horridly ignorant, and are instructed in nothing but railing and contention; profanity abounds and triumphs over the discipline of the Church. Scarce any (yet I hope there are some) who do retire their minds to dwell at home and consider their own work: all of religion is turning to a mere formality and gross hypocrisy. Every one is pleased with himself and too pleasing to others, if he zealously declaim against the faults of others, be he never so slack in correcting his own: nay, on both sides, the characters that Christ gave of His disciples are reversed: for by this shall you know a disciple among us, if he hate and rail at his brethren. And one thing is too visible, but has yet escaped the consideration of most, that we are like to lose the sacred Bond of Love and Seal of our Christian religion in this country, the Holy Eucharist: which hath lain forgotten these seven years bygone,¹ and is like to go out of head. The parishes where the ministers are episcopal are totally deserted: many withdrawing out of scruple, and many out of example, or perhaps atheism. So that though our country swarms with people, there are many who go nowhere on the Lord’s day to worship God. It is true there are a store of people in the churches of those whom the Council indulged,² but it is too notorious that most run thither merely out of custom or vanity: but almost all think themselves delivered from the yoke of order. What all this may end in, is too apparent to any who seriously, even without the fumes of melancholy, reflect upon things. Nothing is so probable for putting an effectual stop to those evils we groan under, and which threaten our ruin, as a happy composing of matters, that so the great designs of Religion may be again resumed, and happily and zealously promoted. Did I not know you well, and had I not been a witness to the frequent and fervent groans you offer up daily

¹ i.e. 1662–1669.

² This Indulgence bears date June 7, 1669.

to the God of Peace for a happy union among us, I should assault you with all the strength of my weak forces in order to this, that you weary not of well doing, but go on, bending all your thoughts, and setting as you can influence in motion for bringing this desirable work to a happy issue. Be not discouraged with the difficulties that meet you in it, nor with the censures wherewith you may be lashed on both sides : perhaps you are born for this hour. And though this noble undertaking miss the desired success (as indeed our sins make me apprehend the worse) yet you shall not miss your reward.

“But now I come to consider the thing more closely. The state of the question in order to this Accommodation, is, as I understand it, this : If a Bishop, exercising no other authority but that of a constant presidency over the presbyters, and declaring he shall be in all things determined by the major part of the presbyters in their respective courts, be so far unlawful that the Presbyterian brethren may not, upon his Majesty’s civil sanction, sit down in the presbyteries and synods where the Bishop resides : a liberty being offered to them of declaring against any authority he may pretend to or assume over them ? This, I suppose, is the present case.

“All I hear objected against it is, in short, this : ‘That they judging a Bishop and a presbyter to be one and the same office in the Scripture sense, and that no other office can be added by any human authority, they do not well see how they can concur with a Bishop, who seems to be and behaves himself as a distinct officer from an ordinary officer : he receiving a new ordination for it : and the *exercise* of ordination, at least, being so restrained to him, that it may not be gone about without him, nor any excommunication pass without his approbation : as also he pretends to have the inspection of the ministers : by all which he carries himself as a distinct officer from a presbyter : from all which it does not appear how these, who judge such a distinct officer unlawful, can concur with him, or sit in courts where the other members have sworn obedience to the Bishop as their superior, by which they are under his authority. This is that upon which they stick mainly. But to this they add the obligation of the covenant to extirpate Prelacy in their stations, which shall be too visibly broken, if in their stations they concur to establish it. And though this present model be of a lower size, yet a presidency among churchmen has never rested there, but swells to the height of tyranny : as appears from

the progress of the Papal dominion to the tyrannical height it now pretends to, which rose from small beginnings, even that of a presidency among churchmen. And besides this, they think their own later experience doth furnish them with such instances as oblige them to resist the least appearances and small beginnings of evil. Besides the aversion which the people have drunk in against anything of Prelacy is so great, that to comply with it, though their consciences could permit them, would render their ministry ineffectual, and so destroy the great design of all Order and Government, which is Edification.'

"And then you have, in short and in gross, the sum of all that I have met with from any of them, why they are still in the dark as to the proposition made to them. I have represented it with all the edge and force I can, lest any suspect me of blunting their weapons, that thereby I may obtain a cheap and easy victory over them.

"But I judge it will neither be impertinent nor unpleasant to let you understand the sense of other neither less learned nor less zealous Presbyterians on this subject. It were too great a task both for my leisure and your patience to give an account of what the Divines of foreign Churches say of a Bishop President. One thing I can positively and upon knowledge assert, that the utmost length they have advanced in this matter is to prove that a Bishop is not necessary: but none of them (save one) have condemned a presidency among churchmen as either unlawful or inexpedient. And to this day (if I may believe the accounts of some who have travelled among them and conversed with them, whose fidelity few do suspect) when the present state of Scotland is laid before them, they are amazed at the stiffness of such as choose rather to abandon their ministry than concur with Episcopacy attempered unto presbytery. I know some will say they do not so thoroughly understand these controversies, never having enquired into them so narrowly as we have done. All I shall say to this, is, perhaps it were better for Religion and the Church, that both they and we were more ignorant than either of us are about these questions of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, etc. But to come nearer home: the Presbyterians of England judge an Episcopacy attempered with presbytery not inconsistent either with the Presbyterian principles or Covenant: as may be made appear from what themselves published as their opinion under this title: *Two Papers*

of Proposals humbly presented to his Majesty by the Reverend Minister of the Presbyterian Persuasion. Printed at London, anno 1661. Wherein, at p. 5, they ‘humbly represent to his Majesty that although upon just reasons we do dissent from the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy or Prelacy disclaimed in the Covenant, as it was stated and exercised in this kingdom, yet we do not nor ever did renounce the true ancient primitive Episcopacy or presidency as it is balanced or managed by a due commixtion of presbytery therewith.’ And a little after : ‘Which kind of attempered Episcopacy or presidency, if it shall, by your Majesty’s grave wisdom and gracious moderation, be in such manner constituted, as that the forementioned and other like evils may be certainly prevented (which are the evils of a sole jurisdiction) we shall humbly submit thereunto.’ And after they have pointed at these alleged evils, p. 6, they add for the reforming of these evils : ‘We first crave leave to offer to your Majesty the late Most Reverend Primate of Ireland his *Reduction of Episcopacy into the form of Synodical Government received in the Ancient Church*, as a groundwork towards accommodation and fraternal agreement in this point of Ecclesiastical Government.’ And again, in the second paper, pp. 11 and 12 : ‘We are induced to insist upon the form of a Synodical Government, conjunct with a fixed Presidency or Episcopacy, for these reasons.’¹

“These words are so express that they need no commentary save the particulars wherein Bishop Usher his *Reduction* consists : which (according as it was published by Dr. Bernard at London, anno 1656, out of an original which he had from that Most Reverend Primate) are these (p. 4) : ‘In every parish,’ etc.

“Now after you have compared this (with that reduction) which is now offered you will find the concessions made to them to be yet more yielding and fuller of discussion. And then you see the value which the English Presbyterians set on this platform, and that they judge it no way inconsistent either with their principles or oaths : and a little after what was awhile ago cited by me out of the *Presbyterian’s Paper*, p. 13, they define what they abjured in the Covenant thus : ‘The Prelacy which we disclaim is that of Diocesans, who assert the claim of a superior Order to a presbyter, assuming the sole power of Ordination and of Public Admonition of particular Offenders, enjoining Penitence, Excommunication and Absolving (besides Confirmation), over so many Churches as

¹ Given at p. 404 *et seq.*

necessitated the extirpation of Discipline, and the using of the human offices as chancellors, surrogates, officials, commissaries, archdeacons, while the undoubted officers of Christ, the pastors of the particular Churches, were hindered from the exercise of their office.' Now these *Papers*, being the united thoughts of so many of that persuasion, do show that a well-modelled and regulated Episcopacy doth not contradict the Presbyterian principles: much less can it do so when they are permitted to declare their judgments against it, and that they submit to it as a usurpation with a reservation of their opinion against it.

"But besides this joint suffrage, one of prime note and indeed of great worth, Mr. Baxter, in a large Treatise he published on this matter during the late troubles when he was under no temptation to have proceeded so far, but rather the contrary, yet in his Treatise, p. 275, he asserts, "Episcopacy desirable for the reformation, preservation, and peace of the Church": and, p. 297, he asserts a fixed presidency, *durante vitâ*. The objection to this, drawn from the Covenant, he then answers at p. 330.¹

"Hitherto I have made it abundantly clear that the Presbyterians of England would without any scruple not only submit to, but desire, an Episcopacy attempered with the synodical government of presbyters. In Scotland, also, before the year 1638, for thirty years² together, all the Presbyterians, a very few only excepted, made no scruple to sit in presbyteries and synods and to receive ordination from a Bishop's hands, and judged themselves sufficiently discharged when they declared their dislike of the Bishop's encroachments. So that now, when by the late concessions the case is brought into the same posture (or rather more favourable) in which it then was, I see not how our brethren can refuse them without reflecting on their worthy antecessors as either ignorant or unlawful.

"But to look nearer into these things at which they stick. And 1st, that it contradicts not their principles to concur with a Bishop behaving himself as an officer distinct from presbyters. This will be abundantly cleared if I make out thereby that a Bishop and a presbyter are but one and the same officer, or that suppose that it were otherwise, yet their concurrence in judicatories, so doing their duty, cannot bring them under the guilt of another man's usurpation, be he never so criminal in it. But if both these be

¹ Then follow passages given, pp. 406, 407. ² See pp. 112 *et seq.*

made out, then I hope a great step shall be made clear and a passage for our brethren to return to the unity of the Church. For the 1st, a Bishop thus modelled being nothing but a fixed president of their synods, and a constant visitor of the precinct, can be accounted no distinct officer, but only in a higher degree of the same office. And that he is ordained for this by imposition of hands can never make it the worse, except any think a solemn benediction with prayer to be quarrelled at: for the laying on of hands is only a ceremony of benediction: and therefore the Apostles laid on hands on all Christians: deacons were also separated by that ceremony. So in the ancient Church, both in Confirmation and Absolving of penitents, that ceremony was used. And we find Barnabas and Saul, Acts xiii. 3, separated by imposition of hands for the ministry of the Gospel among the Gentiles, though we find them preaching the Gospel before: and therefore a new benediction with imposition of hands imports no new office. Neither is there anything of power which the Bishops claim able to prove them a distinct office more than a constant moderator and visitor will amount to: for though no ordinations may pass without a Bishop, that is only in regard to the exercise of that power, but doth not stop the presbyters simply of the power, or say, their ordination without a Bishop is null: *since the Bishops in Scotland do not attempt the re-ordination of those whom presbytery had ordained.* So also in excommunication, the law requires the Bishop's consent ere it pass: but this doth not take the power of the keys from presbyters, only for order's sake restrains the exercise of them. In a word, let any man impartially consider whether a fixed moderator and a constant visitor during life be contrary either to clear Scripture, good reason, or primitive antiquity, or suitable to them all. But though Bishops transgress the just line of their power let all the world judge whether, etc.¹

“And since they declared they should have continued in these judicatories had they not been once raised: and though a Bishop had come and obtruded himself on them, they should have sitten still, after they had freely declared themselves against his alleged usurpation: then let them, as before God, consider, if this metaphysical nicety of sitting still though a Bishop come in upon them, but not of sitting down again when a Bishop is already there (the court and constitution of the judicatory being still the same) be not

¹ As at p. 412.

a punctilio scarce to be considered, much less to be laid in the balance with the great evils our divisions do and may occasion. And indeed, how faulty soever the Bishop's assuming this his presidency may seem to them: yet I know not what logic, or, if you will, sophistry, can fasten it upon them who only do their duty, and in their station declare his usurpation. But they insist that they are restrained in the two main parts of their ecclesiastical authority, Ordination and Excommunication, which must not be done without the Bishops concur. But shall I here remind you of the known distinction of *power* and the *exercise* of power? Now whatever they may allege as to the exercise of their power, they cannot say they are stripped of their power; since both the ordinations and excommunications of presbyters made in the time we had no Bishops, are by the Bishops made valid and so looked upon. And as for the exercise, that they say is restrained, they cannot be in a worse case than now they are in, since they are not permitted either to excommunicate or ordain. So by the accepting of the concessions they lose nothing that they are in possession of, but become every way gainers. And all this will be then less cogent when the Bishop (as I hear) hath given them assurance that he will never make use of a negative vote, but in all things will be determined by the major part of his presbyters. And since the ministry is a complex power, yet they accepted liberty to preach, administer sacraments, and exercise discipline congregationally, without liberty to meet in presbyteries and to ordain. I am not, after I have stretched myself to the utmost, able to devise why they may not accept of the rest, though it be restrained as to the exercise of it in four particulars; especially if they be suffered to declare their dislike of their restraint. They cannot deny the Bishop to be a presbyter at least, and so they will not pretend his ordination to be invalid. If, after all this is laid out to them, they still scruple at it, either they must be in the dark, or I must have owl's eyes, to see where there is no light at all. As for that other scruple, that the ministers ordained by the Bishops have subscribed obedience to him, and so are bound up from a liberty of suffrage, at least in things indifferent: therefore the judicatories cannot be free which are made up of such persons; I answer that still it is free for them to sit there; and the servitude they alleged others to be under cannot abridge them of their liberty. Or is there anything under this objection? Is it that they fear not to be able to carry things as they would? Truly, how strong soever

this may be against an absolute equality among presbyters, yet it ill becomes those who pursued so hotly for a parity. But this falls wholly to the ground by the Bishop's concessions, which as to their judicatories renounceth any claim of obedience he may pretend to by their subscription. But to insist a little on this ; I am not afraid to say yet further, etc." ¹

"As to that which comes next in the way, the Covenants, I shall not at this time take notice of any evils that were in these Engagements, or of the ways of framing and improving them."²

"That which they next insist on is 'The hazard and inexpediency of such modelled episcopacy : since upon many grounds, both from elder and later experience, we may justly, without the suggestions of melancholic jealousy, fear it should not long rest so, but swell up unto a greater height ; for thus did the Mystery of Iniquity work by degrees, and therefore we must look to it in time.' I need not here tell them that this is rather a bringing of Episcopacy lower, than making steps to raise it higher. But how easy were it to retort this upon themselves in many particulars ! May not an Independent upon as good grounds refuse to submit to any association or subordination of Churches ; since from the subjecting of congregations to presbyteries, follows the hierarchy of Synods over them, of National Synods over these, and of General Œcumenical Councils with a pretence of absolute and infallible authority : and therefore to avoid this, all associations are to be discharged. And we may ask of our Protesting Brethren to consider this, how long it is since they with a loud mouth complained of the tyranny of Synods.

"May not also those who are against a fixed maintenance for the ministry argue at the same rate, that churchmen should be left to the benevolence of their people, since a fixed maintenance certainly baits many to the ministry, who run to it for filthy lucre : which would be remedied if all knew their maintenance depended upon their labours and deportment. Then there is nothing under the sun, how good soever in itself, which is not subject to great corruption ; and therefore their reasoning will hold good for striking out at least all ecclesiastical constitutions in things indifferent : but 'he that observeth the wind will not sow ; and he that regardeth the clouds will not reap' (Eccles. xi. 4). However, since they pore so much with the one eye over the evils of Episcopacy, I wish they would open the other

¹ p. 410.

² Here follow extracts, pp. 408, 413.

eye, and with no less attention consider that greater evils are with more probability like to follow, if our differences receive not some settlement: profanity shall abound, discipline go down, and the heat that is already among us shall swell to greater heights and distempers. And if obedience to Authority, and the Peace of the Church, which are certain duties, be not to be more considered than uncertain evils, I have lost the true balance for weighing things aright. For it should be considered, the case is not what they would desire, and, being left to their own choice, would accept of: in which case these apprehended evils might have much weight, but the question now is, what they will do for the peace of the Church, and obedience to authority, whereby they are obliged to many things from which otherwise they might conceive a just aversion. Neither are the (tests) of subscriptions called for now, all that is demanded being a temporary concurrence: so that if these concessions be violated in their time, the case being altered, they are then to consider what to do next: if their model outlive them, then they shall die in peace; and for what may come, I suppose they may, on good grounds and with a secure confidence, commit the managing of the Church to Him that redeemed her with His own Blood, and hath now governed her very well for so many ages, who can raise up witnesses for His Truth and instruments to promote it when He lists. Surely they may safely commit it into His hands, in which nothing can miscarry; and believe that if His kingdom and glory be nearly concerned in this matter, as they believe, they need not doubt His care of it.

“Now I come to the last consideration (*viz.*, the apprehension of some), that this accommodation may defeat the very design of it, and be a means to raise a new and perhaps a greater schism both among ministers and people. I know this (objection on the part of Ministers) appears to most with the worst visage: as if a humour of popularity were too prevalent with them, and that they are in servitude to their people. But if these severe thoughts be cherished by you, I beg you may rid yourself of them, and impute this neither to an ambitious and vain gaping after applause, nor to a servile pusillanimity of spirit: but whatever may be in the latter, appearing perhaps to them in disguise with a better visage, yet let your charity clear them of the former. For, after a long and free converse with many of them, I must hope for better things from them: for really they are good men, and live and preach well; and having heard

them vindicate themselves so solemnly from sinister designs and vain ends, I am obliged to have better thoughts of them. But still I add that this consideration is as weak as any of the former : for if the thing required of them be itself lawful, then the considerations of the commands of Authority and the Peace of the Church make it necessary. In which case we are to consider our duty, and to leave events wholly to God, who will support all those who faithfully serve Him, and not expose them unfurnished and unassisted to any straits, while they continue doing their duty. Shall we trust nothing to God's providence and care of His Church ? And truly, if this consideration, of following the people too much, should keep them off from their duty, I doubt that there be much juster grounds to believe that God, out of His just and unsearchable judgments, would leave them and their people to dash into pieces ! since often our idols become our plagues. And indeed, the peevish and insolent humour of many is of that height, that if somewhat be not done to tame it, I tremble to think where it may end. The schismatical principles they have drunk in are such that they themselves confess they are both aware and afraid of. And it is to be hoped that these good ministers will judge themselves obliged to lift up their voices like a trumpet, and make them know their iniquities, and not only covertly declare against them, but speak plain Scots to them. For if this schismatical temper go on to the height it is running to, the blood of all these souls that might perish by it, and all the other evils that may follow upon it, shall undoubtedly be required at their hands who see the evil of these things, if they do not plainly and faithfully forwarn them of their sin and hazard. But to speak what I certainly know, the humours of the People, being only such as have been infused into them by some Ministers, will not prove unconquerable either to them or to others, faithful, pious and zealous Ministers : Piety with Truth is great, and will certainly overcome at length."

CHAPTER XII

ROBERT LEIGHTON : ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW

BURNET resigned the see of Glasgow on December 24 1669, and retired into private life with £300 a year from the revenues of the diocese. He was of himself good-natured and sincere, but too much under the power of others, and too remiss in what ought to have been his chief business—the spiritual part of his function. The West was singularly stormy during his tenure of office, and while he met the struggles more with secular than spiritual weapons, he failed to pacify them.

The Earls of Lauderdale and Tweeddale pressed Leighton much to accept the see of Glasgow, but he was most averse to the proposal. Nothing moved him but the hope of bringing about an accommodation, in which he had all assistance promised him by the Government. Leighton proposed his scheme to the King, who apparently acquiesced in it, and Leighton's paper, corrected by Sir Robert Murray was turned into instructions, by which Lauderdale was authorized to pass the concessions that were to be offered, into laws.¹ Leighton, in other words, accepted office on the understanding that the substance of his scheme was to become the statute-law of the land, and Scotland was in other words to be ruled constitutionally, and with toleration for the Covenanters. But how treacherous was the promise; for Lauderdale had evidently received secret counter-instructions, and acted contrary to the solemn asseverations of Charles. The result of the late Indulgence had been,

¹ Burnet, i. 519.

that conventicles became more numerous than ever, and what was specially obvious, those who attended them, began to carry weapons with their Bibles. By what he called "a clanking Act" against conventicles, passed in the second session of the new Parliament, Lauderdale definitely announced that he had reverted to the policy of Rothes, and thenceforward every year was marked by increasing severity. Linked thus with one of the fiercest of ministers, was the gentlest of saints, and the former surely undid what the latter nobly strove for.

The following letter shows that Leighton undertook the duty much against his own likings, and solely from the desire to help the Church.

Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, to the Earl of Lauderdale.

"Ed^r. Ap^r. 6 (1670).

"MAY IT PLEASE YO^R GRACE,

"I am so far from attracting vanity upon it, that knowing how infinitely I am below his Ma^{ties} good opinion, it falls as a weight upon me, & sinkes mee so much y^e deeper into y^e shame & grief of my utter incapacity for y^e service requir'd of mee, for, besides an infirm and diseased body, I have that invincible indisposition of mine, & am so extreamly weary of the trifling contentions of this part of y^e world, that instead of engaging further in them, I intend an entire escape out of them; but (as his Ma^{tie} enioyn'd mee upon my former attempting it at London) I shall doe it here, and in the most orderly way y^t may be without his Ma^{tie} at all with it: And this I was resolv'd to doe this sumer, or at furthest towards y^e end of this year, before there was any mention of this remoov¹ for the truth is, my Lord, I am greatly ashamed that wee have occasion'd so much trouble, & done so little or no good, now these seven or eight years since y^e restitution of our order, & after so many favours heapt upon us by his Ma^{ties} Royall goodnesse, not that I would reflect y^e blame of this upon any, save my own share of it upon myself: for, may bee, it is not so much o^r fault as our unhappinesse

¹ (To succeed Burnet at Glasgow.)

& y^e reveschness of y^e matter wee have to work upon. But, however, hee that can sitt down content with honour & revenue without doing good, especially in so sacred a function, hath I think a low & servile soul : but to trouble yo^r grace no further, I doe for my pardon in this affair humbly confide in his M^{ties} clemency, & next to that in yo^r grace's favourable representation & intercession, w^{ch} shall add very much to y^e many obligements of

“ My Lord,

“ Yr Grace's

“ Most humble Servant,

“ R. LEIGHTON.”

Memorandum of Bishop Leighton.

(To be read in connection with the foregoing letter.)

“ The true reasons both of my purpose of retiring from my present charge, & of declining a greater, are briefly these :

“ 1. The sense I have of ye dread full weight of whatsoever charge of souls, or any kind of spirituall inspection over people, but much more over ministers : & withall of my own extream unworthinesse & unfitness for so high a station in ye church.

“ 2. The continuing divisions and contentions of this church, and ye litle or no appearance of their cure for our time.

“ 3. The earnest desire I have long had of a retir'd & private life, w^{ch} is now much increased by sicklinesse & old age drawing on & ye sufficient experience of ye folly & vanity of ye world, and, in a word, it is *rerū humanarū fastidium*.

“ Whatsoever I might add more, I forbear, for I confesse, after all I could say, I expect little right or fair construction from y^e world in this matter, but rather many various mistakes and miscensures on all hands : but soe that y^e relief is, that in y^e retreat I design, I beleev I shall not hear of them, or if I doe I shall not feel them.” ¹

Leighton did not retire from his work at Dunblane, but evidently discharged its duties, as well as those of the See of Glasgow, where he was now Commendator or Administrator.² The last Synod of Dunblane he attended was in 1672, so that not in the full sense of the term till then, was he Archbishop

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, ii. pp. 181–183.

² *Law's Memorials*, pp. 32, 33.

of Glasgow, although he formally became such in 1671. He seems to have resided between the two places, and his Address to the Synod of Dunblane in 1671¹ is dated from Glasgow. Burnet says it was a year before he was prevailed on to be translated to Glasgow,² and his unworldliness was again manifested by his refusal to take the whole income, and his contentment with one-fifth of it.³

Leighton held his first Synod at Glasgow in August 1670,⁴ and nothing was to be heard from all his clergy but complaints of desertion and ill usage. But they were now asked to look at such in a higher light. In a sermon, that he preached to them, as well as in ordinary public and private discourse, he exhorted them to look up more to God ; to consider themselves as ministers of the cross of Christ ; to bear the contempt and ill usage they met with, as a cross laid on them for the exercise of their faith and patience ; to lay aside all the appetites of revenge, and humble themselves before God ; to have many days for secret fasting and prayer ; and to meet often together that they might quicken, and assist one another in those holy exercises ; and then they might expect a blessing from heaven upon their labours. But this aspect of their suffering, as a discipline of the cross, was a new strain to the clergy, and while they regarded it as unaccustomed and comfortless doctrine, they had nothing to say against it. It was strange and unfamiliar to them to hear of no new and

¹ See p. 392.

² *History*, i. 519.

³ Row, writing of 1670, says : "Leighton having refused the bishoprick of Glasgow comes from Court prelate of Glasgow in a new mode, only having the spiritual power of the bishop, nothing of his temporalities, and only a part of the rent, viz. £300 sterling. As much was given to Burnet : the rest to come into the Exchequer. He was called commendator of Glasgow. Sharp was offended at this, fearing a design by him to deal so with them all, to clip their wings to augment the King's rents." (*Life of Robert Blair*, p. 536). Cf. p. 355 in text.

⁴ Law states that he held another Synod the same month at Peebles. (*Memorials*, p. 29.)

speedy ways proposed for forcing the people to church, nor for sending soldiers among them, nor for raising the fines to which they were liable. So the clergy returned home as little edified by their bishop as he was with their complaints.

Leighton now proceeded to practical measures. Finding the country full of complaints regarding the scandals of the clergy, he had a committee appointed, of which public intimation was made throughout the diocese of Glasgow, that they might hear and deal with such complaints.¹ Some of the scandalous were censured, others were deposed, and Leighton then revealed himself as a bishop who, while gentle, could yet be a strict disciplinarian, and make his pastoral staff a rod of correction. This purging committee was not wholly drawn from the diocese of Glasgow, but had Mr. Aird, Laurence Charteris, Mr. Nairn and others joined to it, while the Council by an Act (August 25th) . . . "did appoint Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, Sir Thomas Wallace, Sir John Cunningham, Sir John Harper, the Provosts of Glasgow and Ayr, to meet with them, and countenance and assist them, and be careful that their orders and citations be obeyed." Thus far at least, Lauderdale assisted Leighton in his worthy endeavour.

Leighton's next effort was to send to the western counties six episcopal divines, all (except Burnet) brought from other parts of the country. They were to go round the country, preach in the churches and where necessary argue on the grounds of the accommodation with such as might come to them. They were all moderate men,² and after Leighton's own heart. To Burnet we owe references especially to two of them. "Mr. Nairn was the politest man I ever knew bred in Scotland: he had formed clear and lively schemes of things, and was the most eloquent of all our preachers. He considered the pastoral function as a dedication of the whole

¹ Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, ii. 176.

² Lauder of Fountainhall's *Journals*, p. 231.

man to God and His service. . . . He studied to raise all that conversed with him to great notions of God, and to an universal charity.”¹ Laurence Charteris is described as a man of composed and serene gravity, and without affectation or sourness : of great tenderness and composedness, and making religion appear amicable in his whole deportment.²

The following are Leighton’s letters for both authorizing and instructing :

“SIR,

“The Lords of the Council having appointed some Members from other parts, to preach in such churches within the diocese of Glasgow as do most need their help, I desire the Reverend Mr. *James Aird*, Minister of Torry, to bestow his pains in that circuit that lies eastward from *Hamilton* or thereabouts, and particularly in the Kirk of *Carluke* ; not doubting that the Minister thereof, and others in the like case, will very gladly receive and earnestly intreat what help he can do towards the bringing of their people to frequent the public ordinances, and the removing of their prejudices and calming of their passions, that they may with one heart worship that one Lord whose name we all profess to love and honour.

“R. LEIGHTON.

“Glasgow, Sept. 17, 1670.”

“This is to recommend to the kind reception and assistance of the Gentlemen and Ministers to whose parishes he shall resort, for preaching of the Gospel, within the diocese of Glasgow, our Reverend Brother Mr. *Laurence Charteris*, Minister at *Bar*, being nominated and appointed by the Lords of Council, with some others from other parts for that effect.

“Glasgow, Sept. 20, 1670.

To Mr. *Charteris* are recommended within the Presbytery of Paisley these Kirks :

“*Neelson, Kilbarchan*,—vacant.

“Likewise, if his health permit,

“*Killelen* and *Kilmacome*,—though not vacant.

“R. LEIGHTON.

“Oct. 19, 1670.”

¹ *History*, ii. 385.

² *Ibid.*

The six were known as "Leighton's Evangelists," and the people of the districts came generally to hear them, though not in great crowds. They were about three months in the west, and during that time there was a lull in the frequency of conventicles. Burnet, who was one of the six, thus describes the experience of all :

"We were indeed amazed to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of princes in matters of religion. Upon all these topics they had texts of scripture at hand, and were ready with their answers to anything that was said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread even amongst the meanest of them, their cottagers and their servants. They were indeed vain of their knowledge, much conceited of themselves, and were full of a most entangled scrupulosity : so that they found or made difficulties in everything that could be laid before them." ¹

The Presbyterian ejected ministers were soon on the track, after the evangelists had left ; told the people that the Devil was never so formidable as when he was transformed into an angel of light ; reported that this was an attempt to prop up a tottering government, and it was generally agreed to reject the offers made on the basis of Leighton's proposals. Touch not, taste not, handle not, became the popular watch-word, and Leighton's laudable endeavour was without commensurate success.²

Thus Leighton's scheme of placing the ecclesiastical power in presbyteries and synods, with bishops merely as permanent moderators ; with no oath required of canonical obedience to them, and with permission granted to Presbyterian ministers, while accepting the proposed accommodation, to declare their convictions : was not successful. Neither the circulated letters, nor their advocates, could achieve the end desired.

¹ *History*, i. pp. 524, 525.

² Lauder of Fountainhall's *Journals*, p. 231 ; Law's *Memorialls*, p. 32.

But besides purging committees, and appointing evangelists, Leighton appealed himself directly, and it was at least something achieved, when he attained a conference with the disaffected ministers.¹ The Conferences began in August, 1670, and lasted till January 1671.

The King's commissioner wrote to the most eminent of the indulged ministers, Hutchison of Irvine, Wedderburn of Kilmarnock, Ramsay and Baird of Paisley, and Gombil of Symington, desiring them to come to Edinburgh on August 9, upon matters of considerable importance, which he had to communicate to them. Leighton, on instructing them beforehand on the coming invitation, was scarcely treated civilly, and was not so much as thanked for his tenderness and care. He began to lose heart, but resolved to set the negotiation on foot, and carry it as far as he could.²

The conference, however, took place at Holyrood House, and with the invited ministers, there were present Leighton, Lauderdale, Tweeddale, and Kincardine. Leighton stated his scheme, "laid it to their consciences to consider of the whole matter as in the presence of God, without any regard to party or popularity. He spoke in all near half an hour, with a gravity and force that made a very great impression on all who heard it." Hutchison answered on behalf of his brethren, and said their opinion for a parity among the clergy was well known: the presidency now spoken of had made way to a lordly dominion in the Church: and, therefore, how inconsiderable soever the thing might seem to be, yet the effects of it both had been, and would be very considerable: he therefore desired some time might be given them to consider well of the propositions now made, and to consult with their brethren about them; and since this might seem an assembling together against law, he desired that they might have the King's commissioner's leave for it.

A second conference took place, when matters were more

¹ Brodie's *Diary*, p. 309.

² Burnet's *History*, i. 520.

fully opened ; and, what was an unusual thing in those bitter days, they even *dined together*, although it took Leighton's persuasion to prevent Lauderdale, who entered after dinner, being rude to the Presbyterian ministers. Verily Leighton had the heart of a hero to proceed further. Sharp protested afterwards that episcopacy was being undermined since the negative vote was to go : the inferior clergy thought that the admission of the Presbyterian ministers into the churches, implied the charge of their neglect, and the consequent desertion by the people : the Presbyterian clergy regarded it as a snare to do that which had a fair appearance at present, but which, after the present generation were laid to rest, would give episcopacy another root and growth over the nation. Burnet adds, however, the greater part of the nation approved of Leighton's scheme.¹

To show his opposition to Leighton's well-intentioned proposal, Lauderdale, four days after the first Edinburgh Conference, got his abject Parliament to pass his "clanking Act"² against conventicles, threatening the preachers with death! Were ever the steps of a good man so closely followed by the emissary of the Devil?

Meanwhile meetings were held in the Synod of Glasgow between the Presbyterian ministers, indulged and not indulged, regarding Leighton's proposal, and their reply was expected by the first of November. The substance of the accommodation was thus put to the ministers by their indulged brethren:

"Presbyteries being set up by law, as they were established before the year 1638, and the Bishop passing from his negative voice, and we having liberty to protest and declare against any remainder of prelatic power retained, or that may happen at any time to be exercised by him, for a *salvo* for our consciences, from homologation thereof: Queritur, whether we can, with safety to our consciences and principles, join in these presbyteries? Or,

¹ *History*, vol. i. p. 522.

² *Lauderdale Papers*, ii. 200

what else is it that we will desire or do for peace in the Church and an accommodation, episcopacy being always preserved?"¹

They all agreed that the above concessions were not sufficient to be a foundation of their sitting and acting in presbyteries and synods with the prelates: that a sitting with the bishops in a diocesan synod would be a plain giving up of the reformation of 1638, when the civil places and power of kirkmen were declared unlawful, and when the *Assembly did unanimously agree that all Episcopacy different from that of a pastor over a particular flock*² was abjured in the Church of Scotland.

As to Leighton's surrender of the negative vote, they felt that although he might yield it, his successor might claim it, *and they also knew that he was the only one of the Scottish bishops who would acquiesce in it.* When they asked him what he would do, upon the supposition that he and the presbytery would not agree on a point under debate, he answered that he would enter his dissent against them. And when urged, whether his dissent would be any more than that of another member, he declined, according to Wodrow's statement, to speak of this, and said the estates behoved to determine that. So his dissent seemed to them still to be a negative at least upon the execution of the presbytery's sentence.³

The presbyteries, they were to meet in, were founded only upon the Bishop's commission, which he might enlarge or straiten as he pleased: they were denuded of the power of jurisdiction and ordination, which the Bishop reserved in his own hand: they wanted ruling elders, officers, in their opinion of Christ's institution. In a word, the bishop in the presbytery was still clothed with an episcopal power, although he should for a while still lay aside the exercise of it, and they reckoned their sitting with him homologated episcopacy.

¹ Wodrow's *History*, ii. 178.

² Peterkin's *Acts of Assembly*, p. 18.

³ Wodrow's *History*, p. 178.

The ministers, who were formerly at Edinburgh, returned at the day appointed, but found that Tweeddale and the others were at London. Meanwhile they resolved to wait their return, but by letters of November 12 and 19 Leighton desired a conference with the indulged and non-indulged. Hutchison and Wedderburn replied, that they would not decline such a conference, provided it were legally allowed by the magistrate, but they would not name time nor place. At length, when Leighton procured Tweeddale's letter, it was agreed that the conference should take place at Paisley on December 14, 1660.

On that day Leighton came to Paisley with the provost of Glasgow, Sir John Harper, of Cambusnethan, Mr. Gilbert Burnet, Mr. James Ramsay, dean of Glasgow; and about twenty-six Presbyterian ministers, indulged and non-indulged, conferred with them. Leighton's statement was followed by acrimonious discussion, as was to be expected, and it is interesting to compare the accounts of the conference.¹ No conciliation was manifested by the Covenanters, and they craved some time to consider the matter further, which was granted. They were told that their decision would be expected at Edinburgh on January 12, 1671, and thus the meeting at Paisley ended.

The ministers met at Kilmarnock in a few days and unanimously agreed that Leighton's last propositions were more unsatisfactory than the former proposal: they drew up their reasons, and nominated Hutchison and others to go to Edinburgh, and deliver them, granting them liberty to add, as they saw necessary.

They came to Edinburgh and had two conferences at Holyrood with the Chancellor, Hamilton, Tweeddale, Leighton, Burnet, and the other counsellors, on January 12, 17, and 21.

¹ *Analecta*, iii. 65; Wodrow's *History*, ii. 180-181; Burnet's *History*, i. 527, 528; Law's letter to Lady Cardross: *Lauderdale Papers* iii. 233, 234.

There were also private conferences at the house of Lord Rothes, but reconciliation was impossible. Hutchison spoke for the others and declared the propositions were not satisfactory to their conscience. The following is the account of the Conference at the Abbey of Holyrood House on January 17 and 21, from a manuscript belonging to the late Dr. David Laing of the Signet Library.

“A NARRATIVE OF THE ISSUE OF THE TREATY ANENT
ACCOMMODATION.

“The proposal offered by the Bishop at Paisley, December 17, 1670 :—

“1. That if the Dissenting Brethren will come to Presbyteries and Synods, they shall not only not be obliged to renounce their own private opinion concerning Church Government, or swear or subscribe anything contrary thereto, but shall have liberty at their entry to the said meetings to declare it, and enter it in what form they please.

“2. That all Church affairs shall be managed and concluded in Presbyteries and Synods by the free vote of the Presbyters, or the major part of them.

“3. If any difference fall out in the Diocesan Synod betwixt any of the members thereof, it shall be lawful to appeal to a Provincial Synod or their Committee.

“4. That Intrants being lawfully presented by the Patron, and duly tried by the Presbytery, there shall be a day agreed upon by the Bishop and Presbytery for their meeting together for their solemn Ordination and admission, at which there shall be one appointed to preach, and that it shall be at the Parish Church to which they are to be admitted, except in cases of impossibility or extreme inconvenience: and if any difference fall in touching that affair, it shall be referable to the Provincial Synod or their Committee, or any other matter.

“5. It is not to be doubted but my Lord Commissioner, his Grace, will make good what he offered anent the establishment of Presbyteries and Synods: and we trust his Grace will procure such security to these brethren for declaring their judgment, that they may do it without hazard of contravening any law: and that

the Bishop shall humbly and earnestly recommend this to his Grace.

“6. That no Intransigent shall be obliged to any Canonical Oath or Subscription to the Bishop: and that his opinion as to that Government shall not prejudice him in this, but that it shall be free for him to declare it.

“The answer delivered by Mr. Hutchison and owned by Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Maitland, and Mr. Millar, as to their own sense, and the sense of their brethren who sent them, was written from their mouth in these words, in which they acquiesced :

“ ‘ *We are not free in conscience to close with the Propositions made by the Bishop of Dunblane, as satisfactory.* ’

“And this short and dry answer, such as it is, they refused to give under their own hand, for reasons best known to themselves. And seeing they thought these concessions not satisfactory, they were desired to set down, or at least to say what would satisfy them. But this they also refused to do. So they likewise wholly declined to give any account of the reasons, why they were not satisfied with what was yielded to them out of love to peace, and healing of this unhappy schism. And it was earnestly desired of them to let us know why they judged that too little which many others thought a great deal too much to be granted them, and many more thought it was abundantly enough to answer all their scruples, and to satisfy them in point of conscience : and almost all that look on are put to a stand, as not able to find out any other reason of their rejecting these offers, unless it be the interest and affection of continuing a divided Party.

“And there is one thing which seems strange beyond all this, that when they were fairly invited, yea, earnestly desired and pressed, to a free and friendly Conference before the Lords here present, and such offers as they should call, to whom they might declare the grounds of their persuasion in this matter, as the question is now stated, they wholly declined this also, though it was declared to them that the difference betwixt us should be freely referred to the Scriptures first of all, and next to the judgment and practice of the Primitive Church, and to the whole Catholic Christian Church in succeeding ages, and to the most famous and leading persons in the late Reformation of the Church, as Calvin, Luther, Melancthon, yea and to the Reformed Churches abroad, even to those who at present have no Bishops, and last of all to the Presbyterians of

England. And that if from all these, or any of them, they could justify their continuing divided, even after these offers made them, it should be yielded to them as a thing reasonable. Yea, the person that propounded this (Leighton) further offered them, that if before the noble and judicious persons then present, or that should be present at the time of such a Conference, they should produce strong and clear reasons for their opinion and practice in this point of difference as now it stands qualified, he would forthwith resign his present station and become their proselyte, and would unite and act with them, and, if he were called to it, would suffer with them.

“It is to be noted that the proposal touching provincial Synods, though intended for their better satisfaction, yet being disrelished by them, it was presently offered to be dashed out, and assurance given them they should be no more troubled with that motion, as being found to be no less displeasing and unacceptable to some of those that differ most from them than to themselves. But there is now the less need of this exception concerning that one article, seeing upon their absolute refusal, that and all the rest together are at once expired, and are no more henceforward to be reckoned on or spoken of, than if they had never been made.

“It is true that one of them said, if they were commanded by authority they could not decline to own and vindicate their opinion, but withal he offered reasons why they should not be brought under any such obligation : and this was all the entertainment the offer of the Conference had from them. But to this it was answered, that it was not to be expected those in authority should command any to dispute against what was settled by law, the utmost that ever was granted in such cases being a permission ; but to this nothing was returned.

“It was asserted by us :—

“1. That there is no command in Scripture for the changing of Moderators in meetings of Presbytery, nor no precept nor rule of Scripture contrary to the office of a Bishop as a fixed President in Synods.

“2. That the fixed Presidency of Bishops in Synods hath as much warrant as the fixed moderating of a Presbyter in Kirk Sessions of ruling Elders, who, by those that assert such Elders to be of Divine rights, as our opponents do, cannot but be accounted equal as to the point of ruling.

“3. That there is no particular command in Scripture for an absolute parity of Presbyters : if there be, let it be produced, and it will end the controversy.

“4. That that Parity cannot be reasonably concluded from our Saviour’s command, *It shall not be so with you, etc.*, Matt. xx. 26. or from any other of His holy injunctions (given either to all His followers or particularly to His Apostles or Ministers) of moderation, humility, and meekness, for that would destroy all Church Government, and all superiority of Pastors over Elders and Deacons, and over their people. If all imparity and rule in Ecclesiastical persons were inconsistent with these great laws of our holy profession, then the Apostles themselves would have been the first and most signal transgressors of these laws : and to say they were extraordinary persons would, upon that supposition, say nothing but that they were extraordinary transgressors.

“5. If the thing be lawful, the appropriating that name of Bishop to the superior presbyter or president cannot make it unlawful, though these two names be indifferently used in the Scriptures : for they are so used in some primitive writers at some times, who in other passages do clearly own the different degree of Bishops over Presbyters, and were themselves of that degree. So to reason from that topic seems to be too weak to be worthy of any serious persons insisting upon it.

“6. And it is yet more strange to be offended at the solemn way of blessing or consecrating Bishops to that Presidency with the imposition of hands : as if a grave and solemn admission to a high and holy employment were apt to unhallow it : and being in appearance so proper an instrument of making it the better, should yet effectually make it the worse.

“7. Nor is it easy to be understood how any person can judge the office of such a Bishop unlawful because there is in Scripture no express command for it and under that very name, who yet finds a way to persuade himself without any such command, or so much as the names of most to be found in Scripture, that Kirk-Sessions, and Presbyteries, and Synods, National Assembly, and Commission of the Kirk, are in their several subordinations not only lawful but a Divine Institution and the Kingdom of Christ upon earth : whereas to an impartial inquirer there will be undoubtedly found in the Scripture more vestiges of such an Episcopacy as we speak of than of that chain of judicatories or anything like them.

“8. As to the degree of power of Bishops beyond other Presbyters, that is certainly not to be so fitly measured by any other rule as by the received practice of the Primitive Church, and Canons of the most ancient Councils, and thence it will undoubtedly be found that they had not only some such particular power, but *exortem et eminentem potestatem*, as Jerome speaks. But (as) for that, if the Spirit of our meek and lowly Master did more possess the minds both of Bishops and Presbyters, there would certainly be little or no dispute, but the sweet contest of striving who should yield most, and give most honour the one to the other.

“9. As for the opinion of the late Reformers in France and Germany, and elsewhere, and of the present Reformed Churches abroad, even those that have no Bishops, and of the Presbyterian brethren in England, how great the moderation of all these is concerning the Episcopacy now in question, is sufficiently known to all that know anything of these matters: and makes it much the more wonderful that these we have to deal with should affect so exorbitant an height of zeal and fervour in this point, so far beyond what can be found in any of these we have named, or any other society or party of men in the whole Christian world, either of our own or former times: nor can any reason be given of this, unless that word of the Roman philosopher, *Superstitio est error insanus*.¹

“As for the engagement they still apprehend from the Covenant, it hath been sufficiently cleared on other occasions, that the article of it touching Prelacy, as it is expressly specified in the words of it,² doth not at all concern the Episcopacy with us in question, especially as it is qualified by the concessions lately offered to our divided brethren for their satisfaction.

“But we are informed that they now flee to the other article of that Covenant engaging them to maintain the Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland as it was then in being. But it were to be wished they would impartially consider whether the present Episcopacy be inconsistent with that Discipline and Government that was before, and destructive of it, or if it will not rather be found to be indeed corroborative and perfective of it, as apt to keep it in more union and order, and so to make it stronger and more lasting than it formerly proved, or likely would be if it were again restored as it was. And again they should consider that if the substance thereof be salved in the present

¹ Seneca.

² See p. 184.

Model, their obligation is abundantly preserved: for if no chip or circumstance of it must be altered even though for the better, then is the next article illusory, and in plain terms a perfect cheat, in that it engages them to endeavour the greatest uniformity attainable in the Churches of the Three Kingdoms,¹ as in doctrine and worship, so in discipline and government, and that "according to the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed Churches." Now if in order to this uniformity, no *hoof*, as they use to speak, *nor so much as a hair* of the Scottish Model can be altered, because of the preceding article, though the example of the best Reformed Churches, yea, even the Word of God itself, should be found to call for some alteration of it, and the designed and vowed uniformity should highly require it, then ought it, instead of reading *according to the Word of God, &c.*, to be rather *according to the present frame of the Church of Scotland in all points*. How this would have passed with their English brethren, and particularly with those that were present at the framing of that Covenant, may easily be imagined.

"Yea, it is not unknown to some yet alive how careful one of the English Commissioners was to have that clause inserted, *according to the Word of God*, and how secure he thought himself and his country by that expression from the inroad of Scottish Presbytery upon them, notwithstanding that former article premised in favour of it. Thus were the contrivers of that Covenant busied, in patching it up, to outwit one another by words and clauses, how incoherent and discordant soever, to salve their different interests and opinions, to make it strong, *in odium tertii*, how weak soever it might prove to discerning men by disagreeing and jarring with itself, and a very Babel by the divided and confused language of its architects.

"We hear likewise that some take the Romish Hierarchy in the National Covenant² for the same with our present Episcopacy, and that by virtue of the gloss at Glasgow, which yet doth out of question shamefully and grossly corrupt the text: for the Romish Hierarchy is the Romish Hierarchy, and no other, nor hath any man upon earth, not the head of that Hierarchy, the Pope himself, nor any assembly of men, even such as have most of the Spirit in them, power to bind a sense upon the words so different from and opposite to their clear and genuine signification. Nor did the

¹ P. 184.² Pp. 124-126.

Presbyterian brethren in preceding times think themselves by that Covenant obliged to separate from the Synods wherein Bishops presided, as their known practice evidences to all the world."

Such is Leighton's case as stated by himself: we have already learned from Wodrow the position in general of the Covenanters,¹ but a book written at this period by McWard refers to Leighton, and may be regarded as the representative expression of the *special* reasons, why the Covenanters rejected Leighton's Accommodation. The personal element is besides not a little strong throughout the book.

After examining in a most unfriendly manner Leighton's plan of accommodation, McWard states :

"But the author provided a retreat concluding, *But oh! who would not long for the shadows of the evening, and to be at rest from all these poor, childish, trifling contests?*"² I shall not say, that since he walks so much in darknesse, it is little wonder that he longs for shades. But of this I am very certain, that if he had laboured as seriously upon his Master's *mission* to reconcile souls unto God, as he seemeth to have travelled upon his Majestie's *commission*, to patch up a sinful *Accommodation*, his hope of rest had been both more sweet and more assured: and, in place of the shadows of the evening, he might have promised to himself the light inaccessible, for his everlasting refreshment. But seeing these very poor, childish, trifling contests, whereby he would cunningly decry all the just oppositions of the faithful to his evil course, are in effect his own devices against the Kingdome of our Lord Jesus, the day wherein every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour, shall make his work manifest, when the fire shall try it. And I heartily wish that the burning thereof may be all his losse."

Another example of what Leighton had to contend against, and the interpretation put upon his words, may be seen from the following extract from the same work :

"And now the Author, for a conclusion of this Paper, tells us, *And we all know what kind of person it is, of whom Solomon*

¹ P. 442. ² P. 409. ³ *Case of the Accommodation Examined*, p. 57.

sayeth, that he rageth and is confident. And, really, if I had but the halfe of the Author's confidence, I think I could point out the very man. 'Tis true a weak monastick spirit,¹ long habituat to an affected abstraction and stoicisme, may render a man lesse capable of stronger passions, and consequently, for a time, exempt him from these ruder eruptions of rage: but whether he rage or laugh there is no rest: and if appearances hold according to the influences, which his last promotion seems to have had upon his dormant corruption, 'tis like we may very shortly have a prelatick experiment of both. It is enough for us that the Lord is our light and our strength, and none that love his righteous cause shall ever be ashamed."²

The following are the conclusions of the book, which express the attitude of the Covenanters towards Leighton's Scheme of Accommodation:

"(1) That a conjunction in the present church meetings is a certain acknowledgment of and participation with the present ecclesiastical government, which in effect is not truly such, but a mere politick constitution wholly dependent upon and resolving in the Supremacy, wherein no faithful minister can take part.

"(2) That this conjunction doth evidently infer a consent and submission to the supremacy, and arrant usurpation on the Kingdom and Church of Christ.

"(3) Such is the present elevation of this all-swaying prerogative, not intended to be suppressed, that all other concessions, though in themselves satisfying, would thereby be deprived of any consistent assurance, and rendered wholly elusory.

"(4) As the meetings are founded upon and absolutely subjected unto the Supremacy, so they are authorized and ordered by the archbishop and bishops, and consequently do in such manner derive their authority from them.

"(5) The meetings, whereunto we are invited, do consist of such members for their perjurious intrusion and canonical servitude (to say nothing of their more extrinsic delinquencies of profanity, insufficiency and irreligion) as may not only warrant a non-conjunction, but a positive separation.

"(6) Even in the most moderate acceptation the Bishop as offered to be reduced, is repugnant both to Scripture, purer antiquity, and our solemn oaths and engagements, inconsistent

¹ See p. 105 *et seq.* ² P. 69.

with the principles of Presbytery, and in effect very little lowed from any of these powers and heights which he acclaims, inasmuch as he is still at the King's nomination and not subject to either the censure or control of the meetings over which he doth preside.

"(7) The Accommodation utterly disowns and cuts off the Ruling Elder.

"(8) The terms being abjured by the *National* and the *Solemn League and Covenant*, to close and comply therewith were to desert the Lord's cause, 'by casting away the word of his patience in this hour of temptation and to give ourselves to that detestable indifferency and neutrality which we have by oath so enixly renounced."

"(9) The embracing of this coalition, but real suppression of Presbyterian government, would not only be a total surrender of that interest to the will of the adversaries, but engage us into snares, contests, offences and temptations that may be better foreseen than they can be numbered, let be prevented." ¹

Tweeddale did not think the negotiations would come to much,² but Leighton's perseverance was heroic. And verily no saint was more sorely tried, nor did a saint ever bear his affliction with a meeker spirit.

Sharp and his episcopal followers (both bishops and laity) blamed Leighton for a design in the whole matter to betray his order and set up presbytery. The Presbyterians, as the above reference indicates, rejected as impossible what he felt to be possible, and blamed as insincere and "jesuitized," a man whose whole negotiations were single-hearted and open, and who had no other design but that of allaying the agitations that were distracting the country. But the sorest wounds came to Leighton from the hands of those who ought to have supported him by conciliatory measures, yea, who were solemnly pledged to do so. He trusted Lauderdale's promises as well as the King's, yet both were written in sand.

¹ The Case of the Accommodation proposed by the Bishop of Dunblane (1671). Appendix contains Leighton's two letters, pp. 90-94.

² *Lauderdale Papers*, ii. 207.

And although Leighton expostulated with Lauderdale regarding the new persecutions which he had inaugurated against the Covenanters, and said that the whole complexion of it was so contrary to the common rules of humanity, *that he was ashamed to mix in council with those who could frame and pass such acts, and thought it strange that he had not been consulted*—it was all in vain. Both Lauderdale and his royal master had become infatuated, and Lauderdale ruled as a satrap and not as a constitutional minister. His wife died in 1671, and he had been long intimate with Lady Dysart and was now married to her. Under her evil influence, all that was bad in his character became strengthened, and her jealousy induced him to discard Sir Robert Moray, his best friend : caused him to break with Tweeddale and to burden the country with taxation. Kincardine, who had done his best to govern the wretched country, alone remained with him, but was very soon compelled to leave him. To the angry and organized opposition (led by Hamilton upon the opening of Parliament on Nov. 12, 1673), which demanded redress of certain abuses, he gave a passionate and uncompromising opposition, which he was strong enough to make good, although he had to give way on certain points. He was no longer the “good Maitland” or the “gracious youth” of Baillie’s affection, full of noble possibilities and beaming with a frank intelligence : he had now become swollen with gluttony, brutalized with vice, and bore upon his face the evidence of his shame.

Such was the man, with whom Sharp worked, to attain the complete subjection of a Church, penetrated with a consciousness of spiritual independence and determined to maintain it unto death. Such was the man, with whom the saintly Robert Leighton had to correspond, that he might carry out what was to his beautiful spirit, as the Vision on the Mount.

The situation, till the time when Leighton resigned the

See of Glasgow, may be thus described. On the one side was Lauderdale, applying systematic coercion to establish the supreme authority of the King over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical: on the other side were the western Whigs, who would only be law-abiding subjects, when Charles would abolish bishops and permit free General Assemblies; and who, until that day, would remain irreconcilable. In the midst of the turmoil was one heavenly voice pleading for peace on a broad, comprehensive basis of agreement. Knowing now the fifth act in the scene, we understand the result, but honour is due to the single-minded man, who felt that his work was a cross and nobly bore it, The following letter¹ reveals one of his difficulties.

Archbishop Leighton to the Earl of Lauderdale.

“Edinburgh, December 1, 1671.

“MAY IT PLEASE YO^R GRACE—

* * * * *

“There is one thing in my present charge I am much concern’d in & solicitous about, ’tis ye supplying of ye vacant kirks in ye western part especially, for ye truth is wee have not men for them, and ye people in most of ye parishes would not receive angels if they comitt ye horrid crime of going to presbyteries and synods. That I have to interest at present is y^t I be not left to struggle alone with so hard a task, but may have ye assistance both of ye direction & authority of ye Lords of Council or their Comitte, or these same that are named in ye later order, that I may make my address to them in this particular and what other difficulties occur in ye affairs of y^t diocese, & if yo^r Grace would be pleas’d to write a line to my L. Chancellor for y^t effect w^{ch} will add to ye many and great obligations or

“My Lord,

“Yo^r Grace’s most humble servant,

“R. LEIGHTON.”

(*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. ii. p. 217.)

¹ About this date (on October 17, 1671) Archbishop Leighton issued a certificate authorizing any clergyman of the Church to celebrate the marriage of Robert MacKneill with the “Lady of Boott” (Bute) (Appendix to *Sixth Report of Manuscript Commission*, p. 473).

Leighton's work is now best stated in the letters which fortunately still survive.

(Undated, but apparently before Lauderdale's arrival in Scotland in the end of May 1672.)

Archbishop Leighton to the Earl of Lauderdale.

"MAY IT PLEASE YO^R GRACE—

"Though I confesse I am as lazy as any other to ye businesse of writing, yet I would not have bin wanting to my duty of acquainting yo^r grace if any thing had occur'd since my last worthy of yo^r notice within my present circle (for with things without it I medle not) nor have I much now to say, but that (thanks bee to God) ye west sea is at present pretty calm and wee are in a tolerable degree of quiet, and y^e late treating and conferences with o^r dissenting brethren seems to have contributed something towards it, so y^t y^e time and pains bestowed that way seem not to bee wholly lost, and though they cannot be charm'd into Union, yet they doe not sting so fiercely as they did, nor does the difference appear so horridly vast, and ye gulf between us so great but that there may be some transition, and diverse of them are speaking of coming to presbyteries, if they may bee excus'd from synods,¹ but 'tis most amongst them y^t are still out, as indeed most concern'd, & possibly had the rest bin treated with in ye same posture they would have bin more tractable, but we must doe as well as wee can with things as they are, de ce qui est fait, le conseil en est pris. The main difficulty at present is the filling of the vaccancies, w^{ch} are not a few, and diverse of y^e people very humorous and hard to please, & the too great disregard of that, & y^e negligent indifferent throwing in upon them any that came to hand was y^e great cause of all y^e disquiet that hath arisen in these parts, filling all places with almost as much precipitancy as was usd in making them empty. And in this affair I am now craving y^e advice and assistance of y^e Lords of Councill, and particularly of those on whom I know yo^r Grace reposes most for this & other matters of publick concernment, being resolved to doe nothing of importance while I continue in this station, without their good liking and concurrence.

*

*

*

*

*

"R. LEIGHTON."

(*Lauderdale Papers*, ii. 225, 226.)

¹ In the previous December Leighton says they will come neither to Presbyteries nor Synods (p. 454).

Leighton's influence seems to have had the effect of making the Government pause for a time from its maddening severity, and become possessed with a temporary mood of sweet reasonableness, and on September 3, 1672, came the Second Indulgence. By it about eighty ministers, mostly in the west and south-west, were confined to fifty-eight parishes, and the Council proportioned the stipends, giving assurances at the same time to the regular and legal incumbents that no more would be indulged. By the second Act, prescribed rules were to be observed by all the indulged ministers about their baptisms, their keeping the sacrament of the Lord's Supper upon one day, their places of preaching, residing within the bounds of their own parishes, their discipline and their paying the ordinary dues to synod clerk and bursar.

The third Act discharged all presbyterian ministers except those who were indulged, from exercising any part of their ministerial work, under what punishments the council thinks fit, and appointed all outed ministers to attend ordinances in the parishes where they lived, or to go and live in such places where they will attend.

The ministers felt that acceptance implied acquiescence in Erastianism, and the eighty, who conformed, were regarded as traitors to the cause.¹ It was to the generality the admission of the principle of regal absolutism, which might extend to all laws whatsoever. The second Scottish Indulgence of September 1672 corresponded to the Royal Declaration in England of March 1672, promising licence for English Nonconformist chapels. In neither country did it prove a solution, and, as Leighton's letters indicate, it only produced a temporary lull in the Scottish storm.

¹ The reader will remember in *Old Mortality* "that blinded man, Peter Poundtext, once a precious preacher of the Word, but now a backsliding pastor, that has, for the sake of stipend and family maintenance, forsaken the strict path, and gone astray after the Black Indulgence."

The following letter was evidently written by Leighton in 1673, and must have been before September of that year, when James Ramsay, Dean of Glasgow, was promoted as his successor in the See of Dunblane.¹ It is its own best commentary.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE—

“I can give as yet litle further account of our distemper'd Church affairs than formerly, onely I am informed that y^e late Act (the ‘Second Indulgence,’ passed on 3d September, 1672) relating to our divided Brethren hath divided them more amongst themselves then any thing y^t hath yet befallen them; for though they generally think it girds them too strait into a corner yet y^e soberer of them incline to bee doing with it till better come, w^{ch} they are still gaping for, and let them doe, for y^t keeps them from despair: but others of them have some scruple concerning it, but what kind of scruple that can bee, I think, passes the skille of any man in his right wits to imagine. However, there is this good in it, that it amuses them, and keeps their heads and tongues busy, which otherwise would possibly not bee so innocently employ'd. And truely I beleev y^t y^e utmost y^t is to bee expected from y^e best counsels relating to this affair, is y^e preventing of mischief, and keeping things from running to extream confusion: but for Church order and cordiall agreement I confesse I have given over to look for it in these parts for our time: *but had this change bin either a litle lower model'd at first, or at least, as it was, a litle more calmly manag'd, it might likely have attained much better reception and settlement long ere this time: but it was unhappily, and I fear irrecoverably lost, at first setting out, by too high and too hot and hasty counsels.* And I looke on it at present as a forlorn aftergame, and nothing remains but to make y^e best that may bee of it as it is. For y^e vacancy of Dunblain, I gave yo^r Grace my humble opinion in my last, and am still persuaded of it, as y^e onely choyce I dare advise. For y^e Isles, I have bin enquiring after one that hath y^t language, and find that one Mr. Graham,² Minister of y^e Isle of Boot, is absolutely y^e fittest, yea, y^e onely fitt man of that kind that

¹ See p. 393.

² Archibald Graham, parson of Rothesay in the Isle of Bute, was advanced to the Bishopric of the Isles, but not until 1680, when Andrew Wood was translated to the See of Caithness.

I can either meet with or hear of. And if your Grace incline to fixe both y^e one and other, either according to this advice or a better from some better hand, it were much to be wisht it were done as soon as conveniently may bee, after so long vacancy, especially of y^e one. However, I trust yo^r Grace will pardon the freedom presum'd upon by,

“May it please your Grace,

“Your Grace's most humble servant,

“R. LEIGHTON.”

(*The Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. iii. pp. 231, 232.)

The following letter indicates that Leighton once more sought resignation from the See of Glasgow, and went to the King with that purpose in view.

Bishop Ramsay to the Duchess of Lauderdale.¹

Hamiltone, May 21, 1673.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOR GRACE—

“Although I am assured that my letters ar bot a trouble, yet I have foresumed this third time to give y^r G^r the trouble of reading a few Lynes. Our Archbishop is gone from us to Court w^t a designe (as is thought) to lay doune this charge, and I doubt not but yo^r G^r is sensible how unfitt a time this is for such a persone to relinquish such a statione, if for preventing q^rof, as I doe not questione bot y^r G^r will interpose yo^r oun desires. So (if ther be need) I doe as litl doubt but yow will jndeavour that his Ma^{tie} may lay his commands upon him to continue in this see, at least for some time, and I am perswaded he has a principle of obedience that will prevaile w^t him to crosse his oune jnclina^ones. But if he shall prove resolute in his Dimissione and retirement I hope the love that yo^r G^r beares to this poor church will move you to sollicite, my Lord Commissioner, his G^r, that by his jnterest w^t his Royal Ma^{tie} This sea may be supplied both speedilie, and w^t a persone who will follow those methods q^{eh} the Commissioner, his G^r and the archbishop have sett on foot and approve of. Our case no more admitting change of methods than a sore eye does change of a good salve. Iff in this or any other thing yo^r G^r offend at my presumption, I doe in all humilitie crave pardon,

¹ The second Duchess Elizabeth Tollmarsh, Countess of Dysart in her own right.

Desyring nothing more then that I may stand right in yo^r g^r favour,
As one who values himself upon nothing so much as to be esteemed,
and relie to acquitt himself in everie capacitie he can be in as,

“ May it please yo^r G^r,

“ Yo^r Graces most ffaithful and obedient servant,

“ J. RAMSAY.”

(*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 231-232.)

The following is the only address of Leighton's to the Synod of Glasgow, that is known to survive, as the Synod Books, which now exist, only extend from 1687—thirteen years after Leighton left the See.¹

Letter to the Synod of Glasgow,² convened April 1673.

“ REVEREND BRETHREN—

“ It is neither a matter of much importance, nor can I yet give you a particular and satisfying account of the reason of my absence from your meeting, which, I trust, with the help of a little time, will clear itself. But I can assure you I am present with you in my most affectionate wishes of the gracious presence of that Holy Spirit amongst you, and within yow all, who alone can make this and all your meetings and the whole work of your ministry, happy and successful to the good of souls and his glory that *bought them with His own blood*. And I doubt not, that your own great desire, each for yourself, and all for one another, is the same; and that your daily and great employment is, by incessant and fervent prayer, to draw down from above

¹ Maitland *Miscellany*, iv. p. 211.

² Regarding this Synod, Law has the following statement: Bishop Leighton, at his last meeting at the synod of Glasgow, appoints some of the brethren, viz., Mr. Ross, parson of Glasgow; Mr. Stewart, at Bonill; Mr. Whyt, at Air, and some others with him, to go to Edinburgh to present some grievances, viz. against the indulged brethren, that they baptiz'd children of other parishes, and did not keep the 29th of May, the King's birth and restoration day; and that they did not keep the injunctions of the councell: 2dly, against conventicles; against some of them they alleged treasonable speeches in their sermons, and charges some with adultery and fornication. 3. Against some young men that preach, as they alledge, without appoyntment of the church-officers. These grievances were presented to the commissioner and Bishop Sharp by these brethren, and were remitted to the King's councell. (*Memorials*, p. 56.)

large supplies and increases of that blessed Spirit, which our Lord and Master hath assured us that *our heavenly Father will not fail to give to them that ask it*. And how extreme a negligence and folly were it to want so rich a gift for want of asking, especially in those devoted to so high and holy a service, that requires so great degrees of that spirit of holiness and divine love to purify their minds, and to raise them above their senses and this present world. Oh ! my dear Brethren, what are we doing, that suffer our souls to creep and grovel on this earth, and do so little aspire to the heavenly life of Christians, and more eminently of the messengers and ministers of God, as stars, yea, as angels, which He *hath made spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire* ! Oh ! where are souls to be found amongst us, that represent their own original, that are possessed with pure and sublime apprehensions of God, the Father of spirits, and all often raised to the astonishing contemplation of his eternal and blessed being, and his infinite holiness, and greatness, and goodness ; and are accordingly burnt up with ardent love ! And where that holy fire is wanting, there can be no sacrifice, whatsoever our invention, or utterance, or gifts may be, and how blameless soever the externals of our life may be, and even our hearts free from gross pollutions ; for it is scarce to be suspected, that any of us will suffer any of those strange, yea, infernal fires of ambition, or avarice, or malice, or impure lusts and sensualities, to burn within us, which would render us priests of idols, of airy nothings, and of dunghil gods, yea, of the very *god of this world, the prince of darkness*. Let men judge us and revile us as they please, that imports nothing at all ; but God forbid anything should possess our hearts but He that loved us, and gave himself for us ; for we know we cannot be *vessels of honour meet for the Master's use*, unless we *purge ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit*, and empty our hearts of all things beside him, and even of ourselves and our own will, and have no more any desires nor delights, but his will alone, and his glory, who is our peace, and our life, and our all. And, truly, I think it were our best and wisest reflection, upon the many difficulties and discouragements without us, to be driven by them to live more within ; as they observe of the bees, that when it is foul weather abroad, they are busy in their hives. If the power of external discipline be enervated in our hands, yet, who can hinder us to try, and judge, and censure ourselves ; and to purge the inner temples, our own hearts, with the more severity and exactness ?

And if we are dashed and bespattered with reproaches abroad, to study to be cleaner at home: and the less we find of meekness and charity in the world about us, to preserve so much the more of that sweet temper within our own hearts; *blessing them that curse us, and praying for them that persecute us*; so shall we most effectually prove ourselves to *be the children of our heavenly Father*, even to their conviction that will scarce allow us, in any sense, to be called *his servants*.

As for the confusions and contentions that still abound and increase in this Church, and threaten to undo it, I think our wisdom shall be, to *cease from man*, and look for no help till we look more upwards, and dispute and discourse less, and fast and pray more; and so draw down our relief from the God of order and peace, who made the heavens and the earth. Concerning myself, I have nothing to say, but humbly to entreat you to pass by the many failings and weaknesses you may have perceived in me during my abode amongst you; and if in anything I have injured or offended you, or any of you, in the management of my public charge, or in private converse, I do sincerely beg your pardon: Though, I confess, I cannot make any requittal in that kind; for I do not know of anything towards me, from any of you, that needs a pardon in the least; having generally paid me more kindness and respect than a much better or wiser man could either have expected or deserved. Nor am I only a suitor for your pardon, but for the addition of a further charity, and that so great a one, that I have nothing to plead for it, but that I need it much,—your prayers, and I am hopeful as to that, to make you some little, though very disproportioned, return; for whatsoever becomes of me (through the help of God), while I live, yow shall be no one day of my life forgotten by

“ *Your most unworthy, but most affectionate*

“ *Brother and Servant,*

“ R. LEIGHTON.

“ PS.—I do not see whom it can offend, or how any shall disapprove of it, if you will appoint a fast throughout your bounds, to entreat a blessing on the seed committed to the ground, and for the other grave causes that are still the same they were the last year, and the urgency of them no whit abated, but rather increased: but in this I prescribe nothing, but leave it to your discretion and the direction of God.”

The following paper from Leighton's pen has reference to the *Second Indulgence*, that was framed at Holyrood by the three Acts of Council, September 3-7, 1672. By this Act Mr. John Burnet, minister of Kilbride, near Glasgow, was sent to the parish of Newmills in Ayrshire.¹ Refusing the Indulgence, he was summoned before the Council, March 7, 1673. Being prevented by sickness from appearing, he wrote down his reasons for declining, and sent them with a private letter to Lauderdale. Leighton's remarks were probably drawn up at the request of Lauderdale. Burnet died December 22, 1673.

Burnet is described by Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 227) as a minister of solidity and learning, who was well disposed to the Quakers and Separatists at Kilbride. He both heard the Indulged Ministers and pressed his people to do so, but he had scruples in his own personal acceptance of the Indulgence. The last words he was heard to speak were, "Glory, glory, glory!"

Reasons for Refusing the Indulgence Examined
(By Archbishop Leighton).

"I confess I have a doubt concerning this matter, and it is whether it were wisely done, or to any purpose at all, to offer a right reason to any man when it hath come in his head to offer such scruples as these :

"1. That could doubt whether it were lawful for a minister to preach under persuasion of any man that is able to hinder him, though it were a single soldier with a broad sword about his waist, and a charged musket in his hand.

"2. That he is afraid that it is an act of exorbitant and unlawful supremacy for the King, with the advice of the Council, to confine a minister to a particular parish, with liberty given him to preach in the public church of that parish, if he will ; or, if he please, to forbear. And likewise give liberty to his people to hear him, if they will, or if they will not, as they please : neither restraining him to be their minister, nor them to own him for such, unless they both agree to do so. For this is truly and undeniably the present case.

¹ Wodrow's *History*, ii. 203 (note).

“3. He apprehendeth, if he should preach on these terms, that he is thereby guilty of all that is contained in the Act of Supremacy, and in all the narrative clauses contained in the late Act of Indulgence, though he is not at all required, either by word or writ, to approve either of these Acts or anything in them, or to make any promise to observe these rules, but may break them all if he please, only upon the hazard of losing that liberty which is granted to him, and which is to be continued to him if he shall observe them.

“4. That he thinketh he cannot accept of liberty to preach in conscience unless he have his full share in the power of ordination and jurisdiction and the actual exercise thereof, and all other liberties that he would have or thinks he should have as his just due, which he would not receive if it were offered him from any that hath power at present to give it him, neither from the King for fear of approving of his supremacy, neither from the Church for fear of compliance with lordly prelacy : so that unless the whole frame of the Church and State be altered for his sake, there is no hope of prevailing with him to be so kind and charitable to preach where he is permitted ; but to make amends for that, he hath resolved to be so stout as, in the despite of all authority and all hazards, to preach where he is not permitted.

“5. That he suspecteth that if he and his brethren would not do so, the Gospel were gone, as being faithfully preached by no other in this kingdom or any other else in all the world, but by those that are fully in his opinion in all things, or at least in point of Church Government : and how small that number is in all the Churches, I am not willing to think that this gentleman is ignorant. And were it true that his hypothesis were true, it were a thousand pities that these men should be confined to a few parishes, or to this whole kingdom, but rather should be sent as Apostles to teach all nations.

“6. Notwithstanding all his courage, he is hugely affrighted with a terrible apprehension that if he be confined to one parish, the sword of the magistrate will be still at his throat to cut it without mercy, if he should offer to preach freely, or reprove the sins of the time. But if that be so indeed, surely the rest of all his indulged brethren have all this while been guilty of much sinful silence, for not one throat of them is cut as yet.

“7. It is strange that these men have still the confidence to speak of their model as ‘the Cause of God’ and ‘Kingdom of

Christ' when they never hitherto expressed the least desire or a public conference for clearing this their pretension, but on the contrary some of the chief of them did absolutely decline it when it was freely offered them before honest men and honourable witnesses. But in this they are wise, considering how much easier it is to triumph amongst the ignorant credulous fellows with big words and canting phrases, than with clear and strong arguments to prove their trifling opinion in the presence of judicious and impartial hearers."

Leighton had the help of Bishop Hamilton of Galloway in the government of the Diocese of Glasgow as the following letter (dated August 9, 1673) indicates. It was sent with one from Lauderdale to the Bishop of Galloway, requesting him to assist Leighton.

"MY LORD—

"Being remanded back to this station for a little time, I desired the enclosed, though I have found your lordship very ready to assist me upon such occasions as this relates to: because if they shall frequently occur, as possibly they may, it might seem not so regular and warrantable to trouble yow w̃ them, w'out this signification of his majesty's pleasure wh. will sufficiently excuse and justify us both in these instances. But at meeting, I may, God willing, give yow a fuller account of the business, and the reason that caused such a thing to be desired by, my lord,

"Your lordship's affectionate brother and humble servant,

"RO. LEIGHTON."

(Stephen's *Life and Times of Archbishop Sharp*, p. 465.)

In the following letter, Leighton's desire for retirement comes to the surface again, and he refers to his scheme "as the peevish humour of a melancholy monk."

The Archbishop of Glasgow to the Duke of Lauderdale.

"Edg^r, Nov^r 9 (1673).

"MAY IT PLEASE YO^R GRACE—

"It were (I know) an unpleasant thing, & now scarce pertinent for me to say any more of y^e struggles & tossings of my thoughts concerning my engaging in this station, both before my submitting

to't & even since, onely what I sayd once and again to bespeak y^e liberty & right construction of my retiring in case of necessity, though yo^r grace thought it not fitt to take any notice of it at present, yet I must humbly begg it may not be wholly forgott, & I will mention it no more till I find my self forc't to make reall use of it, for them y^t are in eminent civill employments and are no lesse eminently qualified for them, God forbid they should think of withdrawing; but for us of this order in this kingdom, I beleev 'twere little damage either to church or state, possibly some advantage to both, if wee should all retire: but that, whatsoever y^e event of it might proov, is a thing neither to be feared nor hoped. For myself, how greatsoever bee my longings after retreat, yet ought they not to hinder my most humble acknowledgment of his Ma^{ties} undeserved favour (though it still detains mee from that w^{ch} of all things in this world I doe most passionately desire), & next to his Ma^{ties} favour I cannot but bee sensible of my singular obligation to yo^r grace, for so much unwearied kindness & patience in this affair, for how much reason soever I may seem to myself to have for my reluctancy, yet I think yo^r grace had more reason long ere this to have despised & neglected it, as ye peevish humor of a melancholy monk. But whatsoever I am or shall be while I live, yea, though I turn'd Hermite, I am sure not to putt off ye indeleble character of,

“My Lord,

“Yo^r grace's

“Most humble servant,

“R. LEIGHTON.”

“MY LORD—

“The Co^mmissariate of Lanrick becoming vacant I was forc't to dispatch ye choyce of one for it on purpose to avoyd the crowds of severall reco^mendations, and y^e vexatious importunities with w^{ch} they were press'd. Ye person I have chosen is one John Graham, Co^mmissary Clerk of Dunblane, & have put another in his place there, being under some kind of promise to thē both to doe them a kindnes if any opportunity should offer, and I have done it freely to them both: whereas for y^e Co^mmissariate, though one of y^e meanest, more was offerd mee by some of the competitors then I think one much better were worth, if sett to sale in y^e market-place, & I think it a shamefull abuse that Churchmen should so co^monly doe soe by these places, disposing thē to any man more bids, and I heartily wish this were discharg'd, but that w^{ch} pains mee now most

in this particular is y^t I understand by y^e Earle of Kincardin that yo^r grace had a mind to reco^mend one to y^t place, w^{ch} could I have had y^e least foresight of, there is no doubt it would have bin reserv'd for him : but I hope yo^r grace will pardon my hastening to dispose of it, for y^e true reason I have given account of. The person I fixt on is both of approved honesty & ability & will reside upon it & attend it constantly & is indeed worthy of a better place if any such were at my dispose. And yet after all this rather then yo^r grace should take it ill either y^t I was so sudden or y^t y^e person yo^r grace intended for it should be disappointed I would doe my utmost & I hope might prevayl with my friend to surrender back his gift : but if yo^r grace incline not to putt him & mee to y^e retrograde I would engage myself for y^e gentleman for whom yo^r grace design'd this place that y^e first & best of that kind within y^e diocese, if it fall vacant in my time, should be no otherwise disposed of. I again begg yo^r grace's pardon & that I may know yo^r mind in this, & to my utmost power it shall bee obey'd. I hope this long postscript will be pardon'd, for sometimes y^e circumstances of these litle affairs require more words then matters of greater importance.

“For My Lord Commissioner

“His Grace.”

(*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 238-240.)

In the following letter he expresses his belief that the ejection of worthy ministers, during the Middleton administration, was the chief cause of the Western disquiet.

The Archbishop of Glasgow to the Duke of Lauderdale.

“Edg^r, Jun. 16 (1674).

“MAY IT PLEASE YO^R GRACE—

“Whither it bee y^e fatall unhappinesse of this order in this corner of y^e world, or our unskilfulness in managing it, or something of both, I cannot tell, but it is evident to all y^e world y^t it hath not produc'd since its restitution those good effects y^t were wisht & expected from it, & is now in lesse appearance to doe so then before, & likely rather to occasion more trouble then yet it has done, unles it please God to avert it, & to suggest such counsaills to those in power as may proov effectuall to prevent it. I am far from presuming to offer advice in so difficult a buisines : and though my

own private concernment in it will quickly expire, if anything occur'd to my thoughts that I did but imagine might bee of any use I would not affect y^e modesty of concealing it. What I sayd in my last I see as yet no reason to retract, y^t whatsoever other ways of quieting or curbing that froward party may bee us'd, it seems not wholly useles to put them once more to't to give account of y^e reasons of their opinions & practises: & why they have now run to so entire a separation, & to such wild & insolent attempts: & certainly while those coercions & civill restraints that for a time were intermitted, are now found needfull to bee renewed upon them. If churchmen shall doe nothing in their own proper way, I see not how they can bee thought worthy that so much should be done for them, & such pains taken in their behalf, while they doe not so much as offer to speak for themselves & y^e church, & by y^e clear evidence of reason either to reduce their opposites to union, or to strip them in y^e view of y^e world of all further excuse: but unles this take with others, I shall presse it no further, for ther is none of us has lesse pleasure in disputes & contests about these pitifull questions, then

“ May it please yo^r Grace,

“ Yo^r Grace's

“ Most humble servant,

“ R. LEIGHTON.

“ I have now received y^e presentation for Jedburgh, for w^{ch} I most humbly thanke yo^r Grace.

“ That w^{ch} hath made y^e wound of our shism almost incurable was y^e unhappy act of Glasco¹ turning out so many ministers at once, & though a good number of the^m are now perfectly silenc't by death, & not a few permitted to preach, & provided to parishes by indulgence, yet there remains a considerable part of them that were not willing of themselves to goe and no means was us'd to make them goe, & bee confined within y^e parishes to w^{ch} they were assigned double, and these are mainly they y^t now disquiet y^e countrey. And I see no help unles some way can be found out how these may bee quieted, & bound to y^e good behaviour, without binding upp their mouths from preaching and fro eating, & so neither stifle them nor starve them: nor is it probable that this can quickly and fully bee done by giving them liberty to bee presented to vacant churches, there being not at present so many vacancies

¹ In the Middleton administration.

nor likely on a sudden to be so many within y^e kingdom as will suffice to lodg y^e half of them single : and if they and their zealous followers be so drunk with opinion of themselves as to think so I cannot tell, but sure none besides themselvs will think it reasonable to turn out any of y^e regular ministers on purpose to make room for them, so y^t it would seem some other way must of necessity bee thought of."

(*The Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 50, 51.)

Lauderdale returned to Whitehall in the middle of April 1674. His absence from Scotland was the signal for increased activity in the "Party," and at the beginning of May he received intelligence of the Duke of Hamilton's endeavour to surprise the Council into assenting to an address to Charles founded upon those from various synods that were instigated by Hamilton himself, praying for a National Synod or Assembly, and representing the evils of Lauderdale's government.¹ Leighton appears to have written Lauderdale on June 11 in support of the proposal for a National Synod, for on June 18 Lauderdale answers in the following dispatch, in which, from his point of view, he urges the unfitness of such a proposal. It would have been 1638 repeated, and that was what Lauderdale did not desire.

The Duke of Lauderdale to the Archbishop of
Glasgow.

"18 June, '74.

"Yesterday I received yours of the 11th instant, and am very gladd you are come to Edinburgh. I am glade yow have written so fully & so freely, for I hope yow will not mistake as full and free an answer : and before I come to speak of youre Proposition at p^rsent I must crave leave to tell my minde freely of those Addresses that have been made for a Nationall Synode. By the Addresses themselves, and by a letter from three of the Ministers of Edinburgh ingadged in them (Mr. Cant, Mr. Turner & Mr. Robertson), I find the ground upon w^{ch} they plead for a Synod, Nationall is Because Synods have been in the pure and primitive times a good Remedy

¹ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 42.

against schisme, which I acknowledge to be true. But alace, what hopes can wee have from a Nationall Synod, for which our Dissenters will have no maner of Reverence. Our Synod wil be composed, according to our Act of Parliam^t, of the Bishops, the Deanes, the Constant Moderators of each Presbitery, Comissioners from the Universityes, & one from each Presbitery. Will the Dissenters look upon that as a Generall Assembly of Scotland? Will they give any obedience to the Decrees of it? and as for the Orthodox Clergie, they are or ought to be satisfied with the Government established by law, and what need they a Synod? But I must look a little back towards the first Rise of this Motion. It was begun at yo^r Synod of Glasgow, and yet I doe not find it inserted nor proposed in their addresse to the Councill. It was also moved in the Synode of Edinburgh, and with the same successe, and now I hear the Presbitery of Glasgow wrote a letter to the Presbitery of Edinburgh, to joine with them to presse my Lord Primate & the Bishops to join in an addresse to the Councill for a Synod: when neither of those tooke, I am informed some Ministers of the Presbyteries of Edinburgh, Dalkeith, and Hadinton gave in a petition to the Bishop of Edinburgh to the same purpose, and the three above-named sent it to me and desired me to joine in it. Now I am apt enough to beleiv the generality of those that moved so earnestly for this have no ill intention, yet I must needs suspect that some others have set them on who had another Designe then what is pretended. I can not forget the time when those Addresses were made. It was to trifle with the Council-Day in May, where it was earnestly urged that the Councill might send some Solemne Representation to the King of the great dangers of the Country, and I think it was intended that some Eminent Persons (some of whom are come to Court since) might have been the cariers of this Solemn Representation, and so might have come to Court with a publick Character which would have made a great noise here (a thing that was intended ever since I went last to Scotland). It was very fit that his Maj^{tie} should be truely informed of the condition of his Kingdome of Scotland, but so solemne a Representation as was intended was very needlesse, unles it was thought that I would not represent faithfully what would be sent to me, which was a great mistake. For I have faithfully acquainted the King with all the Papers & all the Passages, & he has sent his positive commands to his Councill for the suppressing those Insolences by feild Conventicles & invading

of Churches, which I am confident have been industriously raised and fomented, and yet I hope if the Councill doe vigorously prosecute the King's commands, that violent & seditious spirit may easily be quelled. But I have another Reason to mislike the late Pressing of a Synod by Ministers without authority from their Presbyteries, becaus I too well Remember what sad Effects flowed from Petitions of Ministers in the year 1638, and for a Generall Assembly too. I doe also remember how the tumult at Edenburgh begun by woemen, and now I find woemen more tumultuously Petitioning. I wish some may not be intending the same Play over again, but a burn'd child dreads the fire, and upon all those considerations I dare not, I can not concur in the Desires of a Synod at this time, from which I may fear evill, and expect no maner of good.

"If the late mad pranks, so evidently threatening a Rebellion, had not fallen out, I was much inclined to any maner of Moderation that could have been proposed for quieting the soberest of the Dissenting Party, and I was for granting any Indulgence to the Peaceable of them w^{ch} might have consisted with the maintenance of the present Church Government Established by Law, & w^{ch} would not probably have perpetuated the Schisme: but the late mad practises have much cooled me untill I shall see some more hopes of Peace by the Councell's vigorous quelling of this Spirit: yet shall I not discourage any Motions for quieting the Spirits of such as wilbe peaceable. Yow propose a meeting of some of the Soberest Dissenters with some of my Lords the Bishops & of the Orthodox Clergie: And although such Meeting had no successe the last time it was attempted, yet seeing yow think it may now be of great use, I shall not absolutely Discourage it. Yow may please to talk of it with confident friends, & if upon debate it shalbe thought a probable meanes, I shall not oppose it, becaus those upon the place can be better judges than I at this distance: yet I can not disguise my own melancholy thoughts that untill that desperate Party see that their violent Courses can not prevaile, I have but little hope from Moderation and Indulgences. Thus yow see I have freely told yow my thoughts which I desire yow to communicate to such confident friends as I would have yow to meet with, and from whom I will expect a joint advice upon the whole matter.

"Endorsed:

"To Ar. Glas. 18 June, 74."

(*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 52-54.)

In the following letter Leighton acknowledges, and at once, somewhat timidly, gives way to Lauderdale's masterful commands.

The Archbishop of Glasgow to the Duke of Lauderdale.

"Edg^r. Jun. 25 (1674).

"MAY IT PLEASE YO^R GRACE—

"I was iust upon going out of town when I receiv'd yo^r grace's letter of y^e 18th of June & some few days before I had writt somewhat to y^r Gr : touching y^e buisiness of a national synod, very much agreeing with what yo^{rs} sayes concerning it, onely I took y^e liberty to suggest the fairest construction in behalf of ye ministers suiting for it, & that if any were driving a design in it, 'twas more than I could perceiv, & more than y^e generality of themselvs doe know of, & there is one particular they have mistaken, y^t gave yo^r gr : account of this affair, if they affirm'd that y^e motion began at y^e Synod of Glasco, for upon my honest word there was not one syllable spoke of it there in my hearing, no not in private, far lesse any thing propounded towards it in publick : indeed, after it was moov'd at Edg^r, y^e report spreading, diverse presbyteries were taken with it & began to discourse of it & yet none of them writt of it to mee till it was again reviv'd at Edg^r, wherein there was more irregularity then in any other I have seen or heard of, for they neither acquainted y^e Bp. of Edg^r with it at all, nor mee, w^{ch} look^t y^e liker y^e striking up to a correspondence divided from us ; but if this had not come to yo^r Grace's knowledge by other hands, I confes I had never say^d anything of it, for being here just y^e day before it should have bin deliver'd it was brought to my hands, & I having open'd it (as I thought I had good reason to doe) & being much displeas'd with y^e strain of it, kept it upp & resolv'd to suppress it, & to check them y^t writt it, but not to bring them to any publick censure for it, & the rather for y^t very reason y^t would have moov'd a vindictive man to publish it, some of those y^t joyned in it being y^e persons of y^e whole diocese that have most discover'd something of unkindness towards mee, yea I can confidently say are y^e onely persons of y^e whole for anything I know y^t continue so to doe, the rest having after the first preiudices & mistakes were blown over liv'd with mee not onely in much peace, but in great amity & kindnes & have of late generally exprest more affection to mee than I can modestly own y^e reporting of. But this I say to excuse my suppressing y^e very ill advis'd letter those persons sent to Edg^r.

"The reasons they give y^t still presse this motion are not that they think y^e dissenters will submitt to it, but that a free & full hearing may be offer'd them in any way they will accept of it, or if they totally decline it that will bee both a sufficient & very easy defeat; nor doe they say they themselves need a synod in order to their own satisfaction concerning y^e government, seeing they wyn with it, but for regulating of y^e church in matters of discipline, & reducing to as much order as may bee for y^e present attainable: but to both these I answer thē that till there shall be found a more convenient time for such a meeting these things may bee some way provided for in an easier & safer way, for I tell them freely that though I doe not suspect them of any design agst the present government, wh^{ch} was y^e great incentive in y^e year 1638, yet I fear unles it were very wisely manag'd & succeeded very happily, it might bee in hazard rather to disparage the government then likely to add any thing to its reputation, for seeing them so divided & hotly contesting about y^e very motion of a synod, it may justly bee fear'd they would be more so in it if it were granted them: & with these & other considerations I doe really indeavour to alay & cool y^e minds of such ministers as apply themselves to mee about it & strive to divert them from any further attempts or thoughts of it for this time: and I am hopefull there shall bee no more noyce about it. Our primate tells me hee hath writt to some of the Northern B^{ps} of his province to meet him shortly at Brechin, but I beleev it will bee but a thinn meeting, & (as I told him) I cannot see what great matter they can doe at it, but that I leav to his own better judgment: if it had been at Edg^r it would have past with lesse noyse & observation, & I would have indeavour'd to waite on it, but being now going to y^e most southern corner of y^e diocese of Glasco I cannot possibly return so quickly as to go so soon north. I have stay'd this day in town on purpose to speak with some of those Lords yo^r Grace directs mee to waite on, & I went in y^e morning to my Lord Hatton's lodging, but hee was gone abroad, but this afternoon I intend to waite on his Lo: & any others of y^t number I can meet with, though I have litle or nothing to say but what some of them know already. I have weare'd yo^r Gr: with so long a letter, but y^e particular y^t occasion it to bee so I trust will excuse

"May it please y^r Grace,

"Yo^r Grace's

"Most humble servant,

"R. LEIGHTON."

(*Lauderdale Papers*, iii. 57-59.)

A previous letter of June 20, written before he received Lauderdale's of June 18, is perhaps the most descriptive of Leighton's personal feelings in his difficult, if not impossible, situation. He describes the violent passions of his diocese, and acknowledges that "the genius of the Church of Scotland lies much towards Synods and Assemblies since the Reformation." Leighton seems personally inclined to grant the claim, but Lauderdale knew too well that liberty to summon a general assembly would involve the repetition of 1638.

The Archbishop of Glasgow to the Duke of Lauderdale.

Ed^r, Jun. 20 (1674).

"MAY IT PLEASE YO^R GRACE—

"There is a huge noyse raisd here of late among y^e Clergy about y^e motion of a convocation, & they y^t are here seem all hotly engagd in y^e contast for or agst it, except one, y^t is cool & indifferent in it, but that poor man is so to most other things y^t sett y^e world on fire. As to this desire it was first moov'd in y^e synod of Edenburgh, as I am inform'd, & hath bin since revivd there, but I hear it takes generally with y^e presbyters everywhere, & I think it is because 'tis y^e road, & has bin y^e usuall way of y^e Church in cases either of heresy, or schism; & besides, *y^e genius of this church particularly lies much towards synods & assemblies since y^e reformation*: for myself I am so far from overvaluing those meetings that I am & have long bin weary & sick of them all, & of all y^e vain Tangles & strifes, y^t usually take them upp: & upon the litle knowledg I have of them, when I reflect on y^e greatest part of synods & councils old and new, I have so mean an opinion of them, that if I should ever have vented it in any of them where I have bin, I should have bin sure to feel y^e weight of their censure: 'tis true sometimes they doe some good, but none can deny they doe likewise sometimes harm, & very great harm, & possibly y^e oftner of the two: after y^e spreading of Luther's doctrine the germans cri'd their throats dry with calling for a generall councill, and when they had obtain'd it, all y^e world knows what they gain'd by it. For y^e presbyteries or presbyters that have supplicated here for a synod I could not enquire of their motives before they did it, none of them having acquainted mee with their purpose, but since they did it, I have spoke with some of them, & they doe wholly disclaim all

kind of project or design in it save onely y^e good of this Church, & as to the way they us'd as they say it was with all due respect & submission to their Ordinary, & finding reasons (as they thought) for offering their desire of a thing lawfull in itself, & establisht by law, & usuall in y^e Church, they knew not a more regular & orderly way then y^t they took in representing it to y^e Bp. and leaving it for his judgment, whether he thought fitt to moov it or suppress it; how far this may plead their excuse yo^r Grace can judg as well as any, & that I give yo^r Grace this account of it, is from no motive but that of charity, for there is no man lesse involv'd in y^e concernment than I am. I receiv'd lately a letter from y^e Dean of the Isles, complaining of y^e great and many disorders in y^e diocese for want of a Bishop, & seeming to impute somewhat of it to my neglect, y^t diocese being of y^e province of Glasco, but that yo^r Grace will clear mee of, having spoke of it often, & particularly the last winter while yow were here, & having spoke of it, it became not mee to presse it further. Hee desir'd likewise that in y^e interim for redresse of those disorders I would give warrant to them to meet in a diocesan synod, & to appoint one to moderate in it, w^{ch} it seems hee thought doe, but I think not so, unles I have a particular co^mmand for it. I am minded, God willing, to go from hence within two or three days, to visit y^e southern & remoter parts of y^e diocese of Glasco, as I have formerly done in y^e su^mmer season, & to doe it now for the last time, but I shall leav direction how to send them, if in the intervall any co^mmands shall come from yo^r Grace to

“ May it please yo^r Gr :

“ Yo^r Grace's

“ Most humble servant,

“ R. LEIGHTON.”

(*The Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 55, 56.)

In connexion with the last letter, attention may here be given to a paper, bearing date “Glasgow, 9th May” (no year), and probably written about May 1674, referring to the views of the Archbishop of Glasgow on Church matters. The paper is a copy, but, according to a note in the middle of it signed “G. Burnet,” is a copy of a draft made by Mr. Gilbert (afterwards Bishop) Burnet for Leighton's use. The paper begins by a statement that Archbishop Leighton accepted the See of Glasgow in the hope of bringing the

Presbyterians to terms and obtaining concessions from the King, but these hopes failed. The next thing thought on was the supply of many vacant churches in the Glasgow diocese, which were so addicted to Presbyterian ministers, that as the Archbishop could find none well qualified who would serve these cures (the "outed" Presbyterian preachers, in 1672, being everywhere busy in conventicles), [he] judged it necessary either that they should all be carried to other countries, or lodged where they might be tied to particular charges and no more ramble over the nation. The former being against his conscience and inclination, he thought it most advisable that the Indulgence, which had been granted to thirty parishes, should be extended to other twenty-five, and two outed ministers confined to each of the indulged parishes. This course, however, though considered prudent, had not been obeyed, as during "the last winter, 1673," field conventicles and other disorders increased, and ministers were deserted and affronted in the service of God. Complaints of this were made to the Commissioner (Lauderdale), but nothing had been done. On the contrary, the disorders had been pardoned, which made "all those people" become bold, etc., and they are now possessing the vacant pulpits, and also filling the pulpits of regular incumbents. "Amidst all these confusions, the Archbishop is in an utter incapacity to carry on the service of God in the Church, for as parishes fall vacant, the incumbents he sends to them are beaten and stoned away, which is not got punished, and tho' during the years of his stay in this see he hath constantly every Lord's day preached from parish to parish and done all [that] lay in his power for encouraging the regular clergy, yet without more vigorous assistance" he will be too weak to resist a torrent which threatens to bear away the Church as established. It is therefore proposed (1) that the King should consider whether episcopacy should be maintained at the rate of the trouble it has cost, and whether it should not be given up.

If it is to be maintained, religion and order should not be neglected, offences against Churchmen should be punished, etc. (2) The laws concerning the Church are too severe to be executed, and should be revised and made practicable. (3) A Synod should be called to settle the Church, etc. Here follows in another hand, apparently Burnet's, "hitherto my draught is copied out; what followes is the copy of what is written by the Archbishop on the same paper. G. Burnet."

The second part of this paper begins :

"The account of the affaires of this diocesse is I think exactly true & fitlie exprest, but it is larger than either the person mentioned or his endeavours deserved, and larger than the King will possiblie have patience to hear . . . unlesse yow finde him at several reprises at leisure & in some disposition to receive account of these particulars."

After some further comments he continues :

"The errours in the management of these whole Church affaires have been so great and so many, all along from the first setting out that it looks like a judicial stroke from heaven either on the bussines itself or on ws that were intrusted with it, for we have still been tossed betwixt the opposite extreames of too great rigour and too great relaxations and indulgences, well made lawes too severe to be executed & for a counterpoise have executed almost none of them, except by exorbitant fitts and starts that by their extremitie made all men sure of their short continuance. Our first unhappy stumble that boded us no good journey was the discharging Kirk Sessions & Presbyteries before we came from London, and so laying loose the reins of all discipline for the most part of ane whole year. Our overbended act of restitution and mishapt act of Convocation followed. But our desperat fall that (I fear) we shall never recouer was the fatal act of Glasgow, laying so great a tract waste to make it quiet and then stocking again that desert we hade made with a great many howles and satyres. For our remissnes on the other hand & extream neglect of exercising due authoritie and so exposing it to be despised and trampled on there need no more

instances but the two last, the former of which is the not following out of the Act of Councill of '72, which the King himself and my Lord Commissioner, & I beleve all other intelligent persons look on as both the softest and surest way by giving up some lodging to stop the contagion from spreading, & bestowing a little ground vpon a few channels to drain the rest of the whole country. The other instance yow know . . ., what shall be the date of our recovery He alone knowes who rwles times and seasons and all men's hearts and all thinges."

(Historical MSS. Commission *Eleventh Report*, Appendix, part vi. The MSS. of the Duke of Hamilton, K.T., pp. 148-149.)

Leighton resigned in 1673, but the King would not accept his resignation, and prevailed upon him to continue in office for another year. The following is a copy of the royal engagement.

"CHARLES R.

"It is our will and pleasure, that the present Archbishop of Glasgow do continue in that station for one whole year : and we shall allow liberty to him to retire from thence at the end of that time.

"Given at our Court, at Whitehall, the Ninth Day of August, 1673 : and of our Reign the Twenty-fifth Year. By his Majesty's command."

The year was now drawing to its close, and Leighton was looking forward to the relief that was to come. He found himself more and more in an unbearable situation, and the increase of conventicles, the unpopularity of his clergy, the dissatisfaction with Episcopacy in any form, the fines and cruelties perpetrated by Lauderdale's officers, made Leighton determined that he had carried his doctrine of passive authority to the royal command far enough, and that it must not lead him to the infliction of another year. Besides, in 1673 four of the Scottish bishops had died, and Leighton was disappointed when neither Charteris, Nairn, nor Burnet would accept office.¹ They had all an ill opinion of the Court

¹ *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. p. 536.

and could not be persuaded to leave their retirement. Leighton said if his friends left the whole load on him, he must leave all to Providence. That Sharp might not have too public an affront put on him, Leighton agreed to a bishop of his nomination, but notwithstanding the times were sadly out of joint. He could not bear the Court, nor could he be a sycophant and an abject flatterer, to the Countess of Lauderdale, like Sharp, even although he was always treated with distinction.¹ Lauderdale again suspected him to belong to the Duke of Hamilton's faction² formed against him, and the Presbyterians in the south and west were hostile, as his own letters clearly show, and as their literature no less manifests.³

There is the recurring reference to "weariness" in his letters, and one of them speaks of "his disposition to bury himself alive in one of y^e solitarest hermitages in y^e world."⁴ Leighton was in London during June⁵ 1674, and the following letter to Lauderdale shows that he was there in July, and the purpose of his visit was unquestionably to keep the King loyal to his word and to be liberated from a charge that had long since become unbearable.

The Archbishop of Glasgow to the Duke of
Lauderdale.

" Lond. July 3^d (1674).

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R GRACE—

"I am extreemly sorry if y^e putting a close to y^e buisines y^t brought mee hither, when it could not well bee differr'd any longer, shall have caus'd in yo^r grace any displeasure agst mee, w^{ch} yet I can hardly suspect, for this desire of mine (w^{ch} I confesse is y^e onely

¹ *Ibid.* p. 603.

² *Analecta*, i. 327 ; Law's *Memorialls*, p. 71.

³ Cf. *Naphtali*, by Mr. James Stirling, minister at Paisley, and Mr. James Stewart, Advocate, afterwards Lord Advocate.

⁴ Historical MSS., *Ninth Report*, p. 446.

⁵ Law's *Memorialls*, p. 71.

ambitious & passionate desire I have of anything in this world), bee it from weaknesse of understanding, or melancholy humor, or whatsoever else any may imagine, I am sure there is no malice in it to any person or to any party, yea ye innocency & sincerity of my heart in this matter will I trust in God uphold me under all ye various misconstructions y^t can fall upon me. Yea even that of crazinesse of mind 'tis possibly by some imputed to, does not moov mee when I consider that many great & wise persons have bin guilty of y^e same folly, if it bee so, some by actuall retiring, others by earnest desires of it when it prov'd impossible for them. But not to amuse yo^r Grace with these discourses, I submitt to y^e result of this buisines for this time seeing 'tis now never to create any further trouble either to myself or any other, & I hope in God I shall goe through y^e remainder of this wnpleasant work without discontent or impatience. If I may bee but assur'd of one thing & that is a full & absolute pardon from yo^r Grace of whatsoever hath bin troublesome or offensive to yow in this matter, & no abatement of yo^r good opinion and favour, though (I confes) alwaies undeserv'd in all other respects, unles great affection to yo^r Grace & yo^r service may pretend to some small degree of acceptance instead of merit. And this shall remain unalterable in mee while I live. However, yo^r Grace shall bee pleasd henceforward to look upon mee. But it would exceedingly encourage me in my return to my Laboratory if a line from yo^r hand did give mee some hope at least, of y^e same favourable aspect from yo^r Grace as formerly; but I crave pardon for this presumption, & however my poor prayers, such as they be, shall not be wanting for yo^r Grace's welfare & happiness, nor shall I ever cease while I am above ground to bee,

"May it please yo^r Grace,

"Yo^r Grace's

"Most humble servant,

"R. LEIGHTON."

(*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 62, 63.)

The next is his last letter to Lauderdale, and indicates his desire to "live and die" in the Communion of the Church of England.

The Archbishop of Glasgow to the Duke of Lauderdale.

"MAY IT PLEASE YO^R GRACE—

Dec. 17, 1674.

"Because I was unwilling to give yo^r Grace any further trouble at parting at so mean a buisines, I did resolv to peece out y^e remainder of this year in this station, w^{ch} being now neer upon expiring, I could not think of a fitter way to signify my intention, then by y^e enclosed, being y^e very same individuall paper y^t I presented to yo^r Grace while you were here. And I think it needlesse to say any more of y^e reasons mooving me to't, having then given yo^r Grace a true & short account of the main of them in a paper apart. Onely I crave leav to add this that upon y^e most impartiall reflexion I can make upon y^e temper of my mind in this matter, I cannot find that it proceeds from any pusillanimous¹ impatience or wearines of y^e troubles of this employment, but rather from a great contempt of our own unworthy & trifling contentions of w^{ch} I have little other esteem then of a querelle d'Alman, or a drunken scuffle in the dark, & doe pity exceedingly to see a poor church doing its utmost to destroy both itself & religion in furious zeals & endlesse debates about y^e empty name & shadow of a difference in government, & in the meanwhile not having of solemn & orderly publick worship so much as a shadow. Besides I have one just excuse, that grows daily truer, for though I keep not bedd much, nor am (I thank God) rack^t with sharp and tormenting diseases, yet I can truely say that I am scarce ever free from some one or other of those pains & distempers that hang about this litle crazy turf of earth y^t I carry, w^{ch} makes it an uneasy burden to mee, but withall puts me in hopes y^t I shall shortly drop it into y^e coñon heap. *Meanwhile my best relief will be to spend y^e litle remnant of my time in a private & retir'd life in some corner of England, for in y^e cõmunioñ of y^t Church, by y^e help of God, I am resolv'd to live & die.* That which I am humbly to intreat of yo^r Grace is y^e representing of this little affair to his Ma^{tie}, & that in as favourable a manner as may bee, w^{ch} shall add very much to y^e many & great obligements of,

"May it please yo^r Grace,

"Yo^r Grace's

"Most humble servant,

"R. LEIGHTON."

(*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 75, 76.)

¹ Cf. p. 339.

Such are all the letters of Robert Leighton that now survive in the *Lauderdale Papers*, but there are others, mostly without date, which, from general internal evidence, can be pronounced as belonging to the Glasgow period of his life. Several of them are to his old friend, Mr. Aird of Torryburn,¹ who was eminent for his piety and charity to the poor, and at whose private expense the bridge near the church of Torryburn was built. He was the son of Leighton's predecessor (not immediate) at Newbattle, and Leighton had a high regard for him.

"DEAR FRIEND—

"I do very much commend the activeness of your charity in the journey you have taken ; for the success, though I had much desire and some little hopes of better, yet I suspected how it might prove, unless this one consideration, the extreme necessity of this church at this time, did prevail with our friend to do violence to himself. I hope you both pardon me for the very reason that I moved it, and that I am but to be angry or impatient at it, I could not pardon myself. I look to Him who makes everything beautiful in its season, and remember that saying of his, 'Your time is always ready, but my time is not yet.' As we are to forbear forbidden fruits at all times, so not to pull the best fruit in his garden till he allows us, and some way signifies he thinks them duly ripe for use. I do heartily thank you for the kindness of communicating the inclosed letters ; for next to what is within me, the painful reflecting I have on this world is, that there is so small a part of mankind in whose breasts such thoughts are stirring, and am somewhat relieved when I meet with anything of that kind, and long to meet with more, or be gone where no such wishes are needful. O ! this dark night is very long ; but blessed hope of that bright morning without cloud that is hastening forward. Well, no more, but pray for

"Your poor friend and servant,

"R. L.

¹ The Author of the *Fasti* states that because Aird imitated Leighton's "shrug and grimace" he was called "Leighton's Ape." But this language evidently reflects the bitterness of the times. (*Fasti*, part iv. p. 604.)

There is a fine reference to him "as a man of strong affections for

"I beseech you pain me not again with so excessively canonical a superscription of your letters, for there is no need of it, though they were to pass through twenty hands. Since I wrote this I received another of yours for Mr. Blair. The truth is, for this next year I am already engaged to one that both needs and deserves a little help, and am bespoke for another to succeed the year after, but have not absolutely promised, and I therefore am at a little more liberty to consider it against that time, if it please God to continue me here so long ; for the youth you name you may be assured, if it can fall on that side, his relation to our brother, and your recommendation will have very much weight to make it so, and that is all I can say of it at present.

"For my Rev. Brother Mr. Aird,
Minister at Torriburn."

II

"DEAR FRIEND—

"Whether you know the particular purport of the enclosed you sent me, I know not ; but it is to quit Ten Pounds *sterling* supposed due to me from the party that pleads inability : and doubtless your recommendation, together with the charity of the thing (if it shall appear to be so), would easily give law to me for a greater sum than that. But the truth is, there is a main mistake in the business, for it is not payable to me, and therefore no way in my power, for my Lord *Bargeny* hath a lease of all my little dues in these parts for nineteen years, upon very easy terms as they inform me ; yet whether he will consider that so as to make such an abatement of what is now his due and not mine, I cannot tell ; neither have I any power to carve upon what is his without paying it back, or some way compensing it to him myself ; and yet even that I shall not decline, if, after you and I both know the more particular state of the business and the person, you shall judge it reasonable. This is all I can say to that at present ; and I will not enter upon any other discourse by this ; for the truth is, there is little to be said and much to be done. You and I are, I trust, upon a design that

piety and virtue, and of a simple and chaste life, and, according to his power, charitable to the poor in an eminent degree," in *Analecta Scotica*, vol. i. p. 135.)

will reflect a very low estimate upon all below it, and it shall certainly succeed if we be careful to stick to our leader and follow him.

“ Pray for

“ Your poor Friend and Servant,

“ R. L.

“ *March*, 1670.

“ To the Rev. Mr. Aird,

“ Minister at Tory.”

III

“ SIR—

“ I wish I could punctually resolve you concerning that freedom of commencing to that excellent work which you desire ; but the truth is, though I believe they are not there so strait-laced by far as here, yet you having never exercised at all in public, I am not sure they would not all inquire concerning that, but it is likely nothing would be required which (if you be not superstitious on the other hand) would trouble you. If you thought fit in the mean time to spend some weeks in that place you speak of, and to use the liberty of it in exercising, it might possibly pass for what you would avoid in the other. And if a fair invitation shall come, He to whom you have resigned yourself will direct you.

“ Sir,

“ Your very affectionate Friend.

“ To my own motions or stay, as I am in a most quiet indifferency myself, you, I am sure, may much more easily be so. We are at sea and cannot expect still to sail within speech, no nor written sight, but we hope to arrive at the same ‘ fair havens.’”

IV

“ DEAR FRIEND—

“ I was refreshed by your account of your feast in your former, of which I trust I was participant as to the blessing of it, for though absent, I was heartily with you in desire. The accident your letter acquaints me with, I think concerns you little or nothing ; for if there was any offence in the printing it, it rests upon him that procured it, and the printer ; but for instructing your own flock in what way you judge most accommodated to them, who can blame you ?

However, when I meet with the archbishop, I shall (God willing) represent the business to him as it is, if I find it needful ; but if you think it hath come to his knowledge, and that with some misreport and disguise, I believe it might not be amiss for you to give him the true and ingenuous account yourself by a letter, for, it may be, some weeks may pass before I see him. But oh ! how quickly will all these things be gone, and even at present a look beyond them makes them disappear ! Let us manage our ways as prudently and profitably to our main end as we can, and let the world descant as they will. Blessed are the upright in heart, for their great Judge and Master sees into the heart, and cannot mistake them.

“ Pray for

“ Your poor Friend,

“ R. L.”

V

“ SIR—

“ There is one here comes from *Ireland* to inquire after able young men for the Ministry, whom they invite thither, sending them transport-money, and assuring them of a liberal and certain provision there. He they sent hath been with me, and was desirous to know if I could recommend any. It came into my thoughts to give you notice, that if you find any inclination that way, I may know. I will not advise you, much less press you in it, but leave you wholly to the freedom of your own thoughts and choice, and to the best hand to determine them. I believe they expect of those that go an engaging to a pastoral charge ; but whether for some time they may not give a little liberty to some or to one at least in a freer posture to preach, or whether their pastoral engagement be so indissolubly fast as here, I know not. You will think on that, and if you judge it worth so much, let me hear from you how you relish it. However, I wish you as to myself much happy success and advancement in your great design.

“ Your Friend to serve you.”

In addition to these letters from Leighton's own pen, there are references to Leighton in a little note-book, entitled *Chorleyana, or a Register commemorating some of the most remarkable passages of God's Providence towards me from*

my nativity, by Josiah Chorley, the first part of which was written at Glasgow in 1671-72.

Josiah Chorley was born in 1652 at Preston in Lanarkshire, where he notes his father's house was "the receptacle of persecuted ministers." After a preparatory education in several good grammar schools, he was sent to Cambridge, and admitted to Trinity College under the tuition of Mr. Bainbridge, but his residence there was not long, "the term of conformity being strait." He then turned his thoughts to Scotland, and enrolled at Glasgow College. He afterwards became an Independent minister at Cambridge and Norwich, and the references, in his Register, to the University and Church life at Glasgow, when Leighton was Archbishop, are valuable.¹

"The good orders of the College were very agreeable to mine inclination. At five o'clock in the morning the bell rings, and every scholar is to answer to his name, which is then called over. The day is spent in private studies and public exercises in the classes ; at nine at night every chamber is visited by the respective regents. The Lord's days strictly observed, all the scholars called to the several classes, where, after religious exercises, all attend the Primar and Regents to church, forenoon and afternoon, and in the same order from church. Then in the evening called again to the classes, and then come under examination concerning the sermons heard, and give account of what was appointed the foregoing Sabbath in some theological treatise, viz. Wollebius, or Ursin's Catechism, etc., and other religious exercises ; and then to supper and chambers ; so that there is no room for vain ramblings and wicked prophanations of the day, if we were so disposed ; and such restraints are great blessings to licentious youth.

"The public worship in the churches, though the Archbishop himself preach, is in all respects after the same manner managed as in the Presbyterian congregations in England, so that I much wondered why there should be any Dissenters there, till I came to be informed of the renunciation of the Covenant enjoined and the imposition of the hierarchy.

¹ See Introduction to *Owain Goth*, a tale of the Revolution, and Wodrow, ii. 271 (note).

“There is also a comely face of religion appearing throughout the whole city in the private exercises thereof in the families, as may appear to any that walks through the streets ; none being allowed, either in or out of church time, to play or saunter about ; but reading Scriptures, singing Psalms, etc., to be heard in most houses.”

“1672, April 1. We of the magistrand class now in the beginning of April concluded our lecturing in order to prepare for the ensuing Laureation. All the scholars that designed to take their degrees assembled to assesse one another by defraying the expenses ; chose collectors of the money assessed, and treasurers, whereof one was for the Scots, and I for the English ; and also stewards to provide gloves and the printing of the theses—one on white satin for the patron, and an appointed number on paper. My tutor would engage me to be the publick orator at the Laureation. I declined it, and earnestly begged his excuse, till I obtained it. But then he would not excuse my journey to Edinburgh to invite the grandees there to our Laureation ; so that I went, furnished with gloves, and *theses*, which I first presented to the patron, the Laird of Colchun, upon white satin. I then waited upon the Archbishop of Glasgow, Dr. Leighton, at his chamber in the Colledge, whereof he had been formerly master. After presenting the service of our Colledge and Tutor, and invitation to our Laureation, I craved his acceptance of the *theses*, which he thankfully accepted ; but presenting then the fine fringed gloves, he started back, and with all demonstrations of humility, excused himself as unworthy of such a present. I humbly urged his acceptance ; he still retired backward, and I pursued him till he came to the end of the chamber, and at last prevailed. But it was amazing to see with what humble gratitude, bowing to the very ground, this great man accepted them. *This was agreeable to his whole deportment at Glasgow, where the history of his deep humility might fill a volume.*”

Description of Laureation in Tron Church of Glasgow (at which Leighton was present).

“The day after my return home, came on the famous Laureation in the Trone Church (the Colledge hall, the usual place, not being capable to receive the number of scholars and the grand concourse of the learned clergy and gentry who were invited from all parts, besides a vast multitude of spectators), wherein, after our Regent in the pulpit had prayed in Latin, and opened the design of that

solemnity in an eloquent oration, and propounded the Theses, came on the disputations, wherein every clergyman and gentleman present, or as many as would, called out what scholar he pleased for his respondent, and opposed upon any thesis that he read; the Regent all the while moderating in the pulpit. This was a long exercise; which ended, the publick orator (Mr. J. L. [Jonathan Low], my chamber-fellow, an Englishman, who had accepted the office after I had declined it) pronounced his declamation very well. Then were all the scholars sent out into the churchyard, waiting to be called by the Regent according to his judgment of their degrees in learning, to be observed by the whole assembly. The first call was Arthure Hamilton (a Scots gentleman), the second 'Josias Chorley.' I not thinking myself worthy of that degree, put my friend, chamber-fellow, and orator on going in my room. He readily accepted it and went in; I waited till his turn came to be called: then as I was going, I laid hold on Mr. Ainsworth to thrust him in my room, esteeming him a better scholar than either of us, but he refused it, so that I must go in, though (I thought) before many my betters. This being over, we all stood in order in the Church. Then the Primar (the learned Mr. Wright) read his injunctions to us out of the Colledge Statute Book, pronouncing the title of Master of Arts over us: which done, the Regent concluded all with a solemn prayer and thanksgiving."¹

Another paper of Archbishop Leighton's may here be referred to—*The Rule of Conscience*. It was most probably written between 1671 and his retirement in 1674, and has special reference to the events of 1666–69. In November 1666 occurred the insurrection of the Western Whigs and Covenanters, which was crushed by their defeat at Pentland. In 1667 appeared *Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ*, by Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Stewart, jun., of Coltness and Goodtrees, who became Lord Advocate of Scotland after the Revolution, and Mr. John Stirling, minister of Paisley. The book asserts that "not only no obedience, but no allegiance is to be given to

¹ Published in Cosmo Innes' *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, pp. 236, 237.

any created power on earth, but with this restriction, in defence of religion and liberty *according to the Covenants*," and that "the extirpation of prelacy is the main covenanted religious duty." *Naphtali* also declares of the Scottish bishops, that "their only grievance and eyesore is Conscience, and any measure of tenderness thereof." In conformity with this teaching, James Mitchell, a covenanting preacher concerned in the Pentland rising, attempted in July 1668 to assassinate the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and, failing, made his escape to Holland. When captured in February 1674, while preparing for another attempt, and indicted for rebellion, treason and attempt to murder, Mitchell told the Lord Chancellor that what he had done was no crime, but "a duty which every one was bound to have performed" who had taken the Covenant: that it was the "prosecution of the ends of the Covenant, which was the overthrow of prelates and prelacy." He added that "in the year 1656 Mr. Robert Leighton (now Archbishop of Glasgow) before our laureation, tendered to us the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant," and I then subscribed both. In his testimony Mitchell emphatically sets forth his approval of Rutherford's *Lex Rex*, *Naphtali*, etc., "as orthodox and consonant to the received principles and doctrine of the Church of Scotland."

In 1668 appeared a *Survey of Naphtali*, by the Bishop of Ross, which brought forth, in 1669, *Jus Populi Vindicatum*, from the Authors of *Naphtali*.¹ In the next edition of 1680

¹ *Naphtali* was a seditious book, and gave rise both to misrepresentation and misunderstanding. Presbyterianism was, largely through its influence, regarded by Episcopalians as inconsistent with loyalty, and as tending to Republicanism. History has proved this to be a myth, but it is not a little interesting from an archæological point of view to examine the old 17th century literature on the subject. In a book by Bishop John Maxwell (1646) this idea is sufficiently expressed by its title: *The Burthen of Issachar, or the Tyrannical Power and Practises of the Presbyterian Government in Scotland in the Parochial Session, Presbyterie, Provinciall Synods, General Assembly, with the Articles of*

the authors inserted Mitchell's account of his trial, testimony, etc., and in their postscript made a virulent attack on Leighton.¹ As the intending assassin was a student at Edinburgh when Leighton was Principal, and Leighton's name was now associated with Mitchell's fanaticism by Stewart and Stirling, it made the matter a very painful one to him, and some answer in the situation was necessary. It was most likely in this connexion, that his treatise, *The Rule of Conscience* was drawn up, and it was evidently circulated for the use of students and professors in the University of Glasgow. It manifests a keen philosophic insight into the conscience-difficulties of the day, but it must be confessed that Leighton regarded such, too much from the cold light of reason, and that he was comparatively oblivious of the principles for which the Covenanters were contending, as dearer to them than life itself. He speaks too much as a Royalist, who believed in the divine right of kings, and forgets that that doctrine as interpreted by Charles II, was one which no high-spirited people could accept. The treatise is a long one, but a representative passage may be taken from it on the general problem.

Presbyterian Faith, inconsistent with Monarchie. Whereby it is evident that Presbyteriall Fingers are heavier than Episcopall Loynes: these correcting with a rod, those with a Scorpion. And therefore it is not the Kingdom and Government of Jesus Christ, whose Yoake is easy, His Burthen light, and His Scepter a Scepter of Righteousness.

In Basier's *History of the English and Scotch Presbytery* (1660) there is an Address to the "Ministers of the Reformed Church at Paris," and it is said, "During the agitations of the State *your Church as the needle in the Marriner's Compass, kept steady upon the point of rest, which is God and the King*" (p. 32). It thus refers to the Scotch, "These Northern people are impatient Libertines and haughty: they will form a Gospell according to the air of their climate" (p. 32). Leighton's father is criticised and referred to (p. 76), and it is stated that it "was upon the Presbyterian Principles that the Independents built their conclusions" (p. 228). There is in it a violent defence of Charles I, and it is stated "the Presbyterians laid his head upon the block and the Independents cut it off" (p. 229).

¹ Pp. 341, 342.

After dealing with the various forms of disordered conscience and stating that an *evil* conscience, an *ignorant* conscience, an *erroneous* conscience, a *cauterized* conscience cannot be the voice of God, he concludes :

“To speak positively what the office of Conscience is, in reference to God, our superiors, and ourselves.

“1st. In reference to the laws and commands of God, the office of Conscience is, without murmuring or contradicting, humbly to believe, receive, and obey them.

“2nd. In reference to the laws and authority of men, the Conscience hath a power and liberty, by a judgment of discretion, to try all things, whether they be contrary to the law of God or not: if they be, we are not to give active obedience but passive, for it is better to obey God than man: *yet, in this case, God hath given none power to resist and rise against the Powers that are over us.* If what they command be not contrary to any express Divine precept, then the office of the Conscience is to give ready and cheerful obedience, and that even for *conscience sake*, because we are commanded to obey them for the Lord’s sake.

“In this case it is not the office and duty of subjects to busy their conscience and fill their head with scrupulosities, and stand aloof, in case they cannot find out the reason and equity of the law, or the motives of the lawgiver. God hath not commanded us to make such search, or to decline obedience because of the intentions of the lawgiver, and of other sequels which may follow such a law, and our giving obedience to it. *To command is the Prince’s part, and to obey is our part, the event is God’s part.*

“3rd. Our obedience must be rational, and conscientious, and acceptable. We should render a practical obedience to the just command and rule we are under. *The office and duty of our Conscience is rationally and prudently to determine our own private actions and affairs, in such matters as neither the law of God or man hath determined us, but left us to our own prudence. A conscience acts conscientiously indeed, when it keeps itself within these due limits: and when it exceeds these it is no more worthy to have the name of Conscience, but is to receive its own proper titles, which are ignorance, stiffness, wilfulness, pride, arrogance, hypocrisy, pragmatism.*”

But while conscience is to regulate with an absolute

authority "private actions and affairs" its office does not end there. Man is more than an individual, and has a relationship to society, while society has a relationship to him. Man is not an isolated unit, but is part of a social whole ; and while society or the state has rights over him, he also has rights from society. As long as the oath of allegiance and supremacy was demanded by the Government, asserting the King's absolutism over "all persons and causes" and binding them "never to decline the same," then it was the duty of these Covenanters to protest, and it is their glory that they did so. Their political rights as citizens, and their religious rights as members of the Church, were interfered with, and to have submitted would have been the renunciation of their liberty and the reversion of a progressive history. It would have implied political serfdom and religious Erastianism, and that they did feel these alien to their conscience, constitutes the contribution they have made to the battle for constitutional liberty and spiritual independence. They would have obeyed a constitutional monarch, keeping within his own region and interfering not where God alone can claim rule, but they rightly declined to accept an unconstitutional and arbitrary rule. Had the King reigned constitutionally and not interfered with the spiritual sphere of the Church, he would have had no more loyal subjects than the Covenanters. And to draw a distinction between private, public and Church conscience, as Leighton does in his treatise, was not only to be blind to the true facts of the case, but also to discard the very circumstances, that made the realization of his own generous ideal impossible. Authority has its limits, and even at the present day we are aware that with all our submission to an Act of Parliament, there might possibly be Acts, to which it would be duty to refuse obedience. If such a resolve seldom comes into practical consideration, it is mainly because respect for *individual conscience* has so passed into the minds of the mass of the people, that it is unlikely that Parliament, as at present

constituted, will pass Acts which many would be called on to disobey. But this spirit is in no small measure due to the resistance, which, the Covenanters and their successors in the battle for liberty, have made. Dr. Samuel Gardiner has well said :

“It is well that a more tolerant generation should remember what Scotland owed to these intolerant men—a firm grasp on the paramountcy of morality and duty, and a no less firm hold upon the brotherliness of Christian life and its independence of all considerations of worldly rank and place. Robert Burns was not exactly a model Presbyterian, but he would hardly have given out the watchword ‘a man’s a man for a’ that’ if the blood of his Presbyterian ancestors had not been hot within him.”¹

Leighton, like Lord Bacon, believed that those are the best laws by which the king hath the greatest prerogative and the people the best liberty, but both were thinking of a worthy monarch, ruling in the fear of God. Charles II was unworthy of the apology from the good Scottish Bishop, nor would the practical intelligence of the people accept it, with such a king as its interpretation and with the government of Lauderdale as its executive. How widespread was the discontent and how impossible was the situation can be easily discerned from Leighton’s own (almost scornful) words in another part of his treatise :

“Every pedlar and mechanic who should be occupied in the business of their calling, chap and handy labour, they, forsooth, must be handling the helm of Government, and canvassing all the affairs of Church and State : and if things be not modelled and managed according to their foolish, ridiculous fancies, presently those in authority are quite wrong, and they cannot in conscience obey them : he who cannot well manage his own plough and cottage must canvass both Church and State ! Can a greater folly readily possess the head of a Bedlamite ? ”²

And yet these men at the plough and in the cottages of

¹ *Cromwell’s Place in History*, p. 61.

² Cf. p. 439.

the country ultimately settled the problem. They constituted the backbone of Scotland, and no ecclesiastical system would survive which did not carry their sympathies with it. Presbytery meant to them civil and religious freedom, under the guardianship of constitutional government: Episcopacy meant to them bondage under an absolute despotism. Well was it that they did not bow the knee, for it would have been the reversal of Scottish history. No system, supported by Charles II and Lauderdale, could carry Scotland, even although it could claim one saint, Robert Leighton, who was single-minded and sincere. Presbytery stirred the conscience of the country, and the fires of persecution only gave momentum to its claim.

Sir Thomas Browne, speaking of mankind, said truly that men live by an invisible flame within them, and when ordinary men make a conscience of what they do, their action generally triumphs. It is evermore the spirit that quickens and keeps alive, and Presbytery in touching thus the deepest springs of national life, became a *moral* education for the people. Quite apart from the extreme and fanatical case of Mitchell¹ already referred to (p. 488), it made its triumph

¹ The treatment he received was treacherous in the extreme. Mitchell was brought before the Privy Council in 1674, and, under a promise that his life should be spared, was induced to confess to his ineffectual attempt to shoot Archbishop Sharp. But his case was transferred to the Court of Justiciary, and there he denied the charge of having fired the shot, and as no evidence could be produced against him, he was sent to the Bass Rock for safe keeping. In 1676 he was again brought before this Court, on the charge of having been in the Pentland Rising, but, though tortured by the boot, he made no admission that could incriminate him, and was sent back to prison. Two years later (January 1678) he was again tried by the Justiciary Court on the original charge of his attempt on Sharp, and his counsel (Sir George Lockhart) pleaded that Mitchell had made his confession to the Privy Council under the pledge that his life would be safe. Lauderdale, Rothes, Sharp, and Halton, deposed on oath that the pledge had not been given, and Lauderdale refused to allow the Register of the Council to be produced.

a case of conscience, and the irony of the situation was that men who desired to be constitutional citizens under a constitutional government, should have been treated as rebels, because they refused the admittance of a temporal authority into a sphere where Conscience alone should rule. Well was it for themselves as well as for those who came after them that they made the great choice, even although it cost them so much, and declined to make the great refusal. The "great refusal" would have implied the renunciation of all that was best in Scottish history.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XII

The Restoration Archbishop of Glasgow, like the mediaeval Roman Catholic Archbishops, had the "power to elect the provost, bailies, and other officers of the city, and of putting in and putting out or expelling, at their own will or good pleasure, the provost and officers,"¹ so that Episcopacy implied also rule over the municipal life of Glasgow on the plan as approved by Lauderdale. The conciliatory manner in which Leighton exercised his prerogative, won for him the admiration of the citizens,² and the following extracts from the Council Records of Glasgow bring him before us in the discharge of his responsibilities as Archbishop of Glasgow.

"4 October 1670.

Glasgow Council Record, 1667-74. "The said day being the ordinarie day for the electioun of the magistratis of this burgh, for the year enshewing, compeired Alexander Todrick, servitour to the Earle of Tweddail, and producit ane letter direct be the King's Majestie to the magistrates and counsell of this citie of Glasgow quherof the tenour fallowis. Sic superscribitur: Charles R. Trustie and weilbeloved We great yow weill. Wheras the Bischop of Dumblain whom we have nominated and presented to the Archbischoprick of Glasgow, vacant by the dimissioun of Alexander, lait archbischopt thairof, is not yet solemnly invested, and that the tyme of the electioun of the magistratis of that our citie is now verie neir, we have thought fitt to requyre yow to receave William Andersoune to be your provost

Lauderdale would have spared their victim, but Sharp was inexorable, and Mitchell was sent, in Lauderdale's words, to "glorify God at the Grassmarket."

¹ Sir James Marwick's *Charters of Glasgow*, part i. ch. xli.

² P. 501.

for this enshewing yeir. And we leave for this tyme the electioun of the remanent magistratis for this year to the said provest and counsell of our said citie. And in caice any uther be elected befor this our command come to your handis, yow, nochtwithstanding receive William Andersoune for your provest for this enshewing year. So expecting your reddie obedience we bid yow fairweill. Given at our court of Whythall the 24th day of August 1670 and of our rigne the 22 yeir. *Sic subscribitur* : By his Majesties command : Lauderdaill."

"3 October 1671.

The quhilk day, being the ordinarie day for electing of the Magistratis of this burgh compeired George Andersoune, ane of the ordinarie clarkis thair of, and producit ane letter direct to the proveist, baillies and counsell of the samyne daitit at Whythall the eleventh of September last by past quhair of the tenour fallowis : Assured guid freindes, ye may remember that in respect that the archbishop of Glasgow was not settled, his Majestie the last year did nominat and appoynt William Andersoune to be proveist of Glasgow ; and now, upon the same consideratioun his Majestie is pleased to ordour and appoynt that the said William Andersoune continow proveist of Glasgow for this next enshewing year. This the King hes commandit me to signifie as his expres pleasour. So, being confident of your redie obedience, rest your assured guid friend. *Sic subscribitur* : Lauderdaill."

"1 October 1672.

"The quhilk day, being the ordinarie day for the electioun of the magistratis of this burgh of Glasgow for a year to come, there was sent doune, be the archbishop of Glasgow his servant, ane paper subscribit be the said archbishop of this dait, bearing him to desyre, for this tyme, for certaine consideratiounes moving him thairto, to know quhom the toune counsell of Glasgow, and the bodie of the burgessis, or major part of them, doe desyre to be thair magistratis for the enshewing year, and that they meit for this end, trusting they will be carefull to manage this affair without tumult. And, first, he desyred to know, as being himselfe impartiall in that, whom they wold have their proveist, and the persone whom they should recommend, (unles his grace upon verie weightie reasones to the contrair) sall lykly be nominat be the said archbischope. As the said paper in itselfe beares : being thus subscribit, R. Leightoune."

[William Andersoune was recommended for re-election as provost and the archbishop nominated him and chose three bailies out of a list of nine persons.]

"30 September 1673.

[This being the day for election of magistrates "and becaus Robert

archbishop of Glasgow had grantit licence to the said magistrates and counsell to sett doune a lyt of three persones out of quhilk lyt the said bishop might choyse one persone to be proveist of this burgh the said year enshewing" . . . "The said magistratis and counsell electit furth thair of their thrie persones, viz. William Andersoune, present proveist, John Walkinshaw and Johnne Cauldwall, and did direct the said lyt to the Castle of Glasgow quhair the said archbishop was for the tyme to be presented to him. . . . After sighting quherof he did nominat the said William Andersoune to be proveist of this burgh for the year enshewing." Thereafter the archbishop elected 3 bailies out of a leet of 9 persons.]

"6 October 1674."

[Nomination of Provost, etc., made by Alexander, archbishop of Glasgow.]

From Accounts Michaelmas 1673 to Michaelmas 1674.

Council "Item, debursat to twa bursars and twa poor men, be
Record, ordour of the lait archbishop in the first end of the
1674-87, annuel rait the tounne owes him be band eight pundis
p. 15. starling."

From Accounts 1672-3.

Council "Item, the comptur charges himself with 400 lib. starling,
Record, borrowit be the tounne fra the archbishop of Glasgow and
1667-74. receivit be the thesaurer, *inde* £4,800 Scots."

(The Town had evidently money on Bond, lent by the Archbishop.)

II. The following references from the Glasgow Presbytery Records show that the Archbishop sat as an ordinary member of Presbytery. On account of the burnt edges of the Records, a good number of words are awanting, but the meaning can be understood.

Excerpts from Presbytery Records of Glasgow.

"20 July, 1670

Bischof of Bischof of Dum . . . desyring it may be regrated, the
Dum . . . tennor quherof followeth: Glasgow, July . . . Reverend
Letter for . . . the Bretheren. Being appointed be his Majestie for a little
Synod . . . take some inspectioun of the church affairs of this
diocese, that is to . . . that I desyre to meet with yow in
this place alson as convenient . . . and therfor I entreat yow to con-
veine heir on Tuesday the 26 of this Jully, wher, God willing, yow will
find readie to wait upon yow . . .

"Brother and serv.

"R. LEIGHT . . ."

"The said letter was directed to the moderator to be communicated . . . In obedience to quhich letter the presbiterie is appointed to meet at the Synod as aforsaid."

" September, 1671.

"The said day it was represented to the presbiterie be Mr. Gabriel Russell . . . not get a session without the countenance of the Baillie of Regalite . . . made his application, and that the baillie of rālite is . . . and all the ministeris within the barrony, provyding the Bischop gives . . . the presbiterie intreatis the Bischop to give his countenance to . . . be his subscription, and applycation heirop being made to the . . . willing give the samen, " I do earnestly intreat the Baillie . . . his outmost assistance to the ministeris within these . . . kirk sessions quher it is needfull and toward . . . ministeris and sessions quher they are established.

" R. LEIGHTON."

" 3 January, 1672."

At Glasgow the 3 of January 1672 "The Archbischof" [included in the Sederunt].

" 22 May, 1672."

[The signature "R. Leighton" is appended to an Act of Presbytery.

" 16 September, 1673."

"The Archbishop" [included in the Sederunt].

" 24 September, 1673 "

"The Archbishop" [again included in the Sederunt].

CHAPTER XIII

RESIGNATION, RETIREMENT, DEATH

“James VI. had to exercise much pressure before he succeeded in displacing Presbytery by Episcopacy, but the subjects of Charles II had the memory of the triumphant Covenants in their minds and of twelve years’ successful revolt against the royal authority. To coerce a nation that had thus known liberty and had become conscious of its powers, was the task of Charles and his ministers. How they accomplished their task is fitly described when it is said that it was by the methods of an Inquisition rather than by forms of government. His reign, like those of his two predecessors, had proved that, at the stage of development the country had now attained, a ruler who differed from the majority of his subjects on the fundamental principles of national well-being had ceased to be a possibility.”—PROFESSOR HUME BROWN.

“There is a manifest distinction between spiritual government and political or civil government. Christ drew a distinction between the spiritual Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of this world. If, therefore, princes usurp some of the authority of God, we must not obey them except in so far as may be done without offending God. Is it any better to submit to Berne than to Rome?”—JOHN CALVIN.

LEIGHTON had now striven for the attainment of his ideal of Church polity in Scotland—comprehensive in the best sense of the term—but he saw that under the existing government, and with the temper of the people towards it, realization was impossible. To Presbyterians and Episcopalians alike, his proposed “accommodation” was a compromise, which would give away the essential principles for which each existed, and it was equally disliked by both parties. It evoked an opposition as keen on the Episcopalian as on the Presbyterian side, and Archbishop

Usher's¹ Model was as much rejected in England as it was in Scotland, while in the latter country it had the prestige of Leighton's great and honoured name connected with it, but all in vain. There was nothing but disappointment in the whole outlook. A breach too, or something approaching it, had occurred between Lauderdale and Leighton, and Lauderdale's character was not one that could have any charm for him. Richard Baxter in 1672 had addressed a letter of expostulation to Lauderdale on his dishonourable career,² and Leighton must have disliked most bitterly to act with a Commissioner whom he could not respect as a man. Lauderdale too suspected him to be in sympathy with the Hamilton party of reform³ and knew too well that Leighton desired an Assembly of the Kirk, which his royal master was most unwilling to concede, in fact opposed to the extreme degree. Again, if Lauderdale ruled Scotland, his second wife, Lady Dysart,⁴ ruled both him and the Court. Sharp and his colleagues made abject flattery and submission, but Leighton had too much grandeur of character about him for such work.⁵ He went seldom either to Lauderdale and his

¹ Leighton does not seem to have known Usher personally—at least here is no evidence of any friendship. In the *Life and Letters of Archbishop Usher*, by Richard Parr, D.D., there are 323 letters printed, but not one is to or from Leighton. In Elrington's Edition (1847) of Usher's works (16 vols.) there are 461 letters published in vols. 15 and 16, but not one of them is to or from Leighton. His knowledge of Usher seems to have been derived from his published works and from a general appreciation of his position in relation to the Church difficulties of the time.

² *Lauderdale Papers*, iii. 235-239.

³ *Law's Memorials*, p. 71.

⁴ Leighton could not endure Lady Dysart, and it is worthy of note that the Presbyterian annalists, Kirkton, Wodrow and Law, each representing different shades of opinion, all speak kindly of Lauderdale, and attribute his severities against the Covenanters to the influence of his second wife. Her triumph over her husband was evidently one of the main reasons of Leighton's retirement.

⁵ Leighton's Deed of Demission was published in the *Maitland Miscellany* (vol. iv. part i. pp. 295-299) from the collections of Dawson

Duchess, even although he was always treated by them with great distinction.¹

In short he had done his utmost to be loyal to his vision, and regarding the situation as a hopeless one, desired to retire to that "quiet hermitage" for which he often longed, amid the din of the strange conflict that surrounded his lot. He determined to keep the King loyal to his promise of 1673, and to be done with a Church party of which Lauderdale was the head. We know that Leighton was in London in June, 1674²; that Sharp, Leighton and Burnet had an interview with Charles there in September of the same year³; and that Burnet held his Synod in Glasgow on the second week of October.⁴ All points to pressure being brought to bear upon Leighton to continue in office, but it was vain. His resignation was ultimately accepted; and Burnet, restored to office and reinstated as Archbishop of Glasgow, became a pliant tool in the hands of Lauderdale. Leighton left Glasgow in December 1674⁵ and retired to the Sussex Home of his sister, whom he loved, and to whom some of his tenderest letters were addressed.

Turner, Esq. It is without date, but cannot be referred to a later period than the autumn of 1674. It is thus worded and signed:—*"Being resolv'd to retire to a private life, I doe absolutely surrender and resign my present charge of the diocese of Glasco, to bee dispos'd of as his Majestie shall think fitt.—R. Leighton."*

Burnet states that previous to this, Leighton "had gathered together many instances out of Church history of Bishops that had left their Sees and retired from the world and was much pleased with these." In Archbishop Spottiswoode's history (published 1655) he might have read how one of his own predecessors, S. David's preceptor, Bishop John, finding his episcopal authority set at nought, and "when he perceived his complaints not much regarded, forsook his charge and went into France, enclosing himself in the Monastery of Tours, where he abode until the Pope compelled him to return." (*History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 113.)

¹ Burnet, i. 603. ² Law's *Memorials*, p. 71.

³ *Harley Papers*, i. 347.

⁴ Law's *Memorials*, p. 71, and Wodrow's *History*, ii. 273.

⁵ *Burnet*, ii. 63.

The following statement from the Glasgow Town Council Records both manifests the esteem in which he was held at Glasgow, and indicates that an effort was made by the citizens to retain him (if possible) in office.

“2nd May, 1673.

“The said day, in presens of the said Provest, Baillies, and Counsell, compeared Rot. Rae and Johne Cauldwall, twa of the late Baillies of this burgh, as commissionat from the merchand rank within the samyne, and did present to them ane supplicatioune from the said merchand rank, makand mentione that they, being informed of the Archbishop of Glasgow, his being now at Court at London, is of intentioun to demitt his office as Archbishop in our Souereign Lordis handis, and considering that the whoill citie and incorporatioun therin hes lived peaceablie and quyetlie since the said Archbishop, his coming to this burgh, throw his Christian cariage and behaveor towards them, and by his government with great discretioun and moderatioun, and fearing, if his dimissiounis be receavit, the samyne may tend to the great prejudice of this burgh and cuntrie about, and therefor intreating and desyring the said Magistratis and Counsell to mak applicatioun to quhat persones at Court they think most fitt and in particular to his Grace the Duk of Lauderdaill, by lettres or uthir such correspondence as they sall pleas.”

[The entry breaks off here and a blank is left in the record.]

(*Glasgow Memorabilia*, pp. 216, 217.)

His first place of retirement was at Edinburgh, and he lived for some time within the precincts of the College, where he seems always to have retained rooms¹ and where his former office was filled by William Colville, who had been put in nomination at the time of Leighton's own appointment. But in a short time he retired to Broadhurst,² in Horsted Keynes, Sussex, where, surrounded by the affection of his sister and

¹ See p. 486.

² “Broadhurst is now a farmhouse. There is a shady avenue overgrown with ferns, and a group of old trees, which was Leighton's favourite resort. The rector in Leighton's time, for five years at least before his death, was the Rev. Giles Moore. He kept a diary, which was printed in 1871, under the title of *A Clergyman's Diary of the Seventeenth Century*. It is a curious fact that Leighton is not mentioned in it.” (Blair's *Archbishop Leighton*, pp. 63, 64.)

family, he spent the last few years of his life. Burnet thus describes his latter years :

“ He lived ten years in Sussex, in great privacy, dividing his time wholly between study and retirement, and the doing of good : for in the parish where he lived, and in the parishes round about, he was always employed in preaching, and in reading of prayers. He distributed all he had in charities, choosing rather to have it go through other people’s hands than his own : for I was his almoner in London. . . . He lamented oft to me the stupidity that he observed among the commons of England : who seemed to be much more insensible in the matters of religion than the commons of Scotland were. He retained still a particular inclination to Scotland : and if he had seen any prospect of doing good there, he would have gone and lived and died among them. In the short time that the affairs of Scotland were in the Duke of Monmouth’s hands, he had been possessed with such an opinion of him that he moved the King to write to him to go and at least live in Scotland, if he would not engage in a bishopric there. But that fell with that duke’s credit. He was in his last years turned to a greater severity against popery than I had imagined a man of his temper and of his largeness in points of opinion was capable of. He spoke of their corruptions, of the secular spirit, and of the cruelty that appeared in that church, with an extraordinary concern : and lamented the shameful advances that we seemed to be making towards popery. He did this with a tenderness, and an edge, that I did not expect from so recluse and mortified a man. *He looked on the state the Church of England was in with very melancholy reflections, and was very uneasy at an expression then much used that it was the best constituted church in the world.* He thought it was truly so, with relation to the doctrine, the worship, and the main parts of our government. But as to administration, both with relation to the ecclesiastical courts and the pastoral care, he looked on it as one of the most corrupt he had ever seen. He thought we looked like a fair carcase of a body without a spirit¹ : without that zeal, that strictness of life, and that laboriousness in the clergy that became us.”²

The following letter to his friend Mr. Aird was evidently written from Broadhurst :

¹ Both John Wesley and his father frequently quoted this phrase or Leighton’s with regard to the Church of the period.

² *History*, vol. ii. pp. 428, 429.

(1676.)

"I did receive your letter, which I would have known to be yours, though it had no other sign but the piety and affectionate kindness expressed in it.

"I will offer you no apology (nor I hope I need not) for not writing since that; yea, I will confess, that if the surprising and unexpected occasion of the bearer had not drawn it from me, I should hardly for a long time to come have done what I am now doing; and yet still love you, more than they do one another that interchange letters, even of kindness, as often as the gazettes come forth, and as long as they are too. And now I have begun, I would end just here; for I have nothing to say, nothing of affairs (to be sure) private or public; and to strike up to discourses of devotion, alas! what is there to be said, but what you sufficiently know, and daily read, and daily think, and, I am confident, daily endeavour to do? And I am beaten back, if I had a great mind to speak of such things, by the sense of so great deficiency in doing those things, that the most ignorant among Christians cannot choose but know. Instead of all fine notions I fly to *Κυριε ελεησον, Χριστε ελεησον*. *I think them the great heroes and excellent persons of the world that attain to high degrees of pure contemplation and divine love; but next to those, them, that, in aspiring to that, and falling short of it, fall down into deep humility and self-contempt, and a real desire to be despised and trampled on by all the world.* And I believe that they that sink lowest into that depth stand nearest to advancement to those other heights. For the great King, who is the fountain of that honour hath given us this character of Himself, that *He resists the proud, and gives grace to the humble*. Farewell, my dear friend, and be so charitable as sometimes in your addresses upwards, to remember a poor caitiff, who no day forgets you.¹

"R. L.

"13th December, 1676."

The following fragment of a letter indicates not only the advance of years, but that hunger for eternity—that longing "to be with Christ which is far better"—which has been the characteristic of deep spiritual natures, like Leighton's, that constantly view things in the light of eternity.

¹ Middleton's Edition of *Leighton's Works*, vol. ii. pp. 461, 462.

"I find daily more and more reason without me, and within me yet much more, to pant and long to be gone. I am grown exceedingly uneasy in writing and speaking, yea almost in thinking, when I reflect how cloudy our clearest thoughts are : but, I think again what other can we do, till the day break, and the shadows flee away : as one that lieth awake in the night must be thinking, and one thought that will likely oftenest return, when by all other thoughts he finds little relief, is *when will it be day ?*"

Leighton's benefactions to Dunblane, Edinburgh and Glasgow may be here referred to. In 1673 he mortified to the poor of the parish of Dunblane the "soume of ane thousand and twentie - four pundis Scots money," and in 1683, by will, he bequeathed to the Diocese of Dunblane, his large library, with a sum of one hundred pounds (afterwards increased by his nephew to three hundred pounds) for the building of a "room" for his books.¹

To Edinburgh University he left fifty pounds, to be added to his previous gift of one hundred pounds, for "the maintenance of one student in philosophy there during his four years' course."²

To Glasgow he bequeathed £150 "for the standing maintenance of two poor men yearly" in the hospital of St. Nicolas,³ and £150 "for the maintenance of one student in philosophy during his four years' course in the Colledg of Glasco" for all time coming.⁴

The following letter from the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow was written to Leighton in acknowledgment of his gift.

"25 August, 1677.

Glasgow
Council
Record,
xi. p. 139.

"Mortification by 'Bischoep Lightoune lait arch-
bischoep of Glasgow' of £150 to Burar, and £150 to
poor men in St. Nicollas Hospital produced to the
Town Council.

¹ P. 582 *et seq.* ² Pp. 593 and 299. ³ P. 593.

⁴ P. 593. Cf. *Munimenta Alma Universitatis Glasguensis*, i. 429, 430 ; ii. 503, 546 ; iii. 589.

" 8 September, 1677.

"There was ane letter subscribit bei the magistrates and counsell direct to Bischop Lightoun, quhair of the tenour fallowes :—My lord. Wee receavit ane accompt from Mr. Andersone of your favouris and munificence touardis the poor of this place, by the mortificatioun of thrie hundreth pundis starling, one half towardis a bursarie in the universitie and the uther to twa poor men in St. Nicollas Hospitall ; and we cannot but, with all gratitude and sense of obligatioun to your cair and zail to our poor, returne yow most heartie [thanks ?] for this liberallitie. So, in compliance with your pious and charitable intencionnes we declare that we ar verie weill satisfieit to accept on ws and our successouris the debt of these sowmes to be payit in to ws, and that we will nocht only mak dew and thankfull payment of thes annual rentis thair of in maner as they ar by yow mortified and designed but we will indeavour by all meanes in our power that the whoill uther circumstances and designe of your so pious and charitable a work be dewly observed and intearlie and punctwallie ordored according to your awne method without any innovatioun. And hoping your cair and affectioun for the poor sall nocht want its awne rewaird by Him who repayes quhat is given to them, we doe alwayes remayne, my lord, your lordshipis most humble servants."

" 10 November, 1677.

P. 155. "The proveist producit a letter fra Bischop Lightoun of his receipt of theirs sent to him formerly ; and appoyntes the proveist, in name of the counsell, to send him a letter of thanks for his so civill and kynd returne to them."

There now remains but little to add regarding Leighton's closing years. He lived far from the strife, but was to the close of his life "solicitous about Scotland." He was ever willing to help—old man as he now was—if his help could have been of any avail, and the next that is heard of him is in 1679.

Sharp was murdered on Magus Moor on May 3, 1679 : and the skirmish of Drumclog, (June 1) when the Covenanters completely routed the royal troops, was followed by the serious engagement of Bothwell Bridge (June 22), when

the Covenanters,—unprepared, led by an incapable commander, divided in their own counsels and with no definite plan of action,—were defeated by the royal army under the command of the Duke of Monmouth. The Royalists hardly lost a man, while over 400 Covenanters were slain, and 1,200 taken prisoners.

There was now a noble opportunity of trying the effects of conciliation, and Monmouth's influence was all on the side of leniency. On his return to London he procured an Act of Indemnity and a third Act of Indulgence, but they were as futile, as they were well meant. The general policy of the Privy Council was not reversed, the indemnity granted was partial and short-lived, the indulged ministers, now as formerly, were under government supervision and by the zealous Covenanters were styled "dumb dogs."

Leighton was evidently regarded as the man for the hour whose influence might now tell upon Scottish affairs, and but for the Privy Council, who can say what he might not have achieved? A better, if a short-lived, condition of mind also seems to have possessed the King, and he wrote to Leighton, who had been out of public affairs for five years, and was living quietly at Broadhurst, his sister's house in Sussex.

"Windsor, July 16, 1679.

"MY LORD—

"I am resolved to try what clemency can prevail upon such in Scotland as will not conform to the government of the Church there: for effecting of which design, I desire that you may go down to Scotland with your first conveniency: and take all possible pains for persuading all you can of both opinions to as much mutual correspondence and concord as can be: and send me from time to time characters both of men and things. In order to this design, I shall send a precept for two hundred pounds sterling upon my Exchequer, till you resolve how to serve me in a stated employment.

"Your loving Friend,

"CHARLES R.

"For the Bishop of Dunblane."

Leighton, although he would not consent to resume his episcopal office, was willing to take the step proposed by the King, if any benefit was likely to arise from it, but his Scottish visit never took place. The Duke of Monmouth's influence declined: few accepted the indemnity: the indulgence was cancelled¹: the hunt for "rebels" and "conventiclers" was again begun by the fierce soldiers of Dalzell, that persecutor who, according to the belief of the harassed people, was in league with the devil, and cast no shadow as his gaunt figure crossed the light of day. Bothwell Bridge closed the career of Lauderdale, no doubt, as Rullion Green closed the dominion of Rothes: and when in December 1679 James, Duke of York, took his place at the board of the Scottish Privy Council at Edinburgh, the policy was begun, by which, first as commissioner and afterwards as king, he eventually alienated Scotland from its ancient race of princes. Now more than ever the people distrusted Episcopacy, as a disguised form of Romanism, and trusted Presbytery, as the national bulwark against Popery. Now it became more and more apparent that Presbytery in Scotland was not an accident, but the expression of Protestant forces which had attained an overwhelming ascendancy. The historical situation now resolved itself into Presbytery counteracting Romanism by resisting Episcopacy, and the advance from stage to stage of the royal house of Stuart became more and more distinctly clear. Nor can the advance be doubtful. James VI was bred a Presbyterian and died a Prelatist: Charles I was the

¹ Most of the prisoners taken at Bothwell Bridge were penned up in Grey Friars' Churchyard, under the open sky, fed on bread and water, kept there in filth, hunger and nakedness till near the end of November, when 300 were shipped as slaves for the American plantations (Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*, i. 246). But the majority of them were doomed never to reach their destination. Off the Orkney Islands a storm drove the vessel on a rock which split it in twain. The captain and crew contrived to save their own lives, but some two hundred of the prisoners, who had been secured under the deck, went down with the ship.

type of a high Church Anglican : Charles II was a concealed Papist and James VII was an *open* one. Every one of them endeavoured to subdue the Scottish people to Prelacy, and James VII deliberately employed it as the stepping-stone to Popery. Episcopacy was now felt to be subservient to the King's Romanizing designs,¹ and Presbytery was recognized as the bulwark of Scottish Protestantism as well as of Scottish civil and religious liberty. The Act of Succession and the Test Act passed by James' influence in the Scottish Parliament of 1681 made the issue clear, and as Baxter by his statesmanlike insight foresaw the trend of things in England and refused with his brethren to gain advantages for the Nonconformists at the cost of the destruction of the Church of England or the establishment of Popery, so did the Presbyterians in Scotland. They were in that hour most heroic, but not least among the heroes were the Cameronians, headed by Donald Cargill and Richard Cameron,² who combined piety with patriotism, and declared their creed in the "Queensberry Paper" and the "Sanquhar Declaration," and whose religious earnestness was continued in their followers, and received this testimony from Norman Macleod, when minister of Loudon : "I am eagerly desirous to get family worship established — of that there seems not to be a vestige, except among the Cameronians, and there every family has it."

The situation was fast approaching a climax, and stronger even than the love of Presbytery in Scotland, was the hatred of Popery. Leighton was now away from the arena of struggle, but we know by irrefragable evidence, how strong was his love of Protestantism and how forcibly he spoke in its favour. However much he may have differed with his Scottish brethren on questions of Church-government, he was one with them in the common faith of the country and

¹ Cf. *The Sum of the Episcopal Controversy* (pp. 212, 242), and *Cyprianus Isotimus* (p. 181), by Professor Jameson, Glasgow University (1713, 1705).

² See Prof. Herkless' *Richard Cameron*.

in their dislike for Roman Catholicism. But time for him was soon to pass into that eternity, towards which his thoughts ever tended.

Leighton's last visit to London and his death are thus described by Burnet :¹

"I had a very earnest message from him (Lord Perth) desiring by my means to see Leighton. I thought that angelical man might have awakened in him some of those good principles which he seemed once to have had, and that were now totally extinguished by him. I writ so earnestly to Leighton that he came to London. Upon his coming to me, I was amazed to see him at above seventy look so fresh and well, that age seemed as it were to stand still with him ; his hair was still black, and all his motions were lively : he had the same quickness of thought and strength of memory, but above all the same heat and life of devotion that I had ever seen in him. When I took notice to him, upon my first seeing him, how well he looked, he told me he was very near his end for all that, and his work and journey both were now almost done. This at that time made no great impression on me. He was the next day taken with an oppression, and as it seemed with a cold, with some stitches, which was indeed a pleurisy, but was not thought so by himself. So he sent for no physician, but used the common things for a cold. Lord Perth² went to him ; and he was almost suffocated while he was with him, but he recovered himself, and, as Dr. Fall who was there told me, he spoke to him with a greater force than was usual even in him, *recommending to him both firmness in religion and moderation in government*, which struck that lord somewhat, but the impression was soon worn out."

The same writer, to whom Leighton ever showed "perfect friendship and fatherly care," has noticed two circumstances connected with his death. "His provision and journey failed both at once." While Bishop, he took what his tenants were pleased to pay him, and, in the unsettled condition of Scotland, much that was due to him was left unpaid. He left one in

¹ *History of His Own Times*, vol. ii. 427.

² Lord Perth had gone to London to be invested with the office of Lord High Chancellor of Scotland.

trust to gather some rents that were owing to him, and from the sums received, he instituted the bursaries and bequests already indicated, while the small remainder was used to meet his few and simple demands. Leighton at all times was a saint in elevation and purity, but not least of all in beneficence, and it is noteworthy that he, who might have died rich, died poor.

Another and more striking circumstance regarding his death is, his frequent averment, that if he were to choose a place to die in, it should be an inn. And his wish was fulfilled.

The idea of life as a *warfare* goes at least as far back as St. Paul's earnest exhortation to Timothy to fight the good fight of faith: and the conception of life as a *pilgrimage* goes back further to those first wanderers from the Chaldean plains, who set forth in search of a city, which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. Both Bunyan and Dante derived this latter idea from the Bible, and the *Pilgrim's Progress* and the *Divina Commedia* are inspired by it—the thought of “the human soul placed for its trial in a fearful and wonderful world, with relations to time and matter, history and nature, good and evil, the beautiful, the intelligible and the mysterious, sin and grace, the infinite and the eternal.” The monk, too, thought of himself, in the best days of monasticism, as a soldier of Christ on pilgrimage, with his cell as the inn for the night, and the thought was one, over which Leighton long pondered, and loved. He had had his own share of warfare, and when the shades of evening were stealing on, he desired an inn to rest and die in, “it looking like a pilgrim's going home, to whom this world was all as an inn, and who was weary with the noise and confusion in it.” Most men desire the presence of the near and dear at such an hour, and feel the human to be the interpretation of the Divine Love, but Burnet states as Leighton's own expressed opinion, “that the officious tenderness and care of friends was an entanglement to a dying man: and that the

unconcerned attendance of such as could be procured in such a place would give less disturbance."¹ To ordinary thought the wish gives the impression of standing aloof from ordinary interests and ties, but it seems quite natural to one whose time was so largely given to contemplation, and who ever looked at things like Spinoza, *sub specie aeternitatis*. It is in accordance with the tradition still preserved at Dunblane of the "good bishop," silent and companionless, absorbed in holy meditation, pacing up and down the sloping walk by the river's bank and under the beautiful western window of the cathedral. The wish that he might die in an inn was an oft repeated one, and it was granted him. The pleurisy, which attacked him on his visit to London, was fatal, and about three days after his arrival—on June 25, 1684,²—he died at the Bell Inn,³ Warwick Lane, in Burnet's arms, aged seventy-four.

The old inn was under the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral, but is now removed to make way for more modern structures.

Leighton's remains were conveyed to Horsted Keynes, the parish in which he had spent the last ten years of his life, and were buried in the chancel of the church, beside those of his brother, Sir Ellis Leighton, who died January 9, 1684.

On his tombstone is the following simple epitaph :

DEPOSITUM
ROBERTI † LEIGHTOUNJ
ARCHIEPISCOPI GLASGUENSIS
APUD SCOTOS
QUI OBIIT XXV DIE JUNIJ
ANNO D^MJ 1684
ÆTATIS SUAE 74.

¹ *History*, i. p. 429. ² Burnet's *History*, ii. 428.

³ Dr. Stoughton thus refers to it in a lecture, entitled *Robert Leighton, or the Peacefulness of Faith* :

"There is still in the narrow thoroughfare called Warwick Lane, running out of Newgate Street, an old inn bearing the name of the Bell. The writer never passes it without thinking of Leighton." (*Lights of the World*, 58.)

And so passed away from the scene of this mortal strife, one of the most seraphic spirits that ever visited this world. His sincerity and single-mindedness in the pursuit of the ideal, as he saw it on the Mount, are beautiful; and amid time-serving politicians, unworthy kings and bishops, his soul was like a star and dwelt apart. Even Dr. Grub has said of those who were by strange fortune his colleagues, that they were rather "the chief ecclesiastical officers of the sovereign than the divinely constituted rulers of the Church." But in a dark distracted period it is a striking circumstance that this lovely, chastened character, who lived always so near God, witnessed for a comprehensive Church, in which Presbyterian and Episcopalian should live at peace, and in which all that was best in both their systems was to be included and transcended in a higher unity. It is certain that if there had been more churchmen and bishops such as Bishop Elphinston of Aberdeen, in the sixteenth century, the Scottish Reformation would have been less drastic. It is equally certain that if there had been bishops and rulers like Leighton, the Church of the Restoration would have been different, and subsequent history changed. The "indomitable, pious constancy" of the Covenanters was necessary for the cause of civil and religious liberty, and all lovers of such will praise them for what they achieved, and for the clearness with which they discerned the issue at stake.

But it is also a similar circumstance that God gave the Church at such a time a lovely spirit, who stands out to-day as the prophet of a brighter horizon, who, misinterpreted by his own age, is becoming a centre around which good men are becoming more willing to meet. Leighton failed because he was as one born out of due time, but it is a glory to have fascinated minds so far apart as those of Doddridge Wesley, Coleridge, John McLeod Campbell, Arthur Stanley, John Tulloch, John Caird, and Robert Flint: it is a privilege

to have called forth out of the heart of the Church of England this acknowledgment in 1901: "If the tradition of Archbishop Leighton could at length replace that of Archbishop Laud, how much might the Episcopal Bench do, *even at once*, for the unification of Christ's Church."¹

It must be acknowledged that a great opportunity for realizing Leighton's scheme was lost at the Revolution Settlement in Scotland, and it is impossible to say what might have been had Carstairs favoured it and had the Scottish Episcopal clergy not "preached King James more than Christ," and lent all their influence to the cause of Jacobite stratagem and plot. William leant strongly towards comprehension in Church matters, and it must be said that if the Covenanters had previously rejected Leighton's scheme, the Episcopal clergy, who also *as a body* did not favour it during Leighton's lifetime, now made its realization impossible by their Stuart proclivities.

"The possibility of a broadly conciliatory and comprehensive settlement," says Principal Story, "which would have pleased a moderate like Tarbat, decreased as loyalty to the elected King became more and more the distinctive mark of the staunch Presbyterian, of whom Crawford was the perfervid type. As in the days of the "tulchan" bishops of James VI; of the first enthusiasm of the Solemn League and Covenant; and of the Restoration, political considerations ruled the destinies of the Church. Her own voice was not consulted. Had a General Assembly been invited to decide how the Church was to be governed, the vote of the majority would undoubtedly have declared for Episcopacy: and therefore Parliament took care to put that question out of court before a General Assembly should get leave to sit, and took care also to summon such an Assembly as should be certain never to recall that question."²

It is worthy to be recalled that months before the Parlia-

¹ Canon Henson's *Appeal for Unity*, in sermon preached at Cambridge. *Cambridge Review*, p. xi.

² *William Carstairs*, p. 186.

ment met in April 1690, when Church affairs were to be settled, Viscount Tarbat, one of the wisest and most judicious statesmen of the time, wrote to Melville: "Pray consider the matter of the Church with such an eye as impartially to consider not only what will satisfy one party, but the whole." He followed this up with a weighty memorial in which he sketched a plan of comprehension, that would have kept in the establishment all ministers well affected to the Government and have reconciled moderate Episcopalians to Presbytery and moderate Presbyterians to Episcopacy, by the adoption of Leighton's device of perpetual moderators.¹ Crawford again would hear of nothing but Presbytery, pure and unclogged, and so, amid the struggle expediency carried the day, *and the greatest opportunity was lost for constituting the Church of Scotland on the most comprehensive basis.* The chief factor that rendered this impossible was the Stuart tendency of the Episcopal clergy, and Bishop Row of Edinburgh was so impolitic as to declare their allegiance only "so far, as law, reason or conscience would allow them." William naturally could not support those whose loyalty was questionable, but one cannot look back at the situation without thinking of the possibilities that passed away with it. When it is recalled that William, although brought up as a Presbyterian, did not hold "the Divine right of Presbytery": that the Protestantism of the country was satisfied by the Protestant succession to the throne being assured: that the King was in favour of comprehension and conciliation, and made it clear that there must henceforth be religious toleration by the declaration, "I will not lay myself under any obligation to be a persecutor"; it is to be regretted that the counsel of men like Viscount Tarbat did not prevail. Scotland might have thenceforth had a Church, moulded after Leighton's ideal, which would have "united the faithful" and prevented the line of demarcation, that has since existed

¹ *Leven and Melville Papers*, pp. 108, 125.

between the Presbyterian and Episcopal communions. But the occasion was lost, and over and above all statesmen's proposals, the feeling of the hour may have been too keen and filled with too bitter memories for it.

Principal Story has admitted that the "Revolution Settlement" was, of all conceivable settlements, the most "Erastian": that the Church was not a party to the procedure, and that the State dealt with her as its obedient handmaid.¹ But it did not satisfy the Cameronians, while the implicit Erastianism in it, manifested in the subsequent Patronage Act of 1712, brought about the Secession of the Erskines, and subsequent legislation brought about the still greater Secession of 1843. The "glorious Revolution" was not the best possible settlement, although it may have been the only possible one, through the political exigencies of the hour. It left many wounds and aroused many bitter feelings, that have penetrated Scottish Church History ever since, and made its development so chequered. No doubt it is a next to impossible task to define and fix permanently the relation of the State to the Church, as history shows: and in a dual control, the question of the predominant partner must arise, and the State and the Church have ever been changing their relationship. But the Erastianism of 1690 was no more the perfect solution than the absolutism of 1661. One cannot but think of the might-have-been, if Leighton's plan of conciliation had been carried, and the spiritual independence of the Church had been more secured. Instead of it there came the measure which established the Church on the basis of the Confession of Faith and of the Presbyterian polity, as defined and secured by the Act of 1592, which throughout all previous struggles the Constitutional Presbyterians of Scotland had regarded as the unabrogated and fundamental Magna Charta of the Church. The same measure also ratified the Westminster Confession of Faith:

¹ *William Carstares*, p. 187.

repealed a long list of laws in favour of Episcopacy ; legalized the illegal "rabblings" of the curates ; vested the government of the Church in the survivors of the ejected clergy of 1661, and appointed a meeting of the General Assembly.¹ Behind it all, too, was the hatred of Romanism, which was even stronger than the love of Presbytery. The "Settlement" was a compromise, but the establishment of Presbytery was in accordance with the wishes of the great majority of the Scottish people and justified the heroic struggles of the Covenanters. Yet notwithstanding it all, had Leighton's scheme been carried, bitter social differences would have been set at rest, and the Church of Scotland would have received a polity that restored to the Church, Bishops or *Superintendents after Knox's Model*, and included at the same time all that was best in later Presbytery.

Who can tell if Leighton yet awaits his day to dawn, when Ephraim shall no longer vex Judah nor Judah vex Ephraim ? when the differences of the past shall be at once justified and reconciled in a wider unity ?

¹ *William Carstares*, 187, 188.

CHAPTER XIV

LEIGHTONIANA

THE life of Leighton is now as complete, as existing and accessible material will at present permit it to be. But from the pages of diaries, as well as from the records of his various editors from the end of the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, there may be gathered together certain anecdotes and sayings, that help to complete the portrait, which letters and historical facts bring before us. Although these are but as *disjecta membra*, they are not without importance as casting side-light upon the central figure. They are here gathered together,¹ and each conveys a distinct impression, which prevents classification of the whole under distinctive heads.

His love for public worship on the Lord's Day was intense, and one day (probably in his retirement), when through indisposition he was hardly equal to going abroad, he still persisted, and said in excuse for his apparent rashness, "Were the weather fair,² I would stay at home, but since it is foul, I

¹ The best collection of such is in Pearson's *Life* prefixed to his edition of *Leighton's Works*. These anecdotes are *authentic*, for they were taken by Pearson from a compilation which Mr. Lightmaker, Leighton's nephew, had made for Bishop Burnet when that prelate was thinking of matching his *Life of Bedell* with a companion biography of Leighton. It is to be regretted that Burnet never attained his project, but the manuscript was in the hands of Pearson, and from it his anecdotes are derived. (Secretan's *Troubled Times and Holy Life of Archbishop Leighton*, p. 93.)

² Compare this with John Wesley's statement regarding his itinerant preachers, who were deterred from their work by the weather: "I do not admire fair-weather preachers" (Tyerman's *Life*, iii. 355).

must go, lest I be thought to countenance, by my example, the irreligious practice of letting trivial hindrances keep us back from public worship."

His own taste in food was of the simplest nature, and he was abstemious, if not ascetic, to an extreme degree. "Spiritual sensuality," as he termed the ardent desire for holy things, ought to leaven, moderate, and consecrate bodily appetite. Everything beyond the necessities of life was to him the overflowing of a full cup, which ought not to run to waste, but descend into the poor man's platter. His nephew thought that he injured his health by excessive abstinence, but his own maxim was "that little eating and little speaking do no one any harm," and when dinner was announced, he would pleasantly say, "Well, since we are condemned to this, let us sit down." When his sister invited him to partake of a particular dish, he declined, saying, "What is it good for but to please a wanton taste? One thing foreborne is better than twenty things taken." "But," answered his sister, "why were these things bestowed upon us?" "To see how well we could forbear them"; and then added, "Shall I eat of this delicacy while a poor man wants his dinner?"

It is told that his sister, at the request of a friend, once asked him what he thought was the mark of the beast, at the same time adding, "I told the inquirer that you would certainly answer you could not tell." "Truly you said well," replied Leighton, "but if I might fancy what it were, it would be something with a pair of horns that pusheth his neighbour, and hath been so much seen and practised in Church and State." He passed a severe sentence on the Romanists, "who in their zeal for making proselytes fetched ladders from hell to scale heaven," and he lamented that men of the reformed Church should have adopted similar measures.

In his public life Leighton always protested against force as a weapon to establish a Church, and he frequently reiterated that he would rather make one Christian than many

conformists. Conciliation was to him the only means of advancing the Church. "The Scripture tells us, indeed, of plucking out a right eye for the preservation of the whole body : but if that eye admit of a cure, it should rather be preserved : only let its cure be committed to the dexterous hands of the kindest oculist, and not to a mere bungler who would mar instead of healing. For himself he would suffer anything rather than touch a hair of the head of those, who laboured under such pitiable maladies as errors in faith must be accounted. Or, if he did meddle with them, it should be with such a gentle touch as would prove the friendliness of his disposition and purpose." "I prefer," he has been heard to say, "an erroneous honest man before the most orthodox knave in the world : and I would rather convince a man that he has a soul to save, and induce him to live up to that belief, than bring him over to my opinion in whatsoever else beside. Would to God that men were but as holy as they might be in the worst of forms now among us ! Let us press them to be holy, and miscarry if they can." Being told of a man who had changed his persuasion, all he said was, "Is he more meek : more dead to the world ? If so, he has made a happy change."

One day, when going to confer with a Presbyterian minister, he found him discoursing on the duties of a holy life to his friends. Leighton fell in with the conversation, and departed without mentioning the point regarding the presbyter's non-conformity, for which he came. To some, who afterwards remonstrated with him, he replied, "Nay, the good man and I were in the main agreed : and as for the points in which we differ, they are mostly unimportant ; and though they be of moment, it is advisable, before pressing any, to win as many volunteers as we can." Another anecdote of this type is narrated of him and is characteristic, that a friend calling on him one day and not finding him at home, learnt that he had gone to visit a sick Presbyterian minister on a

horse which he had borrowed from the Roman Catholic priest.

To his nephew, who complained that there was a certain text of Scripture which he could not understand, he replied, "And many more that I cannot." Being once interrogated about the saints reigning with Christ, he tried to elude the question by replying, "If we suffer with Him, we shall also reign with Him." Pressed to give his opinion whether or not the saints would exercise rule on the earth, although Christ should not in person assume the sovereignty, he answered, "If God hath appointed any such thing for us, He will give us heads to bear such liquor: our preferment shall not make us reel."

Leighton recognized human limitation in the interpretation of the deep things of God. Passionate curiosity he rebuked by the angel's answer to Manoah, "Why askest thou thus after my name, seeing it is secret?" "Enough," he said, "is discovered to satisfy us that righteousness and judgment are within, although round about His throne are clouds and darkness," and he blamed those "who boldly venture into the very thick darkness and deepest recesses of the Divine majesty." "That prospect of election and predestination," said he, "is a great abyss into which I choose to sink rather than attempt to sound it. And truly any attempt at throwing light upon it makes it only a greater abyss, and is a piece of blameable presumption."

Being told of an author who had entitled his work "Naked truth whipt and stript," his remark was, "It might have been better to clothe it." He disliked the rank zeal of those "who would rather overturn the boat than trim it," and his frequent prayer was, "Deliver me, O Lord, from the errors of wise men: yea, and of good men." It was an aphorism of his that "one half of the world lives upon the madness of the other."

He inspired in his relatives both affection and reverence, and

he loved deeply in return. Returning from the grave in which his brother-in-law had been interred, he said, "Fain would I have thrown myself in with him." Sometimes, while viewing his own last resting-place, he would utter the words of his own favourite poet, the holy George Herbert, whose "time was mostly with God":

"O let me roost and nestle there :
Then of a sinner thou art rid,
And I of hope and fear."

Hearing once of the death of a portly man, he said, "How is it that A—— has broken through those goodly brick walls, while I am kept in by a bit of flimsy deal?" He would add pleasantly that he had his night-cap on, rejoiced that it was so near bed-time, or rather so near the hour of rising to one who had long lain awake in the dark: and pointing to the children of the family one evening, who were showing symptoms of weariness and importuning to be undressed: "Shall I," said he, "who am threescore and ten, be loth to go to bed?" He loved to speak of death in the words of Seneca: "*Illa dies quam ut supremam metuisses, aeternitatis natalis est,*" and his longing to depart was only conditioned by profound submission to the will of God.

Leighton did not pretend to an absolute assurance of final salvation. "Ah, but you have assurance," said a friend. "No, truly," he replied, "only a good hope, and a great desire to see what they are doing on the other side, for of this world I am heartily weary."

He was a great admirer of natural scenery and loved his rides upon the Sussex Downs. The marvels of the small, as well as the great, impressed him, and adverting to the varieties of creation, he remarked that there is no wonder after a straw, omnipotence being as necessary to make the least things out of nothing as the greatest. The glorious lamps, hung on the heavenly vault, had as their purpose to attract our thoughts

towards the glory that excelleth and "we miss the chief benefit they are meant to render us, if we use them not to light us up to heaven." "It was a long hand," he would exclaim, "and a strong hand too, that stretched out this stately canopy above us: and to Him, whose work it is, we may rightly ascribe most excellent majesty." After some such expressions of devout amazement, we are told, he would sink into silent and adoring contemplation.

"Some good men," he would sometimes say, "are contented to be low and stunted vines," and there is much preserved in the saying of his little nephew, "*My uncle did not give thanks like other men.*" "One devout thought," he once said, "is worth all my books," and although naturally inclined to monastic seclusion, his statesmanship shows that he could hear the world's calls and seek to fulfil them. While naturally disposed to the practice "of dressing and undressing" his soul in devotional exercises, he held that a mixed life was the preferable one. He called it "an angelical life" as being "a life spent between ascending to fetch blessings from above, and descending to scatter them among mortals." He hated the notion of "dressing religion with a hood and bells."

To his judgment the middle condition of life was best. "Better to be in the midst, between the two pointed racks of deep penury and high prosperity, than to be on the sharps of either." He was much pleased with a saying which compared the good things of this life to mushrooms, which need so many precautions in eating, that wholly to waive the dish is the safest wisdom.

In referring to the leading men of his period, (and no one will say his judgment was too severe,) he disliked the selfish craft by which they were characterized. They made him lose heart. "I have met with many cunning plotters," he would say, "but with few truly honest and skilful undertakers. Many have I seen who were wise and great as to this world, but of such as are willing to be weak that others may be strong,

and whose only aim it is to promote the prosperity of Zion, have I not found one in ten thousand."

He was always lenient in his estimate of honest effort, even when it differed in aim from his own idea of things. After hearing a plain and homely sermon he expressed the highest satisfaction: "for the good man," he said in reference to the preacher, "seems in earnest to catch souls." And the measure of speech was to him always the character of the audience.

He disliked the practice of reading sermons, and thought it detracted much from the weight and authority of preaching. "I know," he said, "that weakness of the memory is pleaded in excuse for this custom: *but better minds would make better memories*. Such an excuse is unworthy of a man, and much more of a father, who may want vent indeed in addressing his children, but ought never to want matter. Like Elihu, he should be refreshed by speaking."

Leighton always thought with St. Augustine that a bishopric is not for pastime and leisure: *Episcopatus non est artificium transigendae vitae*." During his own tenure of office, he went about from parish to parish catechising and preaching, healing differences and counselling in the midst of difficulties. He often commiserated the London clergy, who were prevented by the largeness of their parishes from giving to each individual the attention he required. "Theirs," he observed, "is rightly called *cura animarum*"—meaning that it was full of anxiety and peril. "Were I again," he said in his retirement, "to be a parish minister, I must follow sinners to their houses, and even to their alehouses."

His character gives the impression of a complete isolation from the cares and prejudices of the world—of an entire detachment from earth, of a centring of thought upon Eternity. To Leighton the temporal was as nothing, and the eternal as the all in all.

On some pecuniary loss he made a jesting remark. "What,"

said his relative, "is that all you make of the matter?" "Truly," said Leighton, "if the Duke of Newcastle, after losing nineteen times as much of yearly income, can dance and sing, while the solid hopes of Christians will not avail to support us, we had better be as the world."

Once as a party embarked on the Thames in a boat between the Savoy and Lambeth, the boat was in imminent danger of sinking, and most of them crying out, Leighton never lost his serenity; and to some who expressed their astonishment replied, "Why, what harm would it have been if we had all been landed safe on the other side?" His habit was to die daily.

Another incident indicates his belief in prayer in the presence of perils. During the civil wars, when the Royalist army was lying in Scotland, Leighton was anxious to see his brother, who bore arms in the King's service, before an engagement, which was daily expected, should take place. On his way to the camp he was benighted in the midst of a vast thicket, and having deviated from his path, sought for an outlet. Spent with fatigue and hunger, he began to think his situation desperate, and, dismounting, he spread his cloak on the ground and knelt down to pray. With devotion he resigned his soul to God, entreating, however, that if it was not the Divine pleasure then for him to conclude his days, some way of deliverance might be opened. Then, remounting his horse, he threw the reins upon its neck, and the animal, left to itself, it is said, made straight for the high road, threading all the mazes of the wood with unerring certainty.

Leighton's ideal for his clergy has been already stated by himself in his Synodal Addresses, and he desired to stamp on their minds the ideal of the meek and lowly Jesus as the source and sustenance of spiritual power. But, like John Wesley, he impressed on them that fervour for opinions and things indifferent is not Christian zeal, and that religion is to radiate into everything. As John Wesley used to be particular even in his directions of dress:

“ Let thy soul’s sweetness have its domination
Upon thy person, clothes and habitation,”

so Leighton used to consider a singular modesty and gravity, even in externals such as their apparel and the adjustment of their dress, to be highly becoming in ministers, whose profession it was to give themselves wholly to the care of their souls.

Leighton’s brother-in-law was so impressed with his piety that he said, “ If none shall get to heaven but so holy a man, what will become of me ? ”

Leighton’s sister, thinking that he carried his beneficence too far and that his liberality needed check, said to him once, “ If you had a wife and children, you would not act thus His answer was, “ I know not how it would be, but I know how it should be. Enoch walked with God,—and begat sons and daughters.”

Sir James Stewart, formerly Provost of Edinburgh and Leighton’s friend, once said to him, “ Sir, I hear your grandfather was a Papist, your father a Presbyterian, and suffered much for it in England, and you a Bishop ! What a mixture is this ! ” “ It’s true, sir,” said Leighton, “ and my grandfather was the honestest man of the three.” This and the following are from the pages of Wodrow’s *Analecta* ; they must be taken with some reserve, as manifesting a somewhat acid spirit :

“ Mr. D. Freeman informs me, that about 1674 there was a mighty difference between the Bishops of Dumblain and St. Andrewes ; and there was a generall inclination among the Episcopal clergy to have a Convocation to regulate the abuses of the Bishops. Severall ministers, yea Presbitrys, did addresse anent this ; and he alledges that this was much fostered by Duke Hamiltown and his party, in opposition to Lauderdale, who supported the Archbishop of St. Andrewes. There goes a story that when Leightoun, who, I suppose, about this time was Bishop of Dumblain, and was in a meeting with Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrewes, he frequently termed him ‘ My Lord,’ and did not add ‘ your Grace ’ to it ; and

the Archbishop said, huffingly, 'My Lord, and noe more?' 'Ay, says Leightoun, 'my Lord is more than either you or I should have.'

"Mr. R. Stewart tells me, he has it from ane old servant, yet alive at Edinburgh, who was Leighton's man, that frequently once a week or fourteenth-night, Leighton, when Principal of Edinburgh Colledge, used to shut himself up in the room above the Library, and discharged anybody to have access to him, and that for two days. He had nothing with him but his Bible, and sometimes he had a candle lighted at night, frequently not, and a choppin of ale and a bitt of bread; and his servant declares that at the third day when he came out there would scarce have been any of the ale and bread made use of. This monkish retirement and other things (*vide alibi*¹) give great ground for suspicions of his inclination to Popery.²

"I am told that [Arch]bishop Leightoun, when at Edinburgh, was very much suspected to be ane Arrian (!) and vented severall things in conversation that tended that way.³

"P(rofessor) Stirling tells me two storys of Bishop Leighton, one Mr. John Lau, Minister at Edinburgh since the Revolution, used to tell, after Mr. Leighton was Bishop of Dumblain. Mr. Lau was in conversation with him, and somewhat fell in, which brought on the subject of charity, which the Bishop used to expatiate upon. Mr. Lau said he minded an expression of Mr. David Dickson's, who used to say that "people should not make a fool of their charity. The Bishop replied, he did not know what Mr. Dickson meant in these words, but the Scripture made a fool of charity since it said that fools bear all things, and charity beareth all things!"—a very light expression."⁴

The following are from the *Coltness Collections*, and manifest the strong Presbyterian opposition of their source. Sir James Stewart was Leighton's guardian (when he was a student at Edinburgh) and regarded him "as of a sprightly, generous (temper), and wanted not good understanding, but had no due proportion of firmness and stability. He wanted to find out

¹ Thevery, O. Fr. resverie, incoherent and wandering imaginations. Note Wodrow, ii. 214.

² Vol. i. 327.

³ Vol. ii. 212.

⁴ Vol. ii. pp. 348, 349.

somewhat new and surprizing and plodded early upon Utopian expedients!" We have a truer perspective of him now, but there is notwithstanding the bias, a little gleam of light in the narrative, and we insert it (the part, already referred to, being omitted):

"Coltness himself was of inflexible stubborn zeale & sincerity, a Presbyterian of the strictest forme, & the particulars of that visite by Bishop Leighton at Gutters, hinted at in sir James Stewart's Life, shall here be ane evidence of this, & is this. On that occasion, & when none but he & his brother James were taking the air with Mr. Leighton, now Bishop of Dunblane, Coltness put him in mind of his formally & solemnly mentioning the obligation of the national covenant at Sacrament times, when he was minister at Newbattle, where he & his brother had attended, for Mr. Leighton in those days expressed all regarde for the national covenant, however little he had for the solemn league.¹ But now the Bishop answered, 'Mr. Stewart, man is a mutable changing essence both in body & mind, & frequently is misinformed, yet acts according to his light at the time, & acts safe, but if years, & experience, & enquiry give further light, so he is still to act ane ingenious parte, as God, his word, & his confidence direct,' & the Bishop cited that text—'When I was a child, etc., but now have I put away childish things.' Mr. James Stewart, advocate, his brother, said he did not impune his Lordship's principle, that each man was to be fully persuaded in his own mind, & so to act: but then he thought christian charity,—as to not giving offence, should incline one, who had been a publick teacher in a different way, not to cast a stumbling-block before the weak of his former party, for things more indifferent; '& truly, my Lord, you must be convinced that all the odds of dignity & titles, or a parity among brethren ministers, is not to be ballanced with the disturbance it will create, & the offence it gives many truly godly in the Church of Scotland.' Coltness added, 'There is a woe pronounced against him by whom offences come, & that Mr. Leighton could not but be aware that his taking priest's & deakon's orders at London, as if he had none formerly, was a villifying his former ordination, declaring as it were null all his former administrations, as if formerly he had neither God's nor the Church her call to dispence sacraments, & he might be affrayed this wo might overtake him & his associates, for all that was done had a

¹ See p. 309.

tincture of perjury.' He next put the Bishop in minde of his grievous complent, when at Newbattle, of the load of so numerous a charge of souls, but that now he thought a whole bishoprick an easy burthen. It was this free conference drew the angry reflection from the bishop of the presbyterian crochet, but as Mr. James called [him] 'my Lord,' & spoke with more temper, he said Mr. James was a mannerly well behaved gentleman, but Coltness was hott as pepper,—of confined civic education."¹

It is told of Leighton that he once had a Roman Catholic servant, who made a point of abstaining from flesh on the days appointed by the Calendar. Leighton, being informed of this, commented on the vanity of such scruples, yet respected them and requested his sister to indulge the man with such fare as suited his piety, lest the endeavour to dissuade him from the practice should drive him to falsehood or prevarication. "To this," he added, "many poor creatures are impelled, not so much from a corrupt inclination, as for want of a handsome truth."

It was probably by this servant, that the Bishop's equanimity was often tried. Going out to fish one morning, he locked the door of the house and carried off the key, leaving his master imprisoned. Too much engrossed in his sport, he did not return till the evening, when the only admonition he received was, "John, when you next go a fishing, remember to leave the key in the door."

The following reveal some humour—an element that very occasionally appears in what survives regarding Leighton:

"In a pamphlet, in answer to Bishop Burnet's charges against the Scottish bishops, it is asserted that only one of them, beside the Archbishop of St. Andrews, had servants in livery. Leighton was certainly not the one, as the letter (p. 336) indicates, and as one would have expected from his humility and modesty. His men, however, had the weaknesses of their fraternity. As they durst not be seen tippling in town, they are said to have persuaded the Bishop, that his horses would only drink in a barn, two miles above Dunblane, where there was an ale-house. At last, annoyed with

¹ Pp. 68, 69.

their irregularity, he allowed them free egress and regress, provided they neither locked him out nor in. One day that he had a suit of new clothes drenched in the rain, he said not an angry word to the fellow who had neglected to bring his cloak at the hour appointed. On a gentleman wondering at so much meekness, the Bishop smiled and said, '*What would you have me lose my coat and my temper too?*' There is another story belonging to the same period. A young woman, the widow of a minister in his diocese, to whom he had been exceedingly kind, took it into her head that the Bishop was in love with her. Thinking he was long in breaking his mind, she went to him in the *Haining*, a lonely walk by the water-side, where he used to meditate. Upon his asking her commands, 'Oh my lord,' she said, 'I had a revelation last night.' 'Indeed!' answered he: 'I hardly imagined you would ever have been so highly honoured: what is it?' 'That your lordship and I were to be married together.' 'Have a little patience,' replied the Bishop, much abashed, 'till I have a revelation too.'"¹

¹ *Scotland and Scotsmen* (Edited by Alexander Allardyce), vol. ii. p. 90.

CHAPTER XV

TRIBUTES TO LEIGHTON'S SPIRITUAL GENIUS

ROBERT LEIGHTON'S works have been well known and appreciated by the different sections of Christ's Church, and his genius has called forth a variety of tributes from minds ecclesiastically wide apart. Amidst divisions he has formed a centre of unity, and the following representative statements from the past and present vindicate his claim to be the common saint of all the Churches. Men who differ from each other agree on him. *Sir George Mackenzie*, who was known in Scotland as the "bluidy Mackenzie," the criminal prosecutor in the days of the persecution, thus wrote of Leighton :

"He was in much esteem for his piety and moderation amongst the people, and as to which the Presbyterians themselves could neither reproach nor equal him : albeit they hated most of all his fraternity, in respect he drew many into a kindness for Episcopacy by his exemplary life, rather than debates. His great principle was, that devotion was the great affair about which Churchmen should employ themselves : and that the gaining of souls, and not the external government, was their proper task : nor did he esteem it fit, and scarce lawful to Churchmen, to sit in Councils and Judicatories, these being diversions from the main. . . . He opposed all violent courses, whereby men were forced to comply with the present worship beyond their persuasions : *and he granted a latitude and indulgence to those of his own diocese before the King had allowed any by his letter.* This made the world believe, that he was the author to his Majesty of that public indulgence : and *the statesmen who were unwilling to be authors of an innovation, which some there thought might prove dangerous, were well satisfied to have it so believed :*

but, however, these principles rendered him a fit instrument in their present undertakings.”¹

Middleton, another contemporary, wrote :

“Leighton was a man of singular and wonderful piety, of good learning, and in him most of the eminent virtues we admire in the primitive Bishops, seemed to be revived. His life was most exemplary and severe : he preached constantly and seemed like one in heaven, when he preached : his humility was astonishing : his meekness and charity were extraordinary : his expense on himself very small, but all he had, he laid out on the poor.”²

Leighton's friend, *Dr. Fall*, Principal of Glasgow University and afterwards Precentor of York Cathedral, thus wrote :

“Leighton was the delight and wonder of all that knew him : his thoughts were noble, and his expressions beautiful : his gesture and pronunciation (peculiar to himself) had a gravity, a majesty, and a sweetness in them, that many severe judges have often said were beyond all that they had ever seen at home or abroad. That which gave the greatest authority to all he said, was, that his life was such a continued course of sublimest virtue and the most elevated piety that has appeared in this age. Those who have known him the most and the longest have often said, that in a course of many years' acquaintance, they scarcely ever saw him once out of that deeply serious state in which they themselves wished to be found in their last minutes.”³

Dr. Henry Miles (circa 1740) said :

“There is a spirit in Archbishop Leighton I have never met with in any human writings, nor can I read many lines in them without being moved.”⁴

Dr. Doddridge (1702–1751) said :

“In the works of this great *Adept in true Christianity*, we do not so much hear of Goodness, as see it in its most genuine traces :

¹ *History*, p. 161.

² Appendix to Archbishop Spottiswoode's *History*, p. 7.

³ Prefatory Epistle to *Works*.

⁴ Dr. Doddridge's Preface, p. xiv.

see him a living image of his Divine Master, for such indeed his writings show, I had almost said, demonstrate him to have been, by such internal characters as surely a bad man could not counterfeit, and no good man can so much as suspect. . . . On the whole, the style wonderfully suits the sentiments: and however destitute of the flights of oratory, has such a dignity and force mingled with that simplicity, which is to be sure its chief characteristic: so that on the whole, it has often reminded me of that soft and sweet eloquence of Ulysses, which Homer describes as falling like flakes of snow: and if I might be allowed to pursue the similitude, I could add, like that, it penetrates deep into the mind too, and tends to enrich and fructify it.”¹

John Wesley published about 1750, in his *Christian Library*, a selection from the writings of Leighton, including his *Exposition of the Creed*, and his six sermons on

The Wisdom from Above (James iii. 17).

All Things tend to the Glory of God (Psalm lxxvi. 10).

Of Love to God (Psalm cxix. 136).

Of Glorifying God (2 sermons) (Isaiah lx. 1).

Of Praising God (Cant. i. 3).²

In his short preface he characterizes Leighton's matter, style and character, very much in the words of the preface attached to the 1692 edition of *Leighton's Works* by Dr. Fall. But it is not uninteresting to observe, that although Wesley adds no distinct testimony of his own, he chose Leighton as one of the religious influences, by which he sought to instruct and inform the people connected with the great Methodist revival of religion in the eighteenth century. He styles Leighton as the “Author Most Reverend.”

Coleridge, who founded his *Aids to Reflection* chiefly on aphorisms from *Leighton's Works*, thus refers to him in another work:³

“Surely if ever work not in the Sacred Canon might suggest a

¹ From Preface to *Works*, pp. vii.–xxii.

² Vol. xx. (pp. 237–348).

³ *Notes on English Divines*, vol. ii. p. 120.

belief of inspiration—of something more than human—this it is. When Mr. Elwyn made this assertion, I took it as the hyperbole of affection: but now I subscribe to it seriously and bless the hour that introduced me to the knowledge of the evangelical apostolical Archbishop Leighton. Next to the inspired Scriptures—yea, and as the vibration of that once struck hour remaining on the air, stands Leighton's *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Romans*."

*Professor John Brown, of Scottish Secession*¹ stock, and father of the more famous John Brown, author of *Rab and his Friends*, thus wrote:

"I part from the devout Archbishop with reluctance, as from a pious accomplished friend, who has been my instructive and delightful companion during my leisurely journey through this most fertile region of the world of inspiration, and to whom I am much indebted for turning my attention to some of its most recondite beauties, and for gathering for me and for you, some of its sweetest flowers and richest fruits."²

¹ The representatives of the Erskines in Scotland have shown no little interest in Leighton, and have exerted themselves in making him better and more widely known. In this connexion, and in proof of the statement, I have only to mention the names of the Rev. Dr. Blair, of Dunblane, who has written frequently and warmly on his subject, and of the late Rev. Dr. Jerment, Bow Lane, London (1760–1819), who has edited an edition of his works with a *valuable* life (pp. i.–c.) He there states (p. xcix.) how he first became acquainted with Leighton's *Sermons*: "Before the age of seventeen he (Dr. Jerment) saw in the cottage of a Scots gardener a small detached volume of Leighton's *Sermons*, without the title page or any mark to indicate the author. Taking it up, and being much struck with the first page, he inquired of the possessor whether he knew the author? 'No, sir,' was the reply, but that book has been blessed to my soul and must have been written by some great and good man.' He never rested till he discovered the author, and procured all his works then published. Now, after the lapse of thirty years, and having read the discourses often, his esteem is increased: and he shall ever reckon it a signal honour conferred upon him to have been in any degree instrumental in diffusing the knowledge and usefulness of such pure and precious productions."

² *Expository Discourses on First Peter*, ii. p. 553.

The late Duke of Argyll thus wrote :

“Leighton’s name is one which has secured the reverence of after times and abated even the rancour of his own. It is a name which, in connexion with the circumstances of his day, deserves, I think, special honour. He was deeply religious, yet he was not a fanatic : he was a Bishop, yet he was not a ‘Churchman’ : in an age of fiercest bigotry or grossest irreligion, he was an earnest Christian and a large-minded man. During all the periods of his life he may be said to have walked alone. *As a Presbyterian*, he had been a moderate and therefore a suspected member :—more engaged in the cause of personal piety than in the battles of the Covenant. *As a Bishop*, he was still more apart from all his brethren : he was a humble preacher of the Word : a striver for the peace, not the oppression of the Church. *As a Protestant* he could speak of the errors of the Reformation and see points of beauty in some ideas and institutions connected with the Church of Rome. Such was Robert Leighton, whom I mention as not more singular among the Scottish prelates of his own day, than alone in the history of Scottish prelacy. I mention him for another reason. He was a disbeliever in the *Jus Divinum*, or the indispensability of his office in the Church. . . . To a mind engrossed by the realities of religion, the Covenant and the ‘Crown of Christ’ could have no connexion.”¹

Dean Stanley thus refers to him :

“The peculiarity of Leighton’s position was that he combined a sanctity equal to that of the strictest Covenanter or the strictest Episcopalian with a liberality in his innermost thoughts equal to that of the widest Latitudinarian of the school of Jeremy Taylor or of Hoadley. . . He was the only man of that age—we may almost say of any age—that deliberately set himself, as to the work of his life, to the union of the two Churches. He was absolutely indifferent to the forms of either. . . . However chimerical may seem in our days an equal respect to Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, it is enough that the projected—the all but completed—union between them originated in a head so clear and a heart so pure as Leighton’s.”²

¹ *Presbytery Examined*, pp. 200, 201.

² *Lectures on the Church of Scotland*, pp. 105, 110, 114.

Bishop Jebb, of Limerick, writing to Alexander Knox (who, and not Southey, ought to have been the biographer of John Wesley) thus refers to Leighton :—

“He was a pattern of Christian perfection . . . in sublime piety, and often in genuine strokes of natural but most exalted eloquence his writings are not excelled but by the sacred writers.”¹

In another letter he thus refers to his writings :

“These writings are often tinged with the Calvinism of the day. But, after making every needful abatement, we must confess that Leighton was a human seraph : uniting the solar warmth with the solar light, and, throughout exhibiting the purest, most unmingled goodness. His commentary on St. Peter is a treasure of devotion. His theological lectures are the very philosophy of the New Testament : and his meditations on some of the psalms, raise us to those purer and sublime heights, where it was Leighton’s delight and privilege habitually to dwell.”²

Principal Story refers to the “apostolic earnestness and gentle wisdom of Leighton.”³ *Professor Flint* avers that “a purer, humbler, holier spirit never tabernacled in Scottish clay.”⁴ *Professor Herkless* describes him as “almost the one tolerant man of his time.”⁵ *Professor Blaikie* states that “Leighton is one of the names that belong, beyond reasonable question, to the Church Universal . . . that no character could show more conclusively how one may be a member of the school of Calvin, and at the same time a scholar, a gentleman, and a saint.”⁶ *Principal Tulloch* says : “His name is a jewel in the crown of the Scottish Church, which shines refulgent with so many glories of a different order : and it is and has long been to me a fact singularly

¹ *Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 27.

² Forster’s *Life of Bishop Jebb*, p. 107.

³ *William Carstares*, p. 35.

⁴ *St. Giles’ Lectures* (first series), p. 204.

⁵ *Richard Cameron*, p. 40.

⁶ *The Evangelical Succession*, pp. 207, 208.

touching that our Church (the Church of Scotland)—accounted by many, and rightly accounted, the nurse of the sterner and more heroic Christian virtues—should have produced a character of such light and sweetness as is rarely to be found.”¹ *Bishop Wordsworth* said: “Nor can I omit to mention at least one redeeming feature in the character and administration of King Charles II—that it was he who not only appointed the saintly Robert Leighton to the bishopric of Dunblane in this country and the saintly Thomas Ken to his bishopric of Bath and Wells in England, but who also showed on more than one occasion, in the case of both, that he entertained a just appreciation of their respective merits.”²

John Macleod Campbell somewhere in his letters adds, “I love Leighton, for he breathes the spirit of an Evangelist.” *Dr. Joseph Robertson*, after recapitulating the various outstanding events that characterize the history of Glasgow Cathedral, thus writes: “Glasgow echoed the universal delight which hailed the Restoration, yet amid that joyous tumult a voice was heard from the depths of her cathedral crypt prophesying woe and lamentations—Cargill, the rugged confessor of a relentless Covenant, sparing not to denounce the faithless King even on the first “oak apple day” of his reign. *A few years pass and in the choir above the low, sweet voice of Leighton is heard in those angelic strains of eloquence and devotion which haunted the memory of his hearers to their dying day.*”³

West says: “Leighton’s works breathe the spirit of his life, which was indeed what Plotinus calls, *a Flight of the Alone to the Alone*. . . . He realized as fully as ever man did the truth of that profound saying of the ancients: ‘Nascentes

¹ *Scottish Divines*, p. 110.

² *Discourses on Scottish Church History*, p. 63.

³ *Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals*, p. 66.

morimur ; morientes nascimur.' ”¹ *The same writer*, Episcopalian though he was, could add this testimony (and no one will withhold the praise that is his due for doing so) : “I believe that I am the very first writer who has shown that Leighton’s works, with scarcely an exception, belong to the Presbyterian period of his life : and so far from wishing to soften down his Presbyterian principles or prejudices, I have given them the utmost distinctness and prominence. From first to last (whether as Presbyterian or as Bishop) Leighton’s views of Church polity were what is called latitudinarian and his doctrinal views Calvinistic.”²

Dr. Reid, of Balmaghie, wrote : “The saintly life and amiable manners of Leighton have lent a charm to the thought of what might have been if only his obstinate presbyters had listened favourably to his scheme of a modified Episcopacy. And contrasted with him, these unbending presbyters are apt to appear in an unlovely light.”³

John Morley has testified : “Leighton was one of the few wholly attractive characters of those bitter-flavoured times, was closely intimate with French Jansenists, of whom Hume truly says they were but half Catholics : and Leighton was wont to declare that he would rather turn one single man to be truly of a serious mind than turn a whole nation to mere outward conformity, and he saw no reason why there should not be a conjunction between bishops and elders. For none of these temperate and healing ideals was the time ripe.”⁴

Sir Alexander Grant wrote : “Leighton was a man who, from his sweetness and humility, and perhaps from some faculty of ‘being all things to all men’ was acceptable to all the Churches. No Presbyterian had a word against him, the Independents took him up, and as soon as the Stuarts were

¹ *Notes and Queries* (2nd Series), viii. 508.

² Reply to *British Quarterly Review* criticism (1870), p. 13.

³ *Lee Lecture* (1899), p. 11.

⁴ *Oliver Cromwell*, p. 95.

restored to the throne he was made a Bishop.”¹ *Cardinal Manning* wrote : “One of the most remarkable discoveries of modern science is the fact that hurricanes revolve around a centre of perfect calm. Outside the charmed circle the tempest may rage furiously—within it, all is peace. A similar phenomenon can be found in the moral and spiritual world. In seasons of civil war or theological strife, when ‘envy, hatred and all uncharitableness’ abound, we may find some tranquil spirits who, undisturbed by the tumult around, seem perpetually to hear their Master whispering to them words of peace. Such a man was Robert Leighton.”²

Dr. Blair, after examining the Dunblane Presbytery Records relating to the period subsequent to the Restoration thus testifies to the manner in which Leighton co-operated with the presbyters : “*First*, that during Leighton’s administration the form of presbyteries was kept up unaltered, the moderator presiding as before, while the bishop sat in court and gave his counsel with the rest of the brethren : *secondly*, that the constitution of the church courts remained unchanged, elders and even heritors being constituent members of session and presbyteries : *thirdly*, that ordinations were conducted as before by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery *the bishop taking part as one of the brethren* : and *fourthly*, that the public worship was conducted exactly as before, without service-book or liturgy, and not in the pompous ritual of the Anglican Church, as has been absurdly represented by various writers. That there were slight modifications in the matter of ordination under Leighton’s successors,

¹ *The Story of the University of Edinburgh*, ii. 248.

² This extract is from one of a series of volumes, *The Wisdom of our Fathers*, published without the editor’s name. The volume from which the above is taken contains selections from the miscellaneous works of Archbishop Leighton with a memoir (p. vii.). My authority for saying Manning was the author of the Memoir is Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. ii. p. 1298.

we grant ; but these never, in the smallest degree, touched the worship or discipline of the Church.”¹

Such testimonies² from representatives of different sections of the Christian Church, are worthy tributes to Leighton's spiritual splendour and catholic statesmanship. They all point to the conclusion that he is one of the unifying forces in the Church ; that the future will even outshine the past in regarding him as one of God's very best gifts, and as one of marvellous potency and help to the settlement of the ecclesiastical problems that are looming on the near horizon. Leighton was a man of clearest vision as well as of purest

¹ *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* (1869), pp. 349, 350.

² References will also be found to Leighton in Burnet's Preface to the *Life of Bishop Beddell* (1692) : Orme's *Bibliotheca Biblica*, p. 288 : Bennett's *Christian Oratory*, vol. ii. pp. 51-52, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 144-147, 209 : Granger's *Biographical History of England*, vol. ii. p. 35 : *Notes and Queries* (2nd Series), vol. viii. pp. 41, 61, 507, 525 : vol. x. pp. 124, 213, 507, 526.

Besides Articles and Lives already referred to, sympathetic notices will be found in *Chambers' Encyclopædia*, vi. 567-569 ; Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, ii. 643-644 : *Encyclopædia Britannica*, xiv. 427-429 : Irving's *Lives of Scottish Writers*, ii. 120-144 : *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxxii. 4-7 : Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopædia*, ii. 1296-1298. The writer of the last-mentioned article is the Rev. William Blair, D.D., Dunblane, who has contributed much to the Leightonian Literature. Here may be mentioned his *Archbishop Leighton*, a short Biography with selections from his writings, and his following papers which I have read with pleasure. *A Scottish Presbytery in the Seventeenth Century* (*British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, 1869), pp. 22-40, and *Scottish Prelacy after the Restoration* (*ibid.* pp. 331-350), as well as three papers on *Archbishop Leighton* in the *United Presbyterian Magazine* (1865, pp. 397, 493, and 1866, p. 15), and four papers on the *Bishop of Dunblane* in the same magazine for 1869 (pp. 304, 355, 400, 498). There are references to Leighton's Work in the Civil and Ecclesiastical histories of Scotland, but it is curious that Hume passes him over in silence and speaks of Sharpe. The Rev. C. B. Bingham edited a book entitled, *Baptism: the Testimony of Archbishop Leighton, extracted from his Commentary, with an Introduction* (1850). In the *Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature* (iii. 1337) there is an incomplete bibliography, but a complete one will be found in West's Edition (vol. vii. pp. 289-358). There is a fine reference to Leighton in a recent book, *By Allan Water*, by Katherine Stewart (p. 178).

holiness, and his life and work are a testimony to the truth of a statement made by his distinguished contemporary Richard Baxter :—¹

“It is the will of God that the Unity of the Church should not be laid up on indifferent, small and doubtful points ; but that true believers who differ in such things should notwithstanding have inward charity and outward communion with one another, not censuring, not despising, nor dividing from each other on this account. . . . The Church is to be healed and repaired by such that are sensible of their own infirmities and compassionate to others, that are of a Christian Catholic spirit and have Catholic principles and affections, and see such a beauty in the Image of Christ that they can heartily love a gracious person, notwithstanding his many tolerable infirmities, and think themselves more unworthy to be tolerated by others than such as I have described to be tolerated by them.”

¹ *Catholic Unity*, pp. 323-324, 378-379.

CHAPTER XVI

LEIGHTON AND MONASTICISM

“If there are refuges for the health of the body, ah ! permit religion to have such also for the health of the soul, which is still more subject to sickness, and the infirmities of which are so much more sad, so much more tedious and difficult to cure.”—M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND.

“In the history of most saints, who have exercised a reformatory and lasting influence upon monastic institutions, the name and influence of some holy woman is almost invariably found associated with their work and devotedness. . . . To instance only the greatest : Macrina is seen at the side of St. Basil, and the names of Monica and Augustine are inseparable : as in later ages are those of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Clara, St. Francis de Sales and St. Jeanne de Chantal.”—MONTALEMBERT.

IT is impossible to study the early centuries of Christian civilization, and the earlier part of mediaeval history, and not be impressed with the civilizing and religious forces which monasticism created, developed and sustained. It is improbable that any one, who has an acquaintance with the first fifteen centuries of the Christian Church, Protestant though he be, can refuse to sympathize with Montalembert's glowing history of the rise and progress of the Monastic Orders. But it is also improbable that any one can consider their condition prior to the Reformation, and not realize that in England and Scotland at least they had served their day, and could plead no further reason for continued existence. All that was best in them had been assimilated into the civilization which the Orders had helped to bring about most effectually in their purest days.

The contrast between their beginning and their end is a

very striking one, and openness to the glory of the former should not blind us to the darkness of the latter. In the Reformation era itself the monastic bodies had sunk so low in the estimation of even the rulers of the Church, that one clause in the report of the committee of cardinals, appointed by Pope Paul III (a body composed of Sadolet, Contarini, Reginald Pole, Gilberti, Fregoso, Badia, Aleandro and Caraffa, afterwards Paul IV), delivered in 1538, was worded as follows :

“ Another abuse which needs correction is in the religious orders, because they have deteriorated to such an extent that they are a grave scandal to seculars, and do the greatest harm by their example. We are of opinion that they should be all abolished, not so as to injure (the vested interests of) any one, but by forbidding them to receive novices : for in this wise they can be quickly done away with without wrong to any one, and good religious can be put in their place. At present we think the best thing to be done is to dismiss all the unprofessed youths from their monasteries.”

As this document shows the current of high Ecclesiastical opinion towards the Orders, so the lay view took expression in the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, by Ulrich von Hutten, which were to the Dominicans of the sixteenth century as the *Provincial Letters* were to the Jesuits of the seventeenth. The Orders also came under the delicate scalpel of Erasmus' wit, and he did not spare them, either in his *Colloquies* or *Praise of Folly*. The objections raised were not wholly new, for the defence of monasticism by Thomas Aquinas makes it clear, that they were used in the thirteenth century. The interests involved, however, were too vast and complicated to allow of any such sweeping measure of reform as that proposed by the Cardinals to be carried out. The enactments of some *partial* corrections by the Council of Trent (not touching any principle but apparently saying something because public opinion required it to be said), and the creation of the new Order of the Jesuits in 1534, represent the total action taken by the Church of Rome during the actual crisis of the Reformation.

Now Leighton sympathized too much with the Jansenists, who sought to reform the Church of Rome from within in doctrine and discipline:¹ he loved the idea of the Port-Royal too much, where was gathered together a religious community, fettered by no vows, but united voluntarily, and serving as a religious seminary, a missionary centre, a literary academy and a pastoral college. Protestant though he was, he could speak of the *errors* of the Reformation, and see so much good in some of the ideas and institutions it had renounced, as to be conscious that in renouncing *all* the forms of monasticism, the Reformed Church had lost much, which it might have retained to its own advantage. And so he is to be numbered among some of the many distinguished men² of the Reformed Church, who from the days of Latimer downwards, have lamented the *absence* of some kind of monasteries in her communion,

“Like that same peaceful hermitage,
Where Milton long’d to spend his age.”

Such ideas were not uncommon to men of earnest minds and quiet habits, and Leighton may not inappropriately be called a Protestant monk. There was always a good deal of the cloister atmosphere about him, and his own family at Usan had given distinguished Bishops, Abbots and even Knight-Templars to the Church.³ The forms that were no more, and the days that were gone, would lead him to treasure much that was beloved for the fathers’ sake, but with all this he never wavered from the fundamental principles of the Reformed Church. He only desired to make it more comprehensive and useful to minds of a meditative type. He recognized the eternal necessity to the religious life of being apart for a season, and amidst the turmoils of his day could say, as Édward Irving said amid the storms of a later time: “Ah me! I could almost wish myself transported back to Iona,

¹ See p. 82 *et seq.*

² See pp. 107, 206.

³ See chapter i.

and living amongst the presbyters of Columba their life of piety and love.”¹ In other words, Leighton would have retained some reformed religious houses as a help to the work and life of the Reformed Church of Scotland.

While seeing in Popery “much of the wisdom that was earthly, sensual and devilish,” and little “of that wisdom that was from above, and was pure and peaceable,” Leighton, according to Burnet, “did think the corruptions and cruelties of Popery were such gross and odious things, that nothing could have maintained that Church under those just and visible prejudices but the several Orders among them that had such an appearance of mortification and contempt of the world: that with all the trash that was among them, this maintained a face of piety and devotion. *He also thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation was, that more of those houses and of that course of life, free from the entanglements of vows and other mixtures, was not preserved: so that the Protestant churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers.*”²

His evident desire was to retain these houses as retreats for prayer and meditation, and connect them with the work of the Church. It is not unlikely that he was thinking of a Reformed German monastery, like that at Loccum, near Hanover, or of the religious house instituted at Little Gidding by Nicholas Ferrar, the friend of George Herbert. Ferrar founded it in 1626, and while he remained loyal to the Church of England, thought that England in the fury of her Protestantism had parted unnecessarily with some elements of her old monastic life that might have been profitably retained. Walton states that “many of the clergy, that were more inclined to practical piety and devotion than to doubtful and needless disputations, did often come to Gidden Hall and make themselves a part of this happy society, and stay a

¹ *Works*, vol. i. p. 565.

² *History of His Own Times*, i. 246.

week or more, and then join with Mr. Ferrar and the family in these devotions and assist and ease him or them in their watch by night." Some such house or houses like this Leighton may have had in his mind as helpful accessories to the life and work of the Church of Scotland, but the main source of his conviction was Port-Royal, the resort of Arnauld and Pascal, who combined religious meditation with religious service. In this respect, as in many others, he was as one "born out of due time," and it is interesting to notice that so earnest a Protestant as Professor Harnack has recently pleaded for the same institution as Leighton desired in the seventeenth century.¹

"The Reformation abolished monasticism, and was bound to abolish it. It rightly affirmed that to take a vow of life-long asceticism was a piece of presumption; and it rightly considered that any worldly vocation, conscientiously followed in the sight of God, was equal to, nay, was better than, being a monk. But something now happened which Luther neither foresaw nor desired: '*Monasticism, of the kind that is conceivable and necessary in the evangelical sense of the word, disappeared altogether.*' But every community stands in need of personalities living *exclusively* for its ends. The Church, for instance, needs volunteers who will abandon every other pursuit, renounce 'the world,' and devote themselves entirely to the service of their neighbour; not because such a vocation is 'a higher one,' but because it is a necessary one, and because no church can live without also giving rise to this desire. But in the evangelical churches the desire has been checked by the decided attitude which they have been compelled to adopt towards Catholicism. *It is a high price we have paid: nor can the price be reduced by considering, on the other hand, how much simple and unaffected religious fervour has been kindled in home and family life.* We may rejoice, however, that in the past century a beginning has been made in the direction of recouping this loss. In the institution of deaconesses and many cognate phenomena the evangelical Churches are getting back what they once ejected through their inability to recognize it in the form which it then took. But it must undergo a much ampler and more varied development."²

¹ Cf. pp. 105-110.

² *What is Christianity?* pp. 287, 288.

CHAPTER XVII

CONCLUSIONS

“The Apostolic ideal was set forth, and within a few generations forgotten. The vision was only for a time and then vanished. A strictly sacerdotal view of the ministry superseded the broader and more spiritual conception of their priestly functions. From being the representatives, the ambassadors of God, they came to be regarded His vicars.”—LIGHTFOOT.

“Towards the end of the second century the organization of the Christian congregations throughout the Roman empire, at least of all the greater ones, was identical. At the head of each was the bishop, whose function it was to conduct public worship, control the Church funds and keep watch over the manners of his flock. The free prophets and teachers having almost everywhere died out, the duty of religious instruction and edification also fell to him. In conducting the worship and in ministering to the wants of the poor, he was assisted by the deacons as his subordinates. The presbyters formed a body, whose business was that of advising the bishop. Of this college, he was the president, and as such he was himself a presbyter, and conversely the presbytery, inclusive of the bishop, formed the governing body of the community. . . . In rank they were above the deacons, but below the bishop, yet in such a way that the bishop could call them his ‘co-presbyters.’”—HARNACK.

IN previous chapters, notice has been taken of Leighton’s advocacy of a scheme for “uniting the faithful” within a comprehensive national Church, but it is also well to recall that it was first proposed by Archbishop Usher, and might have been accepted by the Westminster Assembly but for the revolutionary and aggressive attitude of the Solemn League and Covenant, which all its members had to accept, and the forcing of which on the Assembly led to Archbishop Usher’s withdrawal and with him much of the scholarship and comprehensive thought of the day.

It was a basis of accommodation that, apart from Laud's influence, was regarded as possessing the approval of Charles I before his death: it was the basis on which Cromwell in the latter days of the Commonwealth was desirous to settle the differences between Episcopalians and Presbyterians in England, while after the Restoration and with it as an agreement, the English Presbyterians and many of the Independents were willing to take their place and claim their heritage within the Church of England itself. The ultimate assertion of the Divine right of Episcopacy, with the consequent triumph of high Church principles, prevented its realization in England, and ever since parties, whose object it was to unite, have remained apart.

Robert Leighton pleaded for its acceptance in Scotland after the Restoration; submitted to re-ordination and accepted the office of a Bishop that he might more effectually bring it about as a meeting-point for opposing parties, and endeavoured with a singularly sincere and disinterested spirit to mediate between the people and the King on its behalf. But the forces against him were too many and too powerful, and chief among them was the strong popular consciousness which felt and regarded the order of Bishops, as instituted by the King, to be inimical to religious and political liberty. The sovereign was distrusted, his ministers were unscrupulous, bishops were regarded as his tools or means in the realization of his unworthy policy, and to have any conciliatory dealings with them was regarded as a betrayal of the sacred cause of liberty. Since the Reformation achieved by the genius of John Knox, the Scottish nation had attained a consciousness of itself which was not to be coerced, and the policy of James VI, Charles I, Charles II and James VII was inimical to it. In the struggles that followed, and which constitute one of the most heroic chapters in Scottish history, Presbytery represented the side of popular liberty, and its advocates must be regarded as the true successors of Wallace and Bruce.

With a strong Calvinism as their inspiration or *vis vivida* of action, and with a Presbyterian government as their goal, the Covenanters, however intolerant they do appear when compared with the peace-loving and saintly Leighton, really represented the consciousness of the nation for civil and religious liberty, and thus the main stream of Scottish history. They were like the Reformers of 1560, the *Evangelii professores* as well as the *vindices libertatis*, and that they were so, constituted the Covenanting leaders, the tribunes of the people. The triumph of Presbytery shows that no cause can ultimately triumph that has not *liberty* as its ally and its tributary, and the cause of the "prelates" in Scotland moved not in harmony with this consciousness. Since the days of "Tulchans" they had as a body lost public esteem, were not regarded as the "*vindices libertatis*," were associated with kingly absolutism, while their restoration was suspected as a veiled return to Roman Catholicism. To accept them was *popularly* regarded as a surrender of liberty and Protestantism both, and no order could triumph in the Scotland of the seventeenth century, with such a twofold consciousness against it. Stronger even than the love of Presbytery in the Scottish mind was the hatred of Roman Catholicism and the triumph of Scottish Presbytery shows at least that not in Scotland is Gibbon's assertion true, that the banner of the Church has not been on the side of the people. Whatever defects may be recognized in the Presbyterianism of Scotland (and no other Church order is a finality or without its imperfections) this at least must be conceded after a review of the *objective* facts of Scottish history, that to Scottish Presbyterianism belongs the praise of first fighting and afterwards winning the great battle of civil and religious liberty in the dark and gloomy days of tyranny, and of handing on this sacred heirloom to Great Britain, and, with Holland, even to America at large. The pulse of patriotism, with its concomitant liberty, beats strong within Scottish Presbytery,

while in allying itself with the aspirations of the Scottish people it has built itself on adamantine pillars, and every great movement from the Church of Scotland itself (during the two subsequent centuries of its history) has accepted Presbyterianism as the *sine quâ non* or the *cum quâ semper* of its activity. Scottish Presbytery has given, all throughout its history, an unequivocal testimony to the facts that the Church is not the creation of the State: that the State cannot intrude into a region where it has no claim to be, without arousing a violent opposition, which can create in its very momentum a new Church. Yet, when the claims of the Church as a spiritual organism are recognized by the State, Scottish Presbytery has ever manifested itself as a law-loving power, making for loyalty and order. Spiritual independence within the Church is the keynote of the Scottish Church, and the Establishment to-day in straining for more liberty in relation to the interpretation of its creed, is raising again the cry of spiritual independence within its own borders, and is thereby true to its own past, in witnessing for the spiritual liberty which becomes ultimately the basis of civil liberty. Under the belief that spiritual independence is assured and enjoyed under the protection of the State, the Church is again asserting it, and no accredited statesman to-day would interfere with the spiritual functions and liberties of the Church of Scotland. But it was not so in the seventeenth and subsequent centuries, and well is it that the Covenanters did not bow the knee, for liberty was involved in their resistance. They are the National Heroes, who maintained the historical traditions of the country.

One thing is clear in Scotland from the Reformation downwards (and it becomes specially clear in the days of Charles I and Charles II), that the Church's ideas of its liberties and powers in the established relationship with the State have been widely different from the statesman's ideas, and the conflicts of Church and State in the past have largely, if not

solely, risen from the conflict of these ideas. The General Assembly was always regarded as "the palladium of the Church's liberty," and every attempt to restore Episcopacy by the State was associated with another, to silence the voice or cripple the powers of the Assembly.¹ And so, around the question of the powers of the Assembly, the controversy between Church and State has generally centred in Scotland. Leighton was ultimately willing or disposed to grant an Assembly during his tenure of office at Glasgow,² and was regarded by even Sharp as favourable to it, but Lauderdale knew that such a concession would at once have led to the "deposition of the prelates," and "the abolition of the ceremonies," as well as the end of his régime. Hence came his refusal, but hence came also the end of the system which he propped. Episcopacy, even as advocated by Leighton, (and his scheme was incomprehensible both to Episcopalians and Presbyterians alike,) was regarded as hostile to the Church's rights and the people's rights, and hence resulted its rejection, even in modified form. No

¹ The Erskines were true to this spirit in appealing to the "first free, faithful and reforming Assembly of the Church of Scotland," while for over 167 years their descendants (the former U. P. Church) have adhered to their appeal. Professor MacEwen, in his charming monograph on *The Erskines*, claims for them (and justly) that they set on foot in Scotland a Church expressly evangelical, brought the doctrine of the headship of Christ, dear to Scotland since the Reformation, into connexion with the modern claim for liberty of conscience: that in their adherence to their Scottish past, they have differentiated the non-conformity of Scotland from that of England: that their lives were impregnated with an intense conscience and devotion to God without reserve and that their movement kept secular ideas of liberty in subordination to religious law (pp. 154-160). All this is true, but the strength of their movement lay in the fact that they were in touch with the national conscience and the Scottish past since the days of Knox, whereas Leighton, through the predominant meditative tendency of his nature, lived so far apart that he failed to recognize the forces that were at work on the side which opposed him. He was an Athanasius *contra mundum*.

² See pp. 468 *et seq.*

saintly life and no catholic mind, however honoured, could commend a system which the Scottish people had learned to distrust from its connexion with the absolutism of the Stuart Kings. Every advocate of it was regarded as an emissary of a distrusted monarch and as seeking to bring both a nation, that had attained a mature consciousness of itself, to political servitude, and a Church that had an impassioned sense of its spiritual functions to become a department of the State. Presbytery was an advocacy of the political independence of the Scottish people and an assertion of the spiritual independence of the Scottish Church, and so closely are politics and religion associated in the seventeenth century, that it is impossible to dissociate the one from the other. Presbytery became triumphant because in Scotland it was the mother of liberty ; it became allied with the national conscience and so conquered. Its dominant spirit was spiritual freedom, and the future is likely to see fresh developments in this direction.

This ideal at the heart of Scottish Presbytery, united with a strong hatred of Episcopacy as ultimately leading backwards to the Roman Catholicism from which John Knox had delivered the nation, were the two supreme causes that led to the rejection of Leighton's scheme. He had guilelessly associated himself (however far apart he always was in spirit) with the King's party, and that for the Scottish Covenanters was enough to doom all efforts towards conciliation. The Church, they had resolved, was not to be a department of the State, and the Scottish Church was to be free to develop on its own lines and not to be shaped after any model from England. Such was the unfortunate setting, amid which Leighton's plan was placed, and the unfavourable environment, which prevented its realization. And separating it now from this setting and environment, there are several features connected both with the personality of its advocate and with the scheme of accommodation itself, that are worthy to be noted

It is certain that *apart* from Charles II and Lauderdale, it would have triumphed and would probably have been accepted as the basis of Church government at the Revolution Settlement, even if it had not already been assimilated into Scottish life before it. It was the sinister influence of the King and his ministers with the broken vows behind both, that led to its rejection. But had this holy man been followed, had the spiritual independence of the Church been assured, had the conscience of the nation not revolted from what was instinctively felt to be behind any compliance with Charles II—ecclesiastical Erastianism and political servitude—it is certain that the Scottish Church would have been the most comprehensive of institutions, and that Scotland would have been saved from much of the strife that in subsequent centuries has characterized its history. On the other hand, it is to be recalled that while Leighton was placed, by the leading of his own mind, in a fellowship that was unworthy of him, his own character stands forth from amidst it all as unsoiled : his sincerity is unquestionable : he never quenched *within* him that light which shines brighter than the light of the sun. If there is a fault against him (and there unquestionably is), it was the fault of transparent guilelessness, of forming too high a conception at the first of the parties with whom his circumstances brought him into contact. "He was fighting the battle of the Lord on the devil's side," and the men he accepted as moral heroes, with whom he associated himself, were singularly devoid of the qualities with which his saintly mind surrounded them. But Leighton himself is all a piece—free from time-serving, living ever in his Divine Taskmaster's eye, follower of the vision he saw on the Mount, loyal to the eternity towards which his mind's eye ever instinctively turned and in the light of which he ever viewed things around and beneath. He may have been somewhat blind to the cause the Covenanters represented, and to the great historical forces that were at work in the time when he

lived : his solitariness and living apart from men, with whom he did not sympathize, may account for his failure to grasp all the trend of the situation : still, there is a sanity about his statesmanship that cannot be gainsaid, and a practical grip of the time as a great opportunity for the realization of the government, which he desired, that are worthy of all praise. He was not the good party man who puts his mind into the common stock, and he escaped the tendency of the party system that tends to degrade intelligence. Probably he placed *ideality* as well before the teaching of experience, and had less the sense of what was happening than of what he desired to happen, even in the light of impossible circumstances. Yet his prevailing ideality is lovely, and his scheme of government has this imprimatur upon it, that it comes from a mind habituated to eternity and the atmosphere of God.

His personality is a strangely interesting and fascinating one amid the times when he lived, and a man that shapes his ideas on the eternal is one who has the future on his side. The hereditary influence of his family, that gave brilliant mediaeval Bishops and Abbots to the old Church of Scotland may have done much in creating tendency, but the strangely chequered career of his house must have humbled a character naturally humble. His family represented much that was best in Scottish tradition, and may have impressed him with the idea, of carrying more of the past into the present, than the spirit of his own period permitted or thought profitable. Still looking beyond the immediate circumstances of his father's career, it is not without interest to observe that this comprehensive scheme of government, which aimed at reconciling parties within one Church, and transcending differences in a higher unity, was advocated by a man at once so pre-eminently religious and the end of a line that gave worthy churchmen—the very best of their time—to the Church of Scotland in the mediaeval period. They restored cathedrals, and he, their successor in tradition, sought to unite a limited

Episcopacy with presbytery and to combine the cathedral ideal with the parochial one. The eternal pity is, that the circumstances of his day prevented its realization, while the hope is that one born out of due time, as far as his own day was concerned, may yet be the leader of a larger day that is to be, and the prophet of a brighter dawn. Apart from the unfavourable environment already referred to, let the following features of his scheme *per se* be regarded :

(1) It rests more upon the prophetic than on the sacerdotal view of the ministry. The minister was to him only priest in so far as he was prophet, or only priest in so far as that term can be applied to all Christian men. He was one who lived in the eternal, to bring the eternal nearer time, and only capable of doing so in so far as he communed with God. In other words, the power of the Christian ministry was to Leighton's mind not conferred by ordination, but by spiritual discipline, meditation, prayer, study of the Scriptures and prayer. The power of the evangel, faithfully interpreted, was the weapon of the Ministry, and he rested it not on institutional forms, but on divine realities. Piety, experience of God, realization of the great and absolute principles of religion—these, and not any ordination grace, constituted to his mind the *vis vivida* of the Christian ministry.

(2) He attached no divine right to any form of government and could serve under any that was not contrary to the Scripture, nor to the example of the primitive Church. The Church to him rested on divine realities and not on institutional forms, and he could say, with Dr. Whyte : "Neither Moscow, nor Rome, nor Geneva, nor Canterbury is the One Fold of Christ to me. . . . The Good Shepherd, who gave His life for the sheep, has much sheep of His in all these partial folds, and much sheep of His outside them all, neither shall any man pluck them out of His hand." ¹ He would

¹ Newman, pp. 56, 57.

never call Scotland "Samaria" and its reformers and saints "a self-formed ministry," that had lost the grace that seals "the holy apostolic line," because Scotland had not seen it fit to accept at its great Reformation a three-fold order—and the Church of Scotland, even when "Episcopal," never had the three-fold ministry.¹ His mind was too grand for such narrowness, for it rested the Church on the Divine doctrine of grace, and of faith in the living God as nigh to all souls in every communion, that called upon Him. He saw that God fulfils Himself in many ways, and that the channels of grace are as wide and as direct as the Eternal Love. He desired a moderate Episcopacy, working in harmony with Presbytery and subordinate to the Synods, as necessary to the *well-being* of the Church, but not to its *being*: he thought Presbytery could be improved thereby, and his action was the outcome of his vision. While regarding it as democratic in its essential and root constitution, he desired to make it more oligarchic in its central organization, and to adjust the latter to the former. But he never called the outer shell the real thing, nor regarded the inner kernel as of minor importance. Resemblance to the Lord, abundance of Christian knowledge, possession in the spirit of the Divine Spirit, constituted to his mind the true Church, as they did the true minister of Christ. He would say, with Bishop Ewing, "a true ministry makes a true Church, and a true ministry is likeness unto Christ. Looking on that image with discriminating reverence, we cannot call it Roman, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, still less monastic, papal, metropolitan. Is not the Church that which remains when these things drop off? In a true ministry we find a true Church."² The official to him never overshadowed the spiritual, and he never doubted, that when the hierarchy departed from the heavenly, it ceased to be a spiritual power in time. Church government was to

¹ Pp. 113, 114, chap. vii. ; also 351 *et seq.*

² *Present Day Tracts*, Second Series, p. 58.

him to be judged by the *order* it tended towards, and that was the best, which had so vindicated itself in human experience or history. The doctrine of parity again was not inconsistent with an *inter pares impar*, or with a *primus inter pares*. And so judging from the ground of history and practical efficiency, and with the *well-being* of the Church supremely in view, Leighton thought a gap could be filled, a service rendered, as well as discords annulled, by combining with Presbytery a limited Episcopacy, by taking both systems back to primitive times and viewing them in the unity, which both then realized. He regarded each as parts of a severed whole, and each as supplying that, which the other lacked. His bishop was not the mediæval but the primitive one, guiding the Church with the advice of the presbyters, and in co-operation with them. And he thought that if parties were centred on the inwards of religion, there ought to be no scruples in accepting such a government as would conserve all that was best in either system, as would unite the faithful on the ground of piety, concession, and the absence of claims on either side that would injure the feelings of the other. That he contended for such a form of government, constitutes his unique position in Scottish history during the seventeenth century. No one knew better that Presbytery in its known form at that time would not have existed but for the hard battles it had to fight, but for the excesses it witnessed against as well. He saw that it was a reaction against former abuses, as well as a dread of recurring ones; but he also saw, and no one more clearly, that there were weaknesses in the Presbyterian system from the disuse of Episcopacy. Yet while regarding *some form* of Episcopacy "as coming down from the primitive times in constant succession in this¹ (Church of

¹ This statement of Leighton's corresponds with the statement of the late Principal Tulloch: "I am one of those who recognize that Episcopacy has a certain historic root in Scotland."

Scotland) and other Churches," it is impossible to study his writings and not feel that he could say with Principal Caird, "I do not believe there is to be found in the Bible any prescribed and definite Church polity: but that while the great truths upon which the existence of the Church is based are immutable and everlasting, the arrangements of government and discipline, under which these truths are propagated and professed, have been by the great Head of the Church left indeterminate and flexible."¹

(3) To achieve the comprehensive idea of a Church, and to make himself an efficient agent between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians in realizing it, Leighton submitted to re-ordination. But it was only not to disqualify himself in the sight of one of the Church parties concerned. Leighton never regarded his Presbyterian ordination as invalid,² nor did he regard his Episcopal ordination as adding any new power to it. It was a necessity of his new situation, an authorized acknowledgment to work in accordance with a new Church polity. Many regarded this as the error of his career, but to Leighton's mind it was a matter of very secondary importance, a form to be accepted without any conscience-difficulty, after his *declaration* was made in relation to it.³ He had desired to be a mediator between parties, and to do so efficiently he submitted himself to the demands of one of them; and if he might do good thereby, he grudged not the self-effacement. But this is certain, that he never sought, far less claimed, to re-ordain his Presbyterian clergy, and the Records show that not one of the Presbyterians was re-ordained in the diocese of Dunblane. The Bishop's mind was too fixed on the Divine realities to attach importance to any such secondary matters. He was too great a Christian to unchurch any Church that served the Lord Jesus Christ.

¹ *Good Words*, July, 1863, p. 344.

² See p. 332.

³ *Ibid.*

(4) His own example as Bishop of Dunblane, and afterwards as Archbishop of Glasgow, shows how consistent his action was with his creed. His Episcopacy was founded on no divine right theory, but solely on that of practical utility. In his dioceses Presbytery remained as before : there was no attempt towards a three-fold order, and the only change was in the case of the parish ministers of Dunblane and Glasgow, who, as ministers of the cathedral parish churches, were named "deans." Presbytery exercised all its functions, as it does to-day, and at the Presbytery meeting, the Bishop, when present, is mentioned in the sederunt as a presbyter, distinct from the president of the Presbytery, who is styled "Moderator."¹ The Presbytery examined students for licence, and when a probationer was ordained to a charge within the Presbytery and came from another Presbytery, he brought a certificate from the Presbytery which he left, not from the bishop of the diocese in which his Presbytery was.²

Leighton presided at the half-yearly meeting of the Synod, and gave his charge, but he never interfered with the autonomy of the Presbyteries included in the Synod. He exercised no right of confirmation, but went about the parishes preaching and advising where difficulties presented themselves. *Then as now catechumens were instructed and prepared for Communion by the parish minister and admitted into Church-membership by the authority of the minister and elders, or seniores populi as they were called.*

Leighton took no exclusive part in ordination, but joined with the Presbytery, who then as now ordained by the laying on of hands. The extracts from the Records³ put this point beyond any doubt. To all intents and purposes, and apart from the name "bishop," by which he was justly designated, Leighton is as one of John Knox's superintendents ; *and had he been, as they were, appointed by the General Assembly and accountable to the Assembly, he would have been one of*

¹ Cf. pp. 496-7 and Appendix, pp. 578-581. ² P. 579. ³ P. 581.

them in every detail of Knox's own ideal. He thus recalled the finest days of Scottish Presbytery, before it departed from its early form under the stress of circumstances, and under the shaping influence of Andrew Melville. The Dunblane and Glasgow Records bring him before us as a primitive bishop, and not as a mediaeval one, and revealing the graces of the Apostolic life, for which Burnet justly praises him. *He renounced and always disclaimed the title of "lord,"*¹ and as far as historical evidence now presents itself only once signed himself in a letter "R. Dunblane," and that a petition presented to Lauderdale from the Scottish bishops, when not to have done so after the manner of the other bishops would have been to claim a singularity that was too conspicuous in an *official* document for his modesty.² In this respect he declined to make himself offensive to his fellow-presbyters and clung to that pre-eminently *spiritual* conception of the ministry,³ for which the Church of Scotland has always witnessed. Like Frederick Maurice, he had come to love some form of episcopacy as expressing the fatherly and catholic character of the Church, and like him believed that when it is lost the Church has the tendency to become hard, narrow or formal,⁴ but he never loved it in a way that was incompatible with the inherent *rights* of Presbytery, and offensive to its historical position in Scotland. As a bishop, he presented Episcopacy in a form that was determined by, and harmonious with, the humility of his own character; that was consonant with the history and strivings of the Presbyterian system under which he was educated, and of the best culture of which he was a lovely expression. He did not

¹ And this, even when the Scottish Bishops had civil offices under the Crown.

² See p. 417.

³ The late Bishop Wordsworth always censured the assumption of the title "Lord Bishop" by the prelates of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and always signed himself "Charles Wordsworth, Bp." (Knight's *Some Nineteenth Century Scotsmen*, p. 299).

⁴ *Life of Maurice*, vol. i. p. 524.

arrogate to himself a power nor assume a pomp, that were distasteful to the worthy men, who were pronounced Presbyterians by the situation in which they were placed ; he did not question their status as ministers of the Church of Christ nor call in question the validity of their ordination. The Christ-likeness of his action is transparent, and he was too Christian, his eyes were too firmly fixed on the things that are invisible, to attach any importance, or give an undue proportion, to things that are secondary. "To unite the faithful" was his sole aim : he never said, far less believed, that there was "no Church but mine," and he never failed to distinguish between the Church and the Kingdom of God, which includes and transcends all Churches.

(5) His idea of the *bishop* was a *primitive* one. Under the stress of the time the Covenanters would only accept the term in the sense in which it could be applied to "the pastor of a particular congregation."¹ The bishop of Ignatius, who was *congregational* and not *diocesan*, was their ideal : "one altar, one bishop," or rather "one presbyter," was their goal. Leighton went a little further, and apart from *name*, his bishop was no other than Knox's superintendent. He set aside all that was mediaeval, and returned to the primitive condition of things : he was not a prelate : he governed with the presbyters and deprived the presbyters of no powers which they had inherited before his arrival : he was only there to advise in difficulties, solve discords, settle disputes, and exercise a healing influence in his diocese. Of course all this depended upon the *personality* of the man who was the bishop ; and if Leighton's type could be assured in its continuance, his presence would be a blessing to any Synod. But the difficulty *then*, as always, is that the *personal equation* has no necessary continuance in others, and human nature enters into and mars the ideal. It is always true that as men are their work is, and Leighton never separated

¹ Peterkin's *Records of Assembly*, circa 1638.

the Church from the Saviour, but regarded it as a witness to interpret His Divine Life in gracious action towards men.

(6) Apart from his strange associates Leighton was regarded as betraying the cause in departing from the stern Presbyterianism of his father. But such a change is neither inconsistent with genuine Protestantism nor with scientific theology. Both believe that no order is a finality in spiritual things and that a man is entitled to change if he does so from sincere loyalty to a wider experience, to a larger vision, to a more comprehensive knowledge, to a genuine desire to improve that which he loves. And in Leighton's time, as well as in that preceding it, such *changes* were often sincere and necessary, and were made by progressive minds. The great William the Silent was born and baptized a Lutheran, was bred a Catholic, professed again the Lutheran faith in middle life, and joined at forty years of age the Calvinist Church. He united himself with that community, wherein he saw the cause of religious and civil liberty to be best conserved, and which worked best for both. To that community he held with perfect loyalty and unswerving moderation, while his prevailing idea in religion was to get rid of all persecution, and tolerate different forms of worship side by side.¹ Milton again, and on the same ground, passed through, in the course of twenty years, the stages of Churchman, Puritan, Presbyterian, Royalist, Independent, Commonwealth's man, Oliverian,² and these phases were not the acquiescence of a placeman, nor of an indifferentist, far less were they the changes of a party or of opinion. They were, as Pattison puts it, the genuine development of Puritan England repeated in an individual, and to Milton as to Cromwell, forms, whether of worship or of government, were but means to an end, and might be, or rather were to be, changed whenever duty required. This is genuine Protestantism, and what was felt

¹ *Life of William the Silent*, by Frederick Harrison, pp. 153, 155.

² *Life of Milton*, by Mark Pattison, p. 121.

necessary by such men, when new leading suggested itself cannot be denied to Leighton, as he studied other fellowships different from his own, visited other forms of communion and saw in them what he sincerely felt would better his own. His change was on the line of genuine development, and did not contradict his past, but carried it forward, in its best if its mildest aspects, to a larger form. It was a change in fact that brought Presbytery back from the extreme forms, which it had assumed as a reaction against High Churchism under Andrew Melville, to the fairer and more genial ideal of Knox.

(7) But in defence of his position, Leighton (as his papers on the subject clearly indicate) maintained that his position was not inconsistent with the Westminster *per se*. In other words he maintained a limited form of Episcopacy as a development from his own Scottish root, as an indigenous and not an exotic plant. This point is worthy of enlarged notice, and it was one of his strongest defences. As a historical perspective it is at least well to recall it.

It is said that the Church of Scotland is sworn "to the extirpation of prelacy or church government by archbishops, bishops, etc." But Leighton was too well informed from the first not to know that this avowal is no part of the Confession of Faith, but is extracted from the Solemn League and Covenant, commonly bound up in the same volume with the Confession. In fact it was noticed by the keen eyes of the Scottish Presbyterians, that the Confession of Faith contained not one word of those doctrines which are the very marrow of the Solemn League and Covenant, as well as the very essence of Scottish Presbyterianism in the seventeenth century after 1643. As Dean Stanley put it, "the English Statesmen had been too much even for the canny Scotsmen."¹ While the Scottish commissioners were set on having their forms of Presbytery recognized in England, they omitted to obtain

¹ *Macmillan's Magazine* (1881), p. 290.

that guarantee for it in the Confession, which alone could have made it of perpetual obligation. Baillie adds, "We have been in a pitiful labyrinth these twelve days about ruling elders—we yet stick into it."¹ In the 25th chapter of the Westminster, which alone bears on the subject, there is not one word to indicate that Episcopacy *in Leighton's form of it* is unlawful, and not one word to indicate that Presbytery is the only lawful or only desirable government. It declares that "particular Churches are more or less pure according as the doctrine of the Gospel is taught and embraced, ordinances administered, and public worship performed more or less purely in them." As there is nothing in the *Confession of Faith* against Episcopacy so there is no legal obligation laid upon the clergy of the Church of Scotland to hold Presbytery *as of exclusive divine origin*. *The Westminster is on this point the very essence of toleration, and is the very reverse of those precise and exclusive doctrines which most of the Scottish commissioners held on the subject*. Dean Stanley has said: "The English Thirty-Nine Articles on the whole are elevated by the same lofty adia-phorism as that which penetrated the Westminster Confession, but the Preface to the Ordination Service contains expressions which dangerously trench on the exclusive privileges of Episcopacy in a way in which no similar expressions can be alleged in the doctrine of the Scottish Church with respect to Presbytery."² Principal Tulloch has said: "Betwixt the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Confession of Faith there is no substantial difference, although the former may have followed more the Lutheran as the latter have followed more the Calvinistic type of doctrine."³ The Church of England, as judged by her highest minds, and the Church of Scotland as interpreted by her Confession, maintained

¹ iii. 125.

² *Macmillan's Magazine*, p. 291.

³ *Contemporary Review* (1881), p. 236.

the truly Catholic theory of the Church, as constituted by Divine realities and not by institutional forms—as resting not on formal prescription but on the higher *principles of the Divine law, interpreted by nature and history*. Only thus to Hooker did Episcopacy appear to possess any divine right, and even Keble is forced to admit that the Elizabethan divines are content “to show that the government by archbishops and bishops is ancient and allowable,” and “never venture to urge its exclusive claim or to connect the succession with the validity of the Holy Sacrament.” The clergy of the Church of England are nowhere bound to the recognition of the three-fold order as a necessary dogma of belief by the Thirty-Nine Articles, and in the Westminster the idea of the Church is held forth as purely spiritual and not ritualistic. *Ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi Ecclesia*, is in effect the statement of both.

Now it is only fair to Leighton that this point, especially as it relates to the Church of Scotland, should be pointed out. He was called disloyal and “jesuitized,” while in fact his proposal was in no wise contrary to the Westminster nor to Presbytery, which it sought to evolve into a higher form. Leighton was true to the best traditions of his Church, and at heart his aim was to lead Presbytery back from the form it had assumed under the hand of Andrew Melville to the form it originally had from the hand of Knox. Presbyterianism does not disown nor denounce Episcopacy, and some form of the latter seems necessary, if not implied, in it; and just as one finds Episcopacy *truly* defended as a useful fact generated by the historical necessities of the Church and not as a divine fact limiting all other rights in the Church, so it is necessary to distinguish between Presbytery, defended by its ardent upholders in the seventeenth century as an eternal pillar in the temple, and stated in the Westminster, which lays no legal obligation upon the clergy to hold it as of exclusive Divine origin. Leighton’s vision was open to this fact, and he was one of those who saw weakness in the Pres-

byterian system, arising from the disuse of Episcopacy. It was of the type of mind which Leighton embodied that Principal Tulloch wrote: "In the Church of Scotland this natural and practical form of Episcopacy (as opposed to the divine right theory) has been recognized. Its early order of superintendents was nothing else than this, and its practice, of appointing commissioners to visit parishes and committees to supervise Church work, shows that the mere idea of oversight is not inconsistent with its ecclesiastical system, although its operation is naturally watched with jealousy. From the beginning, in fact, there has been in the Scotch Church a party, not only not inimical to Episcopacy in this sense, but strongly in favour of it—a party of whom Leighton may be said to be the most distinguished representative."¹

Regarding Episcopacy and Presbytery as equally allowable and as equally justifiable by Scripture,² Leighton's aim was to engraft both in a system of mutual concession, which, while preserving all that was best in each, took away from the one any *jus divinum*³ that could not be applied to the other. He saw in each the element of growth, and probably also

¹ *Contemporary Review* (1881), p. 236.

² Superintendence is exercised by the Presbyteries to-day, either by schedule queries, or by Presbytery visitation, or by Presbytery delegates. But the desire for a personal superintendent of weight and wisdom to advise, help and encourage in spiritual work is widely felt. Professor Herkless pleaded for this at the Church Conference in 1899 (*Report*, pp. 39, 40), while Principal Story also advocates it (Preface to *History of the Church of Scotland*, i. xxvi.).

³ In his controversy with Archbishop Usher on *Prelatical Episcopacy*, John Milton shut out antiquity as evidence in the case. Usher had incautiously included the Ignatian Epistles in his argument, and Milton questioned their authenticity. This led to Usher's re-examination of them, and the result was edition (1644), in which he acknowledged the total spuriousness of nine epistles and the partial interpolation of other six.

Milton's argument amounted to this. Episcopacy is either of human or divine origin. If of Divine origin, it must be so shown from Scripture (which is impossible). If of human origin, it may be retained or abolished as may be found expedient.

as clearly as Edwin Hatch¹ that the elements of which Church organizations are composed, were already existing *in human society*; that the author of the one is the author of the other, and that any *jus divinum* claimed by the ecclesiastical can be as justifiably claimed by the civil. He saw, too, that this diminishes the controversies which have separated one community of Christians from another; that God acts in the realm of grace, as in the realm of nature, by the mediation of general but far-reaching laws; that the *fact* of that operation and the *mode* of it are not to be confused; that for the preservation of *historical continuity* more than for the preservation of *historical form* we have to contend; that each generation may revise and reform the past, but cannot bring it back. It is very interesting to notice how much Leighton's scheme anticipated the investigations of scholars like Hatch and Harnack,² who have both attained the same results in their study of the historical process, and how much he anticipated the investigations of a later age. Yet this proves more effectually the *sanity* of his scheme.

Leighton saw nothing in the Westminster *per se* to prevent the realization of his combined idea, while he tried to persuade the Covenanters to accept it, since by the Covenant they were

¹ *Organization of Early Christian Church*, pp. 215, 216.

² Hatch studied the influence of the Church on its historical conditions and the re-action of the historical conditions upon the Church. His work is at once Catholic in spirit and historical in method: it was hailed by Continental scholars, and Harnack, in his introduction to his German edition of it, admitted that the results of his researches are identical with Hatch's.

Hatch pointed out in his *Bampton Lectures*, p. 84 (*a*) that the tendency towards the institution of a president was almost, if not altogether, universal; (*b*) that this necessity led to a centralized administration—a chairman of the governing body (p. 87); (*c*) that the Bishop came to be regarded as the unity of doctrine and discipline, and that about the time of the great Latin theologians of the fifth century it began to be argued that they had succeeded not only to the seats which the Apostles had filled, but to the powers which the Apostles possessed (pp. 90, 108). The Episcopate is thus the outcome of a historical process, the evolution of which can be traced.

only pledged to the uprooting of *Prelacy*, not of modified Episcopacy, in the form of a Bishop as superintendent or perpetual moderator of Synod. He desired the Church to expand on its own lines, to develop on its own Scotch roots, to make more lovely its own historic past, to be true to the earlier idea of Knox and the Reformers. But his appeals only alienated both Episcopalians and Presbyterians alike—the former because his theory and example deprived the Bishop of that which they regarded as his legitimate powers in ordination and confirmation, and the latter because Episcopacy in any form, by its connexion with the King, involved Erastianism for the Church, as well as a betrayal of the sacred cause of civil and religious liberty. Leighton was as much deserted by his own friends as his Accommodation was rejected by the Presbyterians, and as far as the latter are concerned, McWard's Paper was their manifesto,¹ and it reads like a Non-Intrusion Pamphlet, which could almost have been written during the ten years' conflict.

Richard Cameron, who lived "praying and preaching, and died praying and fighting," is the true hero of the period, and yet no one will deny that although Robert Leighton's influence told little on the sphere of church-life during his day, he is yet a hero and a saint, and is probably yet awaiting a time of even wider influence. After days have been benefited and helped by his piety: improvements in church-worship have followed on the lines he indicated in the seventeenth century: who can deny that his comprehensive scheme of church-government may yet win the near future? or that he may yet be recognized as a statesman, who suffered from the side to which he was led, and whose programme, apart from its unfortunate historical environment, can become a rallying-point of unity on honourable and conciliatory terms for all parties, and that his name, rejected by their predecessors, may yet be accepted by the Presby-

¹ See pp. 451, 452.

terians and Episcopalians alike as their guiding-star amid the problems that are to press for solution in the near future, if Protestantism is to become a united force?

Döllinger proposed a movement in Germany for the reunion of Christendom, and the basis of conciliation was to be Holy Scripture, with the three Oecumenical Creeds interpreted by the still undivided Church of the early centuries. An international society of the noblest and most beneficial kind was thus to be formed, and beginning as a snowball, it might well become an irresistible avalanche. The aim was noble, and Dr. Döllinger advocated it by insisting on two great points: (*a*) the monstrous anomaly of the existing state of division in the Christian Church, and (*b*) the extravagant and absurd significance of the greater part of the causes of disunion and separation. Every Christian will wish success to such a union and utter the prayer that it may yet be achieved, for an international religious union, while lovely in itself, would help to solve difficult international problems. This may be the far-off goal in the distant future, and Europe may yet see a United Reformed Catholic Church. But the stepping-stone to it may be the unity of each type of disunited Protestantism in each country, even as at the Reformation each country had a united Reformed Church. Unity is the marching word of the future, and Leighton's message to Scotland is peculiarly helpful. In all likelihood, Presbyterianism will before long strive to re-unite its broken ranks, and it is called to do so, for Presbyterianism has, historically speaking, allied itself with the sense of Scottish nationality and freedom, while not less than eighty per cent. of the Scottish people are connected with it. The history of its secessions proves that those who separated on the conscientious ground of spiritual independence never rejected the Westminster Creed, nor altered the Presbyterian form of government, while they claimed the same traditions by not separating from the *true*

Church of Scotland, but only from the defections and back-sliding from the original testimony as such appeared to them. Scotland has already seen a great reconstruction, which is the promise and prophecy of a still greater one between the present Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland. Both are historically akin ; both are separated by small differences now, and when the Oecumenical Council from both Churches meets to solve the difficulties that are in the way, Leighton's scheme may suggest at least the possibility of restoring Knox's Superintendent, with or without the name of Bishop ; of creating for the work of the large city parishes clergy-houses and deaconess-homes, with student residences for the University centres, and institutes like Oxford House, London, for redemptive work in the darker parts of our big towns. All this is in harmony with his idea of having something in Protestantism, *but without vows*, to correspond to the religious houses, connected with the mediaeval Orders.

As to union between Presbytery and Churches episcopally constituted, the problem is not so easy, for union on the terms that Presbytery could honourably accept, would not be such as the Episcopal Churches in their present temper would grant, without changing their constitutions, and constitutions must grow, and cannot be manufactured. One thing is certain, that Scottish Presbytery, which has been the mother of freedom, and has helped most potently to mould free institutions among the English-speaking races of the world ; which has made the Scottish people as we know them, and has been visibly blessed by God in its work and testimony, in its saints and prophets—should not be compared, in however well-meaning a manner, to a fourth century sect like the Donatists,¹ or that proposals carried at a Church Council in 393 A.D. should be brought forward as a precedent for treating the Church of Scotland at a Conference of Bishops.² There ought to be no difficulty with the "orders"

¹ *Episcopate of Charles Wordsworth*, pp. 253, 254.

² *Ibid.*

of a Church that God has so visibly blessed; neither is it intelligible to a Presbyterian, who loves his Church and knows its great history, that preachers whose words have stirred the soul, and pastors whose holy lives have helped to shape the character of those who venerate them for their influence and revere them for their worth, should have their status as ministers of Christ even questioned, or the validity of their sacraments doubted, because they have not been ordained by a Bishop. The Lambeth decision calling for unity, distinguished between "Churches of the Anglican communion" and other "bodies." If that expression was due to inadvertence, it ought to be rectified, for, as Professor Charteris said, and voiced the feeling of the Church by his words, "The Church of Scotland could have no Church unity with those who denied that it was a Church."¹ Without a full acknowledgment and declaration on such a point (and it is the crux of the question) no union could be contemplated between Scottish Presbytery representing 80 per cent. of the population, and the main stream of Scottish history and Scottish Episcopacy representing only 2.95. The idea assumes a ludicrous form, since Scottish Presbytery in the Colonies and America has become a world-force, and Scotland is its early home. On any high Church theory of Episcopal ordination, union with Presbytery is impossible, for on such ground the systems will not blend; and if Scotland were to accept such a form of Episcopacy, the history of the country would require to be written anew and the national ideals reversed. Union must not be the absorption of Presbytery in Episcopacy:² it must be the meeting of elective affinity, of honourable recognition, founded upon the Spirit of the Galilean, and of self-sacrifice for the good of His Eternal Kingdom.

Bishop Wordsworth, during his honoured lifetime in

¹ Church of Scotland Congress at Aberdeen, October 10, 1901.

² See Dr. Cunningham's *Lee Lecture* for 1887.

Scotland, advocated in touching appeals union between the Church of Scotland and the Episcopal Church in Scotland. But it is singular to observe that, great and good as he was, there is no declaration in his statement of terms¹ regarding the Episcopal claims to ordain and confirm.

These are points on which Presbytery could not retrench without compromising the ideal of the ministry on which it rests. Presbytery admits degrees in office, but not difference of kind, and its idea of bishop is that of "pastor of a particular congregation." It is not alien to a superintendent, but it could not delegate the exclusive power of ordination to a Bishop without the Presbytery, as an accredited Court of Christ's Church, ceasing to be; neither could it delegate the act of confirmation to the Bishop without interfering with the spiritual jurisdiction of the Kirk-Session and of the minister who admits communicants into the Communion of the Church in the presence of the congregation, and *after* a resolution of Kirk-Session. To surrender these two points would be for Presbytery to annihilate itself in the act, and these are the two points on which Bishop Wordsworth said nothing, and these are the points on which something needed to be said.

Apart from the inevitable Erastianism of Leighton's position,¹ (from its historical environment), and apart from

¹ Bishop Wordsworth thus states them: "When the time shall arrive for such a reconciliation as that which I have advocated, there will be nothing to prevent the continuance of that system. (1) Kirk Sessions will remain as corresponding to our Vestries. (2) Presbyteries will remain, as corresponding to Rural Deaneries, not yet revived among ourselves, from the scantiness of our numbers, but revived in England. (3) Synods will remain as corresponding to our Diocesan Synods. (4) Above all the General Assembly will remain, only with Bishops constituting an Upper Chamber, and having the control of judicial processes. There is nothing in such a system to stand in the way of intercommunion with the Church of England, with the Irish Church, with the American Church, and with the Anglican Churches throughout the world." (*Appeals in Behalf of Christian Unity*, vol. ii. p. 466.)

² See p. 491.

another weakness in the system that *lay-elders* were not admitted as members of the Synods,¹ it is certain that Leighton never interfered with the jurisdiction of the Kirk-Session in the parish, and it is equally certain from the account of the ordination at Port of Menteith, extracted from the Presbytery Records,² that he did not ordain alone, but *with* the Presbytery, who laid on the probationer their hands, as is done still. Leighton's example is thus unique, and his scheme proposes the only possible solution of the question: it is "low-church": it is founded upon the full recognition of Presbytery as a Church and of Presbyterian orders, as well as on the recognition of Presbyterian sacraments: had Leighton but been able to admit lay-elders into the Church Courts (and on this point the difficulty would not be on his side, but on that of his colleagues), everything in Presbytery would have been retained in his diocese, with an Episcopal superintendence added in a very mild, if not solely in an advisory, form. Yet McWard stated one of the chief objections to it when he wrote, "The Accommodation utterly disowns and cuts off the ruling elder," while the whole concession was founded (unfortunately for Leighton) "on the all-swaying prerogative of the King."³ Leighton at least did all he could by way of limiting his own prerogatives, and would have conceded further if he could, but he was prevented from doing so by his Episcopal colleagues. Yet it is interesting to find one, who declared himself "an Episcopalian" and who filled the office of a Bishop, making concessions as he did, and no one can doubt that he did so, because his spirit was so intensely Christian, and because his mind distinguished between the permanent and the contingent in the Christian Church, and never lost its sense of proportion.

The scheme he advocated bears henceforth the glory of

¹ Also from the historical environment, p. 353.

² See Appendix, p. 581. ³ Pp. 451, 452.

having his honoured name connected with it, as well as those of Archbishop Usher and Richard Baxter. In the future it is certain to be much considered, and it stands forth as an example of the Christian spirit creating a proposal to unite two systems, which many think are incapable of being united. But it is something to have had this proposal proceeding from such good and honoured men. The beacon lights are not yet burned out, nor has the need for separate organization in the evolution of the religious society passed from the minds of men, while each part has a contribution to make towards the richness of the whole. Some day forces that now run parallel may work themselves out, and the desire for unity may overpoweringly break down barrier walls presently immovable ; then indeed the fresh study of this proposal of Usher, Leighton and Baxter may be helpful to the Church, and may become the guiding principle of a new development. In the meantime the invisible and spiritual unity of all the Churches may be more abundantly realized : it can pass more and more into mutual helpfulness and at last into *visible unity*. Verily the Day of the Lord will come, and none can stay it. Duty is ours, but results are God's. Manus ad clavum : oculus at caelum.

Scottish history may be stormy and the course of the Church of Scotland ¹ may seem chequered. *They are rugged, but grandly heroic*. Reformation, Restoration, Revolution, Disruption, only express its visible history of the latter, but the grace beneath it all—the Divine life in the Church—has created saints, inspired prophets, has moulded Scottish life and character as well as the Scottish nation, and its full record is written in the Book of Life above. While then we lovingly part with Leighton and admire his toleration in an age when toleration was unknown, or regard him as a leader whose day is yet to come, let us be grateful that the Covenanters saw into the heart of the historical situation,

¹ Wordsworth's *Life*, p. 228.

resisted a tyranny, stood up for religious and civil liberty, and witnessed even with their blood for the Crown Rights of Christ. That great act of loyalty to the spiritual principles of the Christian Church made Scotland, and although stern to the view that does not pierce deep enough, the Covenanters are in heart and action heroes.

The Church of Scotland was made in the storm, and while we admire Leighton, it is well to treasure within us the spirit that beat within the Covenanter's breast. It penetrated Scottish religion with a grand overmastering sense of conscience and of God in Conscience, which have made Scottish religious history unique and a contribution to the world's life.

APPENDIX A

Extracts from Dunblane Presbytery Records, with an account of an Ordination Service in which Bishop Leighton and the Presbytery *conjointly* take part.

6 January, 1663.

Presbytery of Dunblane, 1652-71, p. 179.¹ Bishop his lettere.

The quhilk day, thair was ane lettere of the Bishop's reade of the dait 11th 10 [[December], which occasioned the meiting desyreing the breithreine to meite at Dunblane first Tuysday Januarj in respect thair was no meiting since the synod; and the breithreine present considdering the said lettere quhilk did beare that the bischope would either write or be present himselfe, and in his absence Mr. Thomas Lyndsay the deane did delyver ane other lettere of the daite 31 10^{bris} [i.e. December] quhairin Mr. Johne Edmonstoune, by expreso² thairin wes nominate moderatour to the next meiting of the Synode, quhairunto the hail breithreine did give thair heartie applaus. And the meiting procedeis as follows, and, first, ordaines the next meiting to be on Weddinsday 20 dayes, the 28 January instant. And the absent breithreine to be acquainted with the said diete.

Ane uther lettere expressing Mr. John Edmonstone moderator.

9 September, 1663.

P. 191. The bischope his peaper of submissione to the presbitrie.

This day thair was ane peaper produced to the presbitrie from the bischope be John Grahame, his clark, quhilk the presbitrie having harde the presenter desyrit it might be bookit and the principall to be returned to him as he was enjoynde. The presbitrie finding his desyre reasonabill returned the principall being then registrat, the tennour quherof followes and is thus: Because I heir that thair hes beine ane contest betwixt the ministers of Dunblane and Calendare tuicheing fourscoir merkis of yeirlie dew now payable to me be Johnne Buchanane of Arnepryour and confest by both no longer to belong to aither of thame; and yet being resolved to receede from my awne right to it, and to assigne it to thame or either of thame as the presbitrie of Dunblane, after dew inquiry into

¹ Memo. This is really p. 279 of book. After p. 268 the paging reads 169, 170, etc.—always 100 pages short. After page 210 the numbers proceed from 301 onwards.

² This word is contracted, and probably means expression.

the mater shall finde most juste and reasonable, I doe by these give full power to the said presbitrie to dispose of the said fourscoore merkis for this yeire j^m vj^c sixtie thrie, determineing it to be payed to quhom they think fitt : As lykwayes of eight scoir merkis for the tuo bypast yeires (David Moire haveing receaved it in my name), which I appoynt to be repayed out of the rent dew to me within the diocie of Dunblane for this present yeire 1663. And that the determinatioune of the said presbitrie shalbe ane sufficient warrant for that effect. Writtine and subscrivit by me (?), Dunblane, August 26, 1663.

R. LEIGHTONE.

23 December, 1663.

P. 194. The submissione be the bischope to the presbitrie relate-
Submissione ing to the ministers of Dunblane and Calendare. The
be the presbitrie is to determine therin the nixt day peremp-
bischop to be torelie without farder delay ; quherof Mr. George Buchanane
determined present is adverteised and the deane to be adverteised be
the next day. the clark that he may be present per se vel per alium. And
they baith to bring with thame what they have to say ; with certifica-
tioune the presbitrie will determine.

P. 195. 20 January, 1664.
Submissione . . . "in respect nather of thame ar present personalie
delayed. nor be proxies nor no peaperis seine."

16 March, 1664.

P. 197. The quhilk day, as to the mater in debate betwixt the
The ministers of Dunblane and Calendare (long depending
judgement befor the presbitrie) and that be vertew of the bischope
of the his refewse and submissione, as the peaper therof in itselie
presbitrie largelie proportis registrat on the 191 page of this register,
upon the the presbiterie finding that both the reverend breithreine of
submittit Dunblane and Calender by thair awne confessiones the
thing be the mater submittit doeth not of rycht belong to nather of
bischope. thame but is at the bischop's disposeing and quhilk now he hes referrit
to the judgement and determinatioune of the presbiterie : And thair
peapers rychtis and allegatiounes beine seine and considderit *hinc inde*
hath found nothing particularlie militateing against the same bot that of
rycht it pertaines to the bischope. And lykwyse haveing receaved ane
peaper this day as to the purpose subscrivit be the bischope the tennour
Ane other quherof is as followes. Quhairas I left ane note toucheing
paper from what is yeirlie dew to me from Mr. Buchanane of Arne-
the bischope pryour because it wes formerlie receaved by ane of our
relateing to brethreine and the right of it pretendit to by ane other. I
submission perceave that which way soever it were disposed of to either
and not or both of thame it would lykelie content naither of thame
retracting. bot certainelie discontent the one. Thairfoir I am resolved
not to tempt thame to any further conteste about it, and thoughe (I think

it undoubtitlie mine) yet not to appropriate it to any use of myne owne, bot to the releife of the poor in that place, yet doe I not whollie retract my refferance to the presbiterie but submittis evine my right to thair judgement that if they judge it belongs of right to either of the tuo brethren that formerlie disputed it, it shalbe his to quhom they adjudge it. Bot if they determine it myne I shall crave leave to dispose of it as I have said, and I think naither of the breithreine can justly complaine if I doe so, for the deane knowes what I have doune to satisfie him evin beyond ane agriement subscrivit with his owne hand ; bot I hope at meiting to give full satisfiounne both in this and any thing else within my power to all my breithreine.

R. LEIGHTONE.

Edr March 12, 1664.

The presbiteries peaper presentlie produced and insert : as also takeing to mynd of the their serious consideratiounne the meane and small provi-
submissione sioun of their brother the minister of Calendare quho could
and not have subsisted in that place without the helpe and
recommenda- assistance of his breithreine doe thairfoir looke upon it as
tione of Mr. our deutie to recommend our brother Mr. George
George Buchanan. Buchanan to be the maine object of the bischop's charitie
in that mater. And for his better subsistance for the future that the
bischope would be pleased to be effectually asisting for the setling of
the said Mr. George in ane competint maintenance for his encouragment
to officiate in that place. And in the meane tyme that our reverend
brother Mr. Thomas Lyndsay his stipend be not deteriorate.

Deane protestis. The said day Mr. Thomas Lindsay, deane, protested
against the said act and appeallis to the judge ordinare
and will give in his reasounes in maner [and tyme con-
venient.

Dunblane, 5 June, 1667.

P. 340. This day the bischope earnestlie desyred that the forsaid
The meiting meiting of the presbiterie on the 19th of Junii instant might
forsaid be continued as to any exercise except the lesser appoynted
continued in tryall of Mr. William Weemes, which he with some of the
respect of neirest breithrine should heir. And that in respect he hade
Port and Kippen. condischendit with my lord Cardrose and other heretors of
the parochie of Port to meit at Port on the 18th day of the said moneth
with some of the breithreine on the west hand and that the said day
they would goe to Kippen in order to the mans and gleib of both
paroches, so that all the presbitrie could not keipe both the 18th and
nyntene dayes : quhairwith the presbiterie wes content, and that at
Kippen they should appoint the nixt full meiting.

A.L.

At Balquhidder, 8^{bris} (November), 1664.

P. 303. Post invocationem Dei nominis,
Sederunt.

Presentes. The bishope, Mr. Thomas Lyndsay, deane, Mr. Johnne Edmonstoune, Mr. George Buchanane, Mr. Andro Barclay, and Mr. Donald McVicare, ministers.

At Kippen, 18 June, 1667.

P. 341. This day the bishope and the presbiterie haveing mett for
Act anent the considdering of the mans to be built for the minister have
mans of thought fitt for erecting ane sufficient house the sowme of
Kippen, &c. eight hundreth merkis Scottis, and does appoynt the said
sowme to be proportionallie layd on the wholl parochie and
to choyse ane collector to uplift the same quho may give ane full accompt
to the parochie when the whole work is perfyted of the expenssis
debursed. The fabrick of the hous is to be fourtie foot long within the
wallis thairof. And for the collecting of this money foirsaid Robert
Leckie is choysine by the heretouris to be answerable when demandit
to Walter Leckie of Daskers, James Edmondstoune of Broiche and
Duncane Fescher quha are to agrie with the tradsmen for the work and
to take ane accompt of the collectouris diligence. The termes of pay-
ment of this forenamed sowme of money are, the first at the first of
August and the latter at Mertimes nixt thereafter 1667 preceislie.

P. 343. At Dunblane, 10th July, 1667.

The bischope,
Sederunt Mr. Daniell McVicar, moderatour, Mr. Robert Kirk, Mr.
All present. George Buchanane, Mr. Edward Blaw, Mr. Thomas For-
rester, Mr. John Edmondstoune, Mr. Thomas Lyndsay, Mr. George
Shaw, and Mr. William Weemes ; all present.

P. 346. At Tulliallane, 31 July, 1667.
Sederunt.

Presentes. The bischope, Mr. Johnne Edmondstoune, moderatour
pro tempore, Mr. George Schaw, Mr. Edward Blaw, Mr.
Robert Kirk.

P. 347. At Dunblane, 11 August, 1667.
Sederunt.

Presentes. The bischope, Mr. Daniell McVicare, moderatour, Mr.
George Schaw, Mr. Thomas Forrester, Mr. George
Buchanane, Mr. Robert Kirk, Mr. William Weemes, Mr. Johne Gray,
Mr. Edward Blaw.

P. 349.

4 September, 1667.

The presbiterie taking to thair serious considderatioune Act in favouris that they have doune all that effared thame once and of Buchanan. againe with the pariche of Calendare, and in speciall with the heretouris that they would have takine away thair ministeris greivances by redress, and yet nothing doune nather first nor last. And also considdering that the bischope and presbiterie by thair act 14th Septembris 1664 did declaire that the said Mr. George was frie where he might be better accomodate for the exercise of his functione of the ministre. And also this day the brother Mr. George declaring to the presbiterie that amongst many his other greevances of old and of late this is not the least that his spirit is troublit with that he preaches and prayes to many of that people in ane unknowne language, have thairfoir voyced and hairby simple voyces his transportatioune and that forthwith he have extract heirof.

Buchanane The presbiterie recommendis the said Mr. George recommendit Buchanan to the bischope for authorizeing the foresaid to the Bischope. act in his favouris that the samyne may prove effectuell.

P. 350.

25 September, 1667.

The bischope shewes that The bischope shewes that Mr. James Donaldsone will keipe the nixt meiting for productione of his testimoniallis will returne. and for ending his tryallis in ordour to Port.

P. 351.

At Dunblane, October 23, 1667.

Post invocationem Sacrosancte et Individue Trinitatis.
Sederunt.

Presentes, The Bishop, Mr. John Edmonston, moderator pro tempore, Mr. John Gray, Mr. Robert Kirk, Mr. Eduard Blaw.

Mr. J. Gray exercised. Mr. Jo. Gray exercised and was approvin. Mr. G. Shaw who should have added is absent, together with Mrs. Absente, [maisteris] D. McVicar, T. Forrester, T. Lindsay.

Exercise establisht, Mr. Geo. Shaw is appoynted to exercise at next diet and Mr. J. Gray to add on Luke 14. 27. To be November 6, 1667.

Robert Caddell, former clerk, having departed this life, Mr. Ro. Kirk is nominate to be clerk for the future.

This day Mr. James Donaldson presented a testimoniall from the presbiterie of Edinburgh under Mr. A^d. Turner the moderator, and Mr. Charles Lumbsden clerk, their hands, of the dait October 16, 1667, quhairwith the presbiterie was satisfied and accepted the same as a sufficient testimony of his good carriage and deportment while amongst them,

with thair approbatione of his first tryalls in order to preaching, which testificats was app[ointed] him to produce at the last meiting.

Mr. Ja. Donaldson ap-
provin and recom.
to the Bishop for sp.
admiss,
Quhilk day also Mr. Ja. Donaldson is approvin by the presbiterie in one and all of his tryalls and does recommend his speedy plantatione and admisionne to the rycht reverend Bishop. In the mean tyme the presbiterie appoints the said Mr. J. Donaldson to preach at Port the next Lord's day or at furthest the 2d hence.

At Dunblaine, Novr. 6, 1667.

Sederunt.

Presentes, The Bishop, Mr. Donald McVicar, moderator, Mr. G. Shaw, Mr. T. H. Lindsay, Mr. J. Gray, Mr. Edw. Blaw, Mr. Abs. Will. Weems. Absentes: Mr. Th. Forrester, Mr. J. Edmonston, Mr. R. Kirk.

G. Shaw Mr. G. Shaw exercised, Mr. J. Gray added. Both are exercised, J. approvin.
Gray added,
Brethren Mr. G. Shaw and Mr. D. McVicar thair excuses are excused, admitted of the last day's absence.

Exercise Mr. G. Shaw is appointed to exercise next and Mr. Thomas establ. Lindsay to add, on Luke 14. 33. The presbiterie diet is to be determined at the admisionne at Port. Which day of Mr. Donaldson's admisionne wes ordered by the Bishop from Edinburgh to be Nov^r. 15.

Act presby- This day the presbiterie ordeans every respective brother terie & Clerks, to have the clerks of synod and presbiterie thair dues in readiness against the next diet and have compleat discharges under thair hands. As also to provide the bursars proportion for his first year 1667, so many as had not payd it as yet.

P. 352.

Bursars
provisione.

Mr. Ed. Blaw Tis this day ordeaned that Mr. Ed. Blaw serve Mr. to serve Mr. Donaldson's edict at Port some Sabboth betwixt and Donaldson's edict. the next presbiterie day and advertise the parosh Mr. Donald- thair of tymously: Mr. Ja. Donaldson having reported son preacht this day that he preacht at Port on Sabboth wes 8 days. at Port. Mr. J. Ed- Mr. Jo. Edmonston is appoynted to preach at Calendar monston to 'twixt and next meiting of Presbiterie. preach at Calendar.

At Port, November 15, 1667.

Post Dei Opt. Max. Nominis invoc^m.

Sederunt.

Presentes, The Bishop, Mr. Tho. Lindsay, Mr. Jo. Edmonstone, Mr. Ed. Blaw, Mr. Jo. Gray, and Mr. Don McVicar, moderator.

Mr. Donald- This day Mr. Ed. Blaw reported (he having received
son's ordina- advertisement of the speedy admittance of Mr. Donaldson
tione and ad- to Port) that he preacht last Sabbath at Port, where his
mission to edict was served, according to appoyntment and gave in
Church of Port. the sermon indorst. Quhilk edict being read again at
the most patent church doore, that if any person did object against the
young man's admittance, his reasons wold be now heard and considered,
with certificatioun if none compeared for that effect they wold proceed
to the work, wherfore none compearing to his contrair, in presence of
Almighty God, and before the presbyterie present, heritors, elders and com-
mons of the parosh of the said Kirk of Port, so many as were present also at
that tyme, the rycht reverend Bishop did question the said Mr. James
Donaldson that wes to be admitted and ordeand minister, of his desyre
to promote the honor of God, willingnes to accepte of that charge, to
officiat thairin faithfully in his personal and publick functione, that no
desyre of lucre and worldly advantages set him on to exercise the office
of the ministry, &c., the lyke necessary querys and demands at such
occasions, bee answering the samen humbly as became each propositione.
The said reverend Bishop did thairafter by caling upon God most high
and impositione of hands with the presbiterie ordean and admitt the
said Mr. James Donaldson minister of the Gospell of Jesus Christ after-
wards giving him the Holy Bible and wyth hand of fellowship of both
Bishop and presbiterie, and then unanimously was received of al the
heritors, elders, and others considerable thaire present to be thair
lauffull minister, they all promiseing due encouragment to him and
hearty concurrence to thair utmost endeavours.

The said day Mr. J. Donaldson received collatione and institutione from
the Bishop by the hands of the moderator and deane Mr. T. Lindsay,
as the tenor thair of does bear. Mr. D. McVicar, moderator,
His seazing, gave him also infestment and seazing in the gleib and
pertinents, and the Bishop gave him the keys of the church
doors. Quhairupon he took instruments in the hands of a notary, and
then they dismiss, after appoynting the next diet of presbi-
terie to be at Dunblaine the 4th Wednsday hence being
Next diet of presbiterie, December 11, 1667. Mr. Th. Lindsay appoynted to advertise
the brethren be-east him thair of, and the clerk those be-west.

P. 360, At Dunblaine, May 20, 1668.

Postquam nomen Dei Cœli et terræ invocationem:
Sederunt.

Presentes, The Bishop, moderator, Mrs. [maisters], G. Shaw, Th.
Lindsay, Ja. Donaldson, W. Weems, Jo. Gray, R. Kirk,
Ed. Blaw.

APPENDIX B

[The Leightonian Library at Dunblane.] ¹

Besides mortifying in 1673 to the poor of the parish of Dunblane "the soume of ane thowsand and twentie-four pundis Scots money, dew to him by Robert Bruce of Bordie, Comissair of Dunblane, which he recommended to be persewed after and imployed for the use of the said poor," he bequeathed and left his Library to the Cathedral and Clergy of the Diocese of Dunblane, by his last will and testament, as also money for building the Library House and settling a yearly salary "upon Bibliothecarius for the better preservatione both of the fabrick and books." The terms are as follows :

The Testament and Latter Will of Bishop Leighton.

At Broadhurst, Feb. 17, 1683.

Being at present (thanks be to God) in my accustomed health of body and soundness of mind and memory, I doe wryte this with my oune hand, to signifie, that when the day I so much wished and longed for is come, that shall set me free of this prisone of clay wherein I am lodged, what I leave behind me of money, goods, or chattels, or whatsoever of aney kynd was called myne, I doe devote to charitable uses : pairtlye such as I have recommended, particularly to my sister Mistress Saphira Lightmaker and her sone Master Edward Lightmaker, of Broadhurst, and the remainder to such other charities as their oune discretione shall think fittest. Only I desyre each of them to accept of a small token of a litle graittfull acknowledgiment of their great kyndness, and their trouble they have hade with me for some yeares that I was their guest, the proportion whereof (to remove their scruple of taking it) I did expreslie name to themselves, while I was with them, befor the wryteing hereof, and likewise after I hade wryte it. But they neid not give aney account of it to aney other, the whole being left to their dispose. Neither I hope will aney other freinds or relationes of myne take it unkyndlie that I bequeath no legacie to any of them, designing, as is said, so intirlye to charitie the whole remaines. Only my Books I leave and bequeath to the Cathedrall of Dunblane in Scotland to remaine there for the vse of the clergie of the Diocefs. I think I neid (add) no more, but that I appoynt my said sister, Mistress Saphira Lightmaker, of Broadhurst, and her sone Master Edward Lightmaker, of Broadhurst, joynt Executors of this my Will, if they be both living at my deceass, as I hope they shall : or if that one of them shall be surviveing, that one is to be sole Executor of it. I hope none will rease any questione or doubt about this upon aney ommissione or informalitie of expressione in it, being, for prevention thereof, as plainly expressed as it could be conceived

¹ *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. iii. pp. 229-272.

necessary by me. And that I declare to be the Last Will and Testament of

(Sic subscribitur) R^o. LEIGHTON.

Signed, sealed, and published, in presence of
John Pelling and George Warnet.

Leighton died on 25th June, 1684, and his nephew wrote to Robert Douglas, Bishop of Dunblane, as follows :

July 8th (84).

MY LORD—

It hath pleased God to take of late to himself the soul of that excellent persone Doctor Leightone, your singulargood freind, and at length to answer the many yeares earnest longings of that holy man after his eternall happiness. I was one that hade the honour to be relaited to him, being his Sister sone and joynt Executor with my mother of his will : to whose care he hath recomended the transport of his Books : in order whereunto he did desire me that (in case I or my Mother should survive him) one of ws would, soone after his deceass, wryte to your Lordship to acquaint yow that he hath ordered his Books to be sent to the Church of Dunblane, to remain there for the vse of the ministers and students of that Diocess (haveing bequeathed them to them be his Will), and therefor to desire your Lordship to bespeak some masters of a ship that is comeing from thence to call for them att Londone, at such a place and in such a hand as we should think fitt to intrust them with, haveing first packed them up in chists and trunks that are neidfull to containe them. But the doeing of these things being a busienes that will requyre some little tyme for the dispatch of it, I thought it but fitt, in the mean tyme, by a lyne, to assure your Lordship that nothing shall be ommitted that may be necessary for the expeding of this mater. There was one thing more was the desyre of this worthy man (to witt) that I should transmitt to your Lordship ane hundreth pounds for the accomodateing a chamber somewhere neir the Church for his books : and what shall not be laid out on that, to be added to the money he formerly left as a stock for some yearlie supplie to the poor of the parish of Dunblane : and that he supposed a room might be built for this use out of some of the ruinous walls that are without the Church or of the Bishop's ruined house, and desired that the roome might be built of convenient largenes, and good lights, and handsomely furnished with presses and shelves, and some desks for readeing at them, and chaires or stooles to sitt on. But it will be too much to devolve the cair of this bussienes wholly on your Lordship, and therefor doe intend, by a lyne, to desyre Sir Hugh Patersone (who hathe formerlie agented bussienes for this good man) to be assistant in this lykewayes. As for the transmissiome of the hundreth pounds befor mentioned, I shall be in some solicitude how to doe it, unles your Lordship cane informe me of some fitt persone there with whom to correspond, which, if you please to doe, and to receave the same of him there, then I shall cause the same to be repayed to that merchants

factor att London, with satisfacione for the exchange thereof. Or perhaps the merchant there will rather desire I should pay it heir first. I know not the method of it as yet, but shall waitt for your direction.

I am,

Your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

(Sic subscribitur) EDW. LIGHTMAKER.

To my Lord Bishop of Dunblane.

Correspondents were settled between the Bishop of Dunblane and Mr. Lightmaker.¹ "He pitched upon a verie worthie gentleman, Master Edward Haberfield, leiving at Midletemple, London, to be his correspondent at Londone, as also upon Master Foules, merchant factor at Londone, who did transmitt from Londone to Edinburgh, by bills of exchange, such soumes of money for the work as he was ordered by Mr. Lightmaker. Upon the other pairt, the Bishop of Dunblane did pitch upon Sir Hugh Patersone² of Bannockburn, and Johne Graham, Comissare Clerk of Dunblane, both resideing att Edinburgh, to be correspondents for him att Edinburgh, and to receave there whatsoever letters, bills of money, or books, should be sent doune from the saids executors, or those intrusted by them, that these might be transmitted to Dunblane." Assistance was also afforded by William, Lord Viscount of Strathalan, at that time Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of all his Majesty's forces in Scotland, who had "a peculiar and profound respect and veneratione to that most excellent Bishop (Leighton) his dear friend and intimatt."

A sum of a hundred pounds may seem a small piece of money for rearing up the fabric, but this may be imputed to his want of knowledge in secular things, and in the expense of building as well; as Bishop Douglas said, "to his profound humilitie and great charitie: for as in all his lifytyme it was his airt and studdy to obscure and conceall himself, and that which was great and good in him: and therefor hee was desyrous that even after his death aney thing that was to be a memorial of him should have as litle pomp and splendor as could be. He would not so much as name it a House or Bibliotheck: but only recomends that there might be a chamber accomodat for his books, etc. Yea, and this chamber too, not so much in his mynd as the poor were: so that if aney thing could be spared of this moyetie, let the poor have it, though the chamber should be scrimpted. Who knew the genius of this good man may easily know this to be the genuine gloss."

Mr. Lightmaker soon signified that he designed two hundred pounds

¹ It is not uninteresting to observe that Mr. Lightmaker (Leighton's nephew) was one of the earliest correspondents of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and consulted them about the school he set up at Horsted Keynes (Secretan).

² He is described as "a speciall trusty of the Reverend Archbishop Leighton, on whom he devolved all the managing of his secular affaires while he was in Scotland."

sterling to be stocked for yearly interest towards the maintenance of a Librarian, and that he would make good whatever was expended on the library above the hundred pounds already bequeathed by his uncle.

May 24, 1687.

MY LORD—

I received your letter, and humbly thank you for it, and for the extraordinary care ye have expressed about my Uncle's Library. I am glad to hear that the fabric is so near a close, and shall be very ready to do all that is requisite to be done on my part to the completing of it, either as to the surplusage of the charge or allowance for a keeper (to whom I have designed two hundred pounds to be laid out upon something for a standing salary). The money shall be ready to be paid to your Lordship's first appointment, only I shall desire that the discharge for it may be, according to the former, under your common seal. My Lord, there is a little bundle of manuscripts¹ of my Uncle's own writing; I was doubtful whither it was convenient or no to send them; but since I consider it was his desire that I should send all that was in his study, I purpose to send them by the same hand that your Lordship shall direct to receive the money. I hope your Lordship will pardon my not writing long before this, having been, and continuing to be, under such great indispositions of body as unfits me wholly for business.

Your Lordship's most humble and obliged servant,
(Sic subscribitur) EDW. LIGHTMAKER.

To my Lord Bishop of Dunblane.

In 1687 the fabric was completed (Lord Strathallan having given the carriage of the stones gratis): Mr. Lightmaker sent an additional sixty-two pounds for the balancing of the accounts, as also "a very rich marble stand, of oval figure, well cut, having on it Bishop Lighton's arms, with this inscription, *Bibliotheca Lightoniana*, and a gilded mitre on the top of it, which is set upon the frontispiece of this house towards the streets, according as my Lord Strathallan hath advised." . . . "The Bishop of Dunblane (Robert Douglas) did also receive the Catalogue of the Books, contained in eighteen pages, and two pages by the hand of Mr. Edward Lightmaker, of such books as were bought a little before the Bishop's death, and had not been by him set down; the whole Catalogue is in their House seriously recommended to the special care of the keeper." It was determined by the Bishop, and the

¹ These manuscripts were described as "a collection of such select sentences as the Bishop was pleased to note in his readings, seemingly designed only for his own use, promiscuously set down, some in Greek, some in Latin, and some few in French. Some of them bound in octavos, others stitched or in loose papers, all of which are carefully to be kept, and may be useful to such as can read the hand."

others concerned, "that the keeper should alwayes be a Student of Divinitie, designeing for the holy Ministry, a young man that were pious and sober, trusty, and of good behaviour. And that such a persone being chosen, approved, and admitted, might in the said office (he behaveing himself accordingly) be continowed for the space of thrie yeares, butt at most not above four yeares, to the end other hopeful young men intending for the Ministrie might have the lyke advantage and benefeit of these books: that so, from tyme to tyme, some pious and able young men might goe from this House better qualified for the holy Ministry, thorow the blessing of God upon their studdies." As to the settling of the two hundred pounds for behoof of a keeper, "the Bishop of Dunblane went to the city of Stirling, and haveing obtained a meeting with Provost Kennedy (then present Provist of Stirling), together with the Bealyies, the Dean of Gild, and others of the Common Counsell of the said burgh, did commune with them upon the head, and obtainid that they should receave and secure the forsaid two hundreth pounds sterling money, and yearlie pay the interest thereof to a keeper of the Bibliotheck, who should be nominat and authorized by the Bishop for that effect, and gave orders to their present Tounes Thesaurer, David Moir, in their name and be their authoritie, to receave the forsaid soume of 200lb sterling money."

Bishop Douglas, with the aid of Principal Fall, of Glasgow University, the Dean of Dunblane (Gaspar Kellie), and others, drew up a set of rules and orders for the keeper of the Library, and it was "judged necessary that att the close of each Synod the Dean of Dunblane, with two other Brethren of the Diocess, one out of each Presbytery, should visit the Library and sie that all the Books were in the house, according to the Catalogue": the following benefaction is also noted: "The reverend Bishop Lightone, being patrone of St. Stephen's altar, within the Cathedrall of Dunblane, have presented Johne Graham, commissair-clerk of Dunblane, to the rents and emoluments belonging to the said alterage, and that all the dayes of his life this gentleman, out of a pious and charitable designe, signified so much that he resolved to resigne all his richt and interest to the said benefice in behalf of the Library for the good and behoove of this house: for which it is just he be heir mentioned and insert as a benefactor, and one who made the first offeir of this nature, which kyndness God will repay to him and such as follow his good example."

There were in all sent to the Library 1,390 volumes, and "A Catalogue of Slicht peeces, viz., Single Sermons, litle Treatises, and other Pamphlets, put up in six bundles"—among which were also contained "eleven Catalogues and thriten pair of Theses." Unfortunately none of these Leighton manuscripts are now preserved in Dunblane, and the information required by the trustees in April, 1708, and conveyed by Dr. Fall (Leighton's literary executor) in 1710 is of some importance as partly accounting for their loss "to the House."

Dr. James Fall was admitted Principal of Glasgow University in

September 1684, and was sequestered by the Visitors of 1690 on declining to take the Oaths. In 1691 he was preferred to the Precentorship of York Cathedral, and in a letter dated York, January 15, 1693-4, to Mr. Robert Wylie, Minister of Hamilton, he says, "I am comforted to find yow valew so much the two litle (but yet great) presents I made yow of Bishop Leighton's *Discourses* (I hope yow have a third by this time): if your Brethren were of your relish, the copies of those books would not lye so much upon the hands of booksellers as I hear they do. But 'Wisdom shall be justified of her children,' though she seemes to have too few of them in Scotland. We design no profit by printing these excellent relicts of that excellent man, but to communicat what the world really so much wants, viz., the knowledge and art how to treat Divin things in a Divin way, and (as yow say) *to warm as well as enlighten*. *I do not remember ever to have seen anything of humane composure (after Tho. à Kempis) come up so near to this character*. We print all at our own expences: I contribut litle more than my labour; his Sister and Nephew do all the rest. This Nephew is the Uncle *Redivivus*, who has absolutely renounced the world, though he has an estat in it worth 500 lb sterling yearly rent. Yow would admire the letters I have frequently from him. We have now at the press some Discourses on the Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, and Apostolick Creed, as also the continuation on St. Peter, with the Epistle to the Ephesians. Whether they sell or not in Scotland, they will elsewhere."

Dr. Fall died at York in 1711, and was buried in the Cathedral.

No. I.

Act of Synod of Perth and Stirling nominating Messrs. Alexander Douglas and Matthew Wallace to join the Overseers of the Library of Dunblane, 1703.

At Aughterarder, Thursday, the 12th day of October, 1703.

The which day the Provincial Synod of Perth and Stirling being met, a Letter was produced by Michael Pottar, Minister of Dumblane, anent the Libery of Dumblane, bearing that the Executors of Bishop Lighton have sent an Instrument to John Graham here, wherein they shew their right and power to the said Libery, and do nominat and give power to the Viscount of Strathallan, my Lord Aberuchel, Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, John Graham in Dumblane, and their heirs with the Minister of Dumblane, to inspect and oversee the Libery, and order what may be for the good of the same; and that they desire the Rev^d Synod to appoint two Ministers of the Presbyterie of Dumblane to joyn with the foresaid persons in that work, Strathallan and Bannockburn, having no heirs for the time capable to act in that affair, being minors, and very young: which the Synod considering, they did nominat and appoint Mr. Alexander Douglas, Minister of Logie, and Mr. Matthew Wallace, Minister of Kincardine, both members of the said Presbyterie, to be assistant with them in that affair, and make report of the case of

the Library to the Synod, and appointed Mr. Michael Pottar to acquaint the Persons named in the foresaid Instrument thereof.

“ Extracted by me,

PAT^K WYLIE, CLK. SYN.

No. II.

The Rev. Dr. Fall to the Rev. M. Pottar.

York, Apr. 24th, 1704.

SIR—

Your acquaintance and mine is of an old standing, but time, distance of place, and other circumstances, have interrupted our correspondence, yet, upon such a favourable opportunity as now offers, in joyntly carrying on and settleing a work of publick charity, such as your Library is, makes me willing to renew it.

Mr. Lightmaker, and his mother, Executors of the late Bishop Leighton (the founder of that Library), are inclin'd to add an additional Benefaction of 100^{lb} sterl. to the summes of 200^{lb} now in the hands of the town of Stirling, the interest whereof they destin shall be bestow'd thus, viz., one-half of the yearly interest to the Library-keeper, and an augmentation of his sallery, the other half to be a standing fund for the keeping up and repairing the Fabrick in all time coming, as shall be directed by the Trustees and their successors.

That which they now desire is this, that you, together with the surviving Trustees who are of age, may be pleas'd to meet at Dumblane with your first conveniency, and then and there, by some writeing under your hands, declare your acceptance of the s^d Trust committed to you by the original Instrument of Trust now lying in Mr. Graham's hand, or in the Library: and then to consult and resolve on the best and surest way to place the wholl 300^{lb} sterl. so as the interest thereof may best answer the pious ends proposed. What you shall do as to these two material points, be pleased to send up an account to me, that I may transmit it to Mr. Lightmaker and his mother.

I must now joyn my most earnest entreaty to yow, to be a happy Instrument to get these things done with all convenient dispatch: for yow very well know that a fair occasion once lost is not easily retrieved, that time is uncertain, and the worthy gentleman is but of a very crazy constitution, and therefor he is very impatient till he remitt the money, which he will do as soon as he knows from you (who are the Trustees) to whom, by your order, it ought to be pay'd.

You who are now the surviving Trustees are but few, you live near together, and no doubt you will more easily meet and agree. If I had been known to the late Lord Abruchill's son, as I was to himself, I had now written to him. I hope you will excuse me, and he will pardon me. So praying God to direct you all in so good a work,

I am, sir,

Your old friend and humble servant,

JA. FALL.

For the Reverend Mr. Michael Pottar, Minister of Dumblane.

The Trustees of the Leightonian Library to the Rev. Dr. Fall.

MOST REVEREND SIR—

Wee, the Trustees of the Library of Dunblane, nominated by the very Reverend Bishop Lightoun's Executors, inclined to have written much sooner, but could not till we were in some case to give account of the state of the said Library q^{ch} is as follows :

[Here follows report on fabric and investments. . . .]

Wee are informed that when yow was last here, yow took alongst with yow a Catalogue of the books, in order to printing the same. Wee would gladly know whither yow have it by yow. We find y^r are several of the very Reverend Bishop Leightoun's works through the countrey, quhich are not in the Library (there being only his Prelections and his Commentaries upon the two first Chapters of the first Epistle of Peter here), which wee earnestly desire to have. The Register bears an account of several Manuscripts of the said Reverend Bishop's y^t were in the Library, q^{ch} the Library-keeper informs, at Mr. Lightmaker's desire, were sent up to him, in order to printing, and that he hes a letter bearing the receipt of them, and that they should be carefully returned, Qch we find not yet done. We still intertain a gratefull sense of the worthy Mr. Lightmaker's pious Donation, and of your particular care and concern in what relates to the Library, and we earnestly desire this to be represented to the Executors. And as we have hitherto observed the directions contained in the Instruments, so do we resolve for the future, and shall give an account y^rof from time to time.

Indorsed :

Double of a letter to Doctor Fall, q^{ch} was
signed 28 Aprylle 1708.

In a letter (dated November 4, 1708) Dr. Fall states that he has made inquiries, but Mr. Lightmaker's illness was the cause evidently of his not receiving information. Then comes the last letter which explains the missing manuscripts and shows that they were chiefly printed and in part retained.

The Rev. Dr. Fall to the Trustees of the Leightonian Library.

GENTLEMEN, AND MY VERY GOOD FRIENDS—

I had the favour of yours relating to Mr. Lightmaker's Executors, and the Trust ye are concern'd in as to the Library of Archbishop Leighton at Dumblain, wth a copy of a letter formerly sent concerning the state of that Library. I am very sensible of the respect yow shew me, and the confidence ye put in me, upon this occasion : but I don't see any other service I can do in this matter than to lay these papers before Mr. Lightmaker's Executors. I am entirely discharged of all concern in that matter, further than my hearty wishes for your prosperity : and I am very glad that the Trust is in such hands, wherein may be expected both prudence and integrity in managem^t. Yow are vested with full powers to do and determine what is fit and proper for

the Library, and what belongs to it, and must be much better judges of what is so than any body else that is not on the spot : so that advice and counsel, in such a case, cannot be expected from hence, much less indeed from me, disabled now by age and infirmities from those small services that I was formerly, to the best of my power, ready to assist my friends with. This, indeed, I will endeavour to do, to let you know how to correspond with the Executors of Mr. Lightmaker, that you may, as you resolve, from time to time give an account to them of your care and Improvements in the Trust : and I think that's all that I can further assist or direct in this matter.

As to some of the particulars in the inclosed letter, I can give you this answer, that the Catalogue of Books which I brought from Dumblain, in order to be printed, was by me put into Mr. Lightmaker's hands. and I suppose is to be found among the rest of his Papers : it never was printed, that I know of. I shall write along with yours to those concern'd, and recommend to them to send printed copies of those of Archbishop Leighton's works you have not yet received into the Library.

As for the MSS., they are in the hands, I suppose, of Mr. Lightmaker's Executors : many of them are transcribed for the Press, and others already printed. What are printed, or shall be printed, care will be taken to send copies of them to the Library : *but for the original MSS., Mr. Lightmaker designed to keep them, thinking them of no further use in the Library after they were printed, and copys of them were sent to you. What the Executors will do with those that are imprinted, I cannot tell : but in that you may satisfie yourselves when you can, as I shall in a very little time enable you, direct to them.* This, Gentlemen, is all at present that I can think of, in answer to yours, the imperfections of w^{ch} I desire you to impute to the ill state of my health, and believe that I am, with great sincerity,

Your very humble servant,

JA. FALL.

York, 16th Sept., 1710.

To Mr. Grahame, and the Reverend Mr. Pottar, and the other Trustees of the Reverend Bishop Leighton's Library at Dumblane.

Of the 1,390 volumes sent to the Library, 1,200 still remain, and these show how keenly informed he was both in the best scholarship of his own day and of the time which preceded it. Many of the volumes contain notes in Leighton's own hand, which may best be described by the description given (p. 585) of his own manuscripts. Thus on a Hebrew Bible are written the words "Secretissime, Patentissime" and on the first volume of his complete edition of Thomas à Kempis' works "Non magna relinquo : magna sequor." Having examined many of the volumes, it can be testified that a volume reproducing them would be an acceptable addition to the Scottish History or the Scottish Text Societies' Publications. It is understood that Mr. West made a collection of such sentences and notes, and it is to be hoped that the volume may soon be printed. Several papers regarding these have already

been printed.¹ Of Leighton's house and the present Library structure, Dean Stanley said, "The Bishop's palace opened on the grassy slopes leading down to Allan, along whose steep banks was an avenue of trees, still known by the name of the Bishop's Walk : and the library founded by him yet remains alone of inhabited ecclesiastical edifices in Scotland retaining a mitre over the door."²

The Library was opened in the course of 1688, and since that time various additions have been made to it by the liberality of private individuals and neighbouring proprietors, as well as by the appointed Trustees with the desire to render the collection of greater utility. The only printed Catalogue is dated 1793, which has been revised at a later period.

Besides many valuable editions of the Classical and Patristic writers, which can only now be had in very old Libraries, the following books may be given as affording a general idea of the whole :—*Constitutions du Monastère de Port Royal* : Arnould's *de la Fréquente Communion* : *Lettres Spirituelles de Cyran* (3 vols.) : Kempis, Thomas à, *Opera Omnia* (3 vols.), *De Imitatione* (4 editions of). These sufficiently illustrate his interest in the Jansenists and the Brethren of the Common Lot. The following may also be taken to illustrate his range of learning, from among many others :—Amesius, (4 vols.), Andrewe's *Sermons*, Antoninus, Aquinas Thomae, *Opuscula Omnia*, *Armenii Opera*, *Augustini Opera Omnia* ; Bacon's Works ; *Baronii Annales Ecclesiasticae*, Baxter (3 vols.), Bede, *Bellarmini Opera Omnia*, Bibles in Latin, Hebrew, Spanish, French, Italian, Boethius *de Consolatione Philosophiae*. Buchanan, *Breviarium Monasticum*, *Brief Account of Ancient Church Government* (1662), *Buxtorfii Opera*, *Cabinet Jésuitique*, *Calvini Opera Omnia*, Camus, *l'Esprit du François de Sales, et la Charité*, Celsus, *Chrysostomi Opera Omnia*, *Clavis Talmudica*, *Clavis Apocalyptica*, Clemens Alexandrinus, *Concilio Tridentini Canones et Decreta*, *Corpus Juris Canonici*, *Cypriani Opera*, *De Dieu*, *Grammatica Linguarum Orientalium*, Dionysius, *Drexelii Opera* (18 vols.), *Drusii Opera*, *Eberi Brevis Historia Populi Judaici*, Epictetus, *Epistolae Selectae Illustrium, Virorum Centuriae*, *Epistolae Ecclesiasticae et Theologicae* ; Epiphanius, Erasmus (10 vols.), *Eusebii Opera*, *Forbesii Irenicum* and other works, Fuller, Gerhard, Gouge's Works, *Gregorii Magni Opera Omnia*, *Grotii Opera* (16 vols.), Hammond's Works, Herbert's Poems, Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Hyde's *Catalogus Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, *Ignatii Epistolae*, *Opera Irenaei*, *Isidori*, *Isocratis*, *Josephi Opera Omnia*, *Juelli Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, *Juliani Imperatoris Opera Omnia*, *Justiniani sacratissimi Principis Institutiones*, *Justini Martyris Opera*, *Lactantii Opera Omnia*, *Le Combat Spirituel*, Le Maistre, *Instauratio Antiqui Episcoporum Principatus*, *Lightfooti Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* (3 vols.), *Lipsii*

¹ See *Notes and Queries* (Third Series), ii: 4, 379 : iv. 63, 118, 131, 174, 313.

² *Church of Scotland*, p. 113.

Opera Omnia, Longinus *de Sublimitate*, Lucretius *de Rerum Natura*, Maximi Tyrii *Philosophi Platonici Dissertationes*, Melancthonis *Chronicon et Loci Communes Theologicae*, Memorial de la Vie Chrétienne, Missale Romanum, Monumenta Litteraria, Henry More's Philosophical Poems and *Conjectura Cabalistica*, Mori Thomae *Utopia*, Morini *Opera*, Origen contra Celsum, Oweni *Epigrammata*, Pascal, *Pensées sur la Religion*, Bishop Hall's *Peace of Rome*, Philoni Judaei *Opera*, Platinae *Vitae Pontificum Romanorum*, Platonis *Opera Omnia*, Plinii *Epistolae*, Plotini *Opera Omnia*, Plutarchi *Opera*, Pæsis *Philosophica*, Poliandri *Synopsis purioris Theologiae*, Politique du Clergé de France, Popery absolutely Destructive to Monarchy, Collections of Prayers taken from the Scriptures and Ancient Liturgy, Prudentii (Clem.) *Opera*, Psalmen Boeck der Psalmen Net de Nieuwe Nederlandsche Oversettinge, Psalters (several), Religio Medici, Revii *Historia Pontificum Romanorum*, Revision du Concile de Trente, Ribadaneira, *les Fleurs des Vies des Saints, et Festes de Toute l'Année*, Rodriguez, *Pratique de la Perfection Chrétienne*, trad. par Paul Duez, Rosse's *Arcana Microcosmi*, Rosini *Antiquitates Romanae*, Rous's Works (Mystical), 5 vols., Rutherford's *Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience*, Salvianus, *de Amore Dei* and *de Gubernatione Dei*, Savonarolae *Vita et Opera*, Scaligeri *Opera*, Scougall's *Life of God in the Soul of Man* (1677), Senecae *Tragaediae et Opera Omnia*, *Sententiae Veterum Poetarum*, Silesii, *Explicationes et Disputationes*, Skene's *Regiam Majestatem*, Sparke's Dialogues in Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, English, Portuguese, High and Low Dutch, *Summa Conciliorum Omnium* (2), *Pontificum* (3), *Juris Canonica*, Jeremy Taylor's Works (15 vols.), *Theologia Germanica*, Usher's Works, *Via ad Pacem Ecclesiasticam*, D'Andelly's *Vies des Saintes Pères des Déserts*, Vosii *Opera*, Xavieri (Hier.) *Historia Christi*, etc., Baker's *Sancta Sophia* or Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation, Leonis (*Magni Romani Pontificis*) *Opera*.

A reference to a visit of Lord Harley to the Leightonian Library on May 15, 1723, will be found in the Harley Letters and Papers (vol. iv. p. 114, Historical Manuscript Commission).

APPENDIX C

[Leighton's Mortifications to Glasgow.]

1 August, 1677.

Inv. I. p. 95, Know all men by these presents, that I, Doctor Robert Bundle 41, Leighton, late Archbishop of Glasgow, in Scotland, upon

No. 8. grave and serious considerations by the tennour hereof mortifie dote and appoint for ever the sommes of money following to the ends and uses underwritten, to witt out of the rent that remains due to mee of the Barony and Regality of Glasco for the crop and year of God one th. sixe hund. seventy four I doe hereby appoint first that James Anderson, Collector of the said rent for mee, shall retain twenty pounds sterl. for so much already distributed by him toward the end

of the said year to the poor of the town of Glasco upon my order. ^{Item?}
^{Next}

Either I doe give and appoint out of the same rent one hundreth
 "Next" or and fifty pounds sterl. to the Colledg of Glasco for the
 "Item." yearly maintenance of one student in Philosophie in all
 Paper is torn time coming during his foure years course in the said
 here." Colledg. Item to the Hospitall in the said Burgh of
 Glasco called the Hospitall of Nicolas or the Bishops Hospitall one
 hundr. and fifty pounds sterl. for the standing maintenance of two poor
 men yearly in the said Hospitall. Thirdly to the Colledg of Edinburgh
 I give out of the same rents fifty pounds sterl. to be added to one
 hundreth pounds sterl. formerly given by mee to the same Colledg, that
 the rent of the whole together may bee for the yearly maintenance of
 one student in Philosophie there during his four years course. And
 for these intents and purposes I doe hereby appoint the said Collector
 James Anderson to pay in the above-written summes, the last to witt
 fifty p. sterl. to the thesaurer of Edinburgh Colledg, the other two being
 each 150lb sterl., in all three hundr. pounds sterl., to the Magistrats and
 Town Council of Glasco or to whom they shall appoint to receiv it in
 their names, the whole to remain in their hands for the uses above said
 of the Colledg and Hospitall in the said Burgh, they paying the yearly
 rent thereof to the said student in the Colledg and the two poor men
 in the Hospitall, and giving security for that effect to the Faculty of the
 said Colledg and to those intrusted with the affairs of the said Hospital,
 respective. And these above named summes being payd as said is
 by the said Collector James Anderson shall be allowed to him as
 sufficient discharges pro tanto in his accounts. As to the persones,
 presenting to these allowances as they shall bee vacant after my decease
 for the bursary in Glasco Colledg being vacant two are to bee offerd
 to triall to the Masters of the Colledge, the one nominated by the
 Archbishop of Glasco for the time being, and the other by the Magistrats
 and Councill of the said Burgh and upon the testificate of the saids
 Masters (who I hope will remember that they are to bee answerable
 to God for their faithfull and impartiall report) hee of the two who
 shall bee found the better qualified and more hopefull to proov an able
 schollar shall bee admitted to the said bursary : and if the said Masters
 shall find neither of the two to be sufficiently worthy, then shall two
 others bee offerd them and so on if need bee till they shall find one
 with whom they doe testify themselves fully satisfid. And hee that
 is thus approved and admitted shall be obligd during his continuance
 therein to bring yearly a new testificate under the hands of the saids
 Masters both of his proficiency in learning and of his good conversation,
 without which hee is not to receiv the benefit of it any longer but to
 be cashierd and another after the aforesaid manner chosen in his stead.
 And in case when this nomination of two for triall is to bee made either
 the Arch Bishoprigg shall be vacant, or the Arch Bp shall neglect to
 name one for that effect for the space of full three months after the
 vacancy of the said bursary : then shall the said Magistrats and Councill

name both the two, and after triall preferr the more deserving of them. And if the said Magistrats and Councill shall neglect to name one within the same space of time then shall the Arch B^p have power to nominate both the two for triall and thereupon to admitt the fitter as said is. And if both the Arch B^p and Magistrats shall neglect this nomination full three months after the vacancy thereof, then shall the Masters of the said Colledg put two or three or more as they shall think fitt upon triall and out of them chuse and admitt the worthiest. As for the two poor men for the Hospitall the said Arch B^p shall if hee please chuse one of them out of the Barony and the saids Magistrats the other either out of the Town or Barony as they please provided alwaies that one of the two shall still be of the Barony. And I hope they both will be carefull to chuse such as upon whom that litle charity may bee best bestowd, both in respect of their indigency and good conversation which is to be testified by the Minister of the Barony or some of the Ministers of the Burgh, respective. And in case of the fayling of the Arch B^p or Magistrats in chusing one as said is within three months of the vacancy, the other shall have the right of it for that time, after the same manner as is above sayd concerning the Bursary of the Colledg. And in case of the neglect of both for the said time the Ministers of Glasco and the Barony joyntly shall have power to chuse pro illa vice. As for the bursary of Edenborow Colledg it is after my decease to bee in the hands of the Magistrats and Councill of the said Burgh to dispose of it by nominating two or more as they think fitt for triall be the Masters of the said Colledg and bestowing it on him that shall by them bee testifid to deserv it best. And by all means lett each of the above named allowances remain entire and not bee clipp't to help out other smaller provisions either in the saids Colledges or Hospitall nor divided betwixt more then two at once in the Hospitall or betwixt two in the Colledges but remain one Bursary for one onely at once as the Hospitall provision for two. And though I have reason to suspect that this draught is not exactly sutable to the legall stile and forms usuall with yow yet I hope that no informalities or defects of that kind shall anyway prejudg the reall validity of it for the effect to which it is intended. And for the more security I am willing these presents be inserted and registrated in the Books of Councill and Session or any other Judges Books within the Kingdom of Scotland that the samen may remain therein for future memory. And for this effect I mak and constitute my prors.

In witness whereof I have subscribed these presents with my hand at Bradhurst in Sussex Aug. 1 Anno Do. 1677 before these witnesses : Mr. Edward Lightmaker of Bradhurst, and John Felling, Indweller there.

(Sgd.) wittnes Edw Lightmaker, John Felling witnes (sgd.).

R. LEIGHTON.

APPENDIX D

[The Bishop's Palace at Glasgow.]

The Episcopal Palace or Castle stood on the vacant space in front of the present Infirmary, immediately south-west of the Cathedral. The great tower, which formed the principal portion of the building, was erected by Bishop Cameron about 1430, and nearly a century later appears to have been augmented by Archbishop Beaton. On this tower, M'Ure, the historian of Glasgow, informs us, "his arms are yet to be seen (1736), with an escutcheon, ensigned with his crosier (pastoral staff) behind the shield, surmounted of a salmon fish, the badge of the Episcopal See, and his name above in great Saxon capital letters." The entire structure of the palace was built of hewn stone and was enclosed with an embattled wall fifteen feet high and ornamented at certain points with the arms of Archbishop Beaton, who built the addition about 1510, previous to which the castle was defended by a fosse with a drawbridge and portcullis. At the extremity of the south-east wall (which formed a slight angle inwards at the centre) fronting the south-east and uniting with the east wall immediately southward of the consistorial house formerly attached to the cathedral was situated the main entrance or Gatehouse. This imposing structure, the gables of which terminated at the roof in a flight of crow-steps, was of square form, and displayed an embattled front flanked by two circular towers, each of which contained an upright oblong compartment. This portion of the edifice was erected during the episcopate of Archbishop Dunbar between 1524 and 1547. Its construction was attributed exclusively to that prelate, but the presence of the insignia of the Sub-Dean, conjoined with the Archbishop's coat armorial, must be held as equally potent in supporting the claim of the Sub-Dean to a share in its erection.

Extending in front of the castle wall on the south-east was the ancient avenue leading to the cathedral, and is generally regarded to have been the work of the first Archbishop Beaton. Notice of the "Bishop's Garden," is found about 1268, but no notice of the Castle is found till 1290, and then only incidental. In 1571, says Buchanan, "The Hamiltonians," went to Glasgow, resolving to demolish the Castle of the Archbishop there, that it might not be a receptacle to the Earl of Lennox, then returned out of England. The Castle at this time appears to have been garrisoned by "a few raw soldiers (twenty-four in number) unprovided of necessities," and the governor absent. "Hearing, however," of "a design speedily to relieve the Castle," "the Hamiltonians raised their siege, and in great fear packed away." The Bishop's palace was restored in 1611 during the episcopate of Archbishop Spotswood. "The Castle of Glasgow" is noticed by Hamilton of Wishaw, in his "Description of the Sherifffdom of Lanark" as "the ancient seat of the Archbishop of this sea *built of polisht stone, and yet in good condition*";

by Slezer as "fenced with an exceeding high wall of hewn stone," looking "down upon the city"; by Rae in 1661 as "a goodly building was the church," "still preserved"; and in Morer's account of Scotland (1689) as "without doubt a very magnificent structure, *but now in ruins*, and no more left in repair than what was the ancient prison, and is at this time a mean dwelling." The date 1689 points to the tumults consequent on the abolition of Episcopacy, during which time the Castle appears to have been partially demolished. About this time it became the property of the Crown, and in 1715 was used as a temporary prison for upwards of 300 Highlanders taken during the rebellion. In 1755 the magistrates of Glasgow granted permission to remove certain portions of the Castle structure to aid in the erection of the Saracen's Head Inn. And neglected and in ruins, the whole structure, with the castle-yard and garden, were in 1791 granted by the King for the purpose of erecting an Infirmary.

In ancient times all or most of the city was built near the Bishop's Castle, and to the west of the quadrangular wall-tower constructed by Archbishop Beaton "near the Bishop's Castle and palace" stood the "Hospital of St. Nicholas, or Almshouse" said to have been founded by "Bishop Andrew Muirhead 1455-1473." (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Sessions MDCCCLIV.-VII., vol. ii. pp 317-329.)

INDEX

A

Abbey of Newbattle, 138-142.
 Abbot (Archbishop), p. 24.
 Aberdeen (Bishop of), pp. 5, 6 ;
 Palace at, p. 7 ; Cathedral of, pp.
 7-9 ; Western Towers, p. 9 ; and
 King, p. 126.
 Aboyne, p. 76.
 Accommodation Movement, pp.
 403-432, 450-2, 499.
 Adamson (Principal), p. 50.
 Adolphus (Gustavus), p. 138.
 Aird (Rev. James), 254-264, 290,
 337, 395, 399 *et seq.*, 437 ;
 Letters to, 481-4, 503-4.
 Airy (Osmund), pp. 431, 415.
 Allen Cardinal, p. 74.
 Ambrose (St.), p. 81.
 America (Influence of Scotland on),
 548.
 Ancram (Earl of), p. 180 ; Son
 marries Countess of Lothian,
 ibid.
 Angélique (Mère), 85.
 Anwoth, p. 117.
 Arbroath (Abbey of), pp. 4, 6.
 Argyll (Earl and Marquis of), p.
 179 ; Policy of, pp. 196-200, 208,
 324, 329 ; Duke of, p. 534.
 Arminianism, pp. 22, 26, 119 ; and
 Papistry, p. 119.
 Arnauld, pp. 83, 85, 91.
 Articles (Lords of), p. 325.
 Articles (Thirty-nine), p. 563.
 Asceticism, pp. 102, 103.
 Ash Tree at Usan, p. 12.
 Assembly (General), pp. 112, 113,
 134, 248, 353, 468 ; Leighton on,
 p. 473 ; and Liberty, p. 550.
 Assertory Act, p. 421.
 Aubigny (Lord), p. 329.
 Augustine, pp. 79, 80, 81, 82, 84,
 90, 95, 98, 276 ; Augustinus, pp.
 89, 90, 91.

B

Bacon (Lord), pp. 31, 492.
 Badenoch (Wolf of), pp. 3, 5.
 Baillie, pp. 46, 117, 119, 127, 131,
 160, 185, 194, 216, 247, 252.
 Balmerins (Lord), p. 72.
 Baptists and Toleration, p. 194.
 Barbour (poet), p. 8.
 Basier (Isaac), pp. 46, 489.
 Baxter, Richard, pp. 309 ; and Sub-
 scription, pp. 314, 319, 322, 328,
 404, 427, 499, 508.
 Bell Inn, p. 511.
 Benefactions (Leighton's), pp.
 504-5, 582-594.
 Benson's Tracts, p. 46.
 Bernard (St.), pp. 77, 81, 95, 97,
 98, 139, 151, 276.
 Bible (Douay), p. 75.
 Bibliotheca, p. 585.
 Bishops (Alex. Leighton on), p. 17.
 Bishops (Scottish), pp. 113, 114,
 329, 340-341, 342, 344, 355 ;
 Letter of, p. 415 ; Grub on, p. 512.
 Bishop and Presbyter, pp. 424, 442.
 Blair (Dr., of Dunblane), pp. 4,
 143, 353, 501, 533, 538-9.
 Blaikie (Professor), pp. 158, 535.
 Bonaventura, p. 96.
 Books and Laud, p. 24.
 Bothwell Bridge, pp. 505-7.
 Brechin (Chapter of), p. 5.
 Briach (St. Church of), 1.
 Broadhurst, p. 501, Leighton's Life
 at, p. 502.
 Broad Church, p. 158.
 Brodie of Brodie, pp. 292, 303-309.
 Brothers (of Common Lot), pp.
 101-104.
 Brown (Prof. John), p. 533.
 Brown (Prof. Hume), p. 498.
 Browne (Sir Thomas), p. 493.
 Brownism, p. 214.
 Browning (Mrs. E. B.), p. 1.

Browning (Robert), pp. 46, 67.
 Bruce of Kinnaird, pp. 51, 57.
 Bruce, Robert, p. 8.
 Bruno (St.), p. 98.
 Buckle, p. 81.
 Buckingham, p. 22.
 Bur (Bishop), p. 6.
 Burgundy (Dukes of), p. 74.
 Burnet (Archbishop of Glasgow), pp. 413, 419, 433.
 Burnet (Gilbert), pp. 52, 62, 64, 71, 72, 74, 76, 105, 160, 178, 209, 324, 334, 347 *et seq.*, 418, 540.
 Burroughs, p. 190.
 Bute (Lady), Marriage of, p. 454.
 Bunyan, pp. 42-3, 110, 510.

C

Caird (Principal), pp. 105, 512, 557.
 Cant (Andrew), pp. 117, 138.
 Carle (Hippolyte), p. 676.
 Carnegie of Craig, p. 11.
 Carrick (Rev. Mr.), p. 244.
 Calvinism, p. 21; Laud its opponent, p. 23; Dutch, p. 31; Influence of, on Robert Leighton, pp. 70-71; in Scotland, pp. 118-120; Laud on, p. 119; Character of, p. 120; Moderate, p. 152.
 Calvinists, p. 22; Doctrinal Puritans, p. 25; and Jansenists, pp. 81, 83.
 Calvin and Bishops, p. 119; and Church, pp. 153, 499.
 Cameron, Richard, pp. 508, 567.
 Cameronians, pp. 70, 508.
 Campbell-Annabella—married 2nd Earl of Lothian, p. 180.
 Campbell (John McLeod), pp. 157, 211, 245, 512, 536.
 Canons (Book of), p. 122.
 Cargill, Donald, p. 508.
 Catechism (Robert Leighton's), pp. 57, 384.
 Catholic (meaning of) to Leighton, pp. 76, 77.
 Catholic, p. 149.
 Catholic Church (Leighton and), pp. 96-99.
 Chalmers (Dr. Thomas), p. 67.
 Charles I and Laud, pp. 26, 27, 28; and Episcopacy, p. 133; and Montrose, pp. 198-200; and Scots, p. 202.
 Charles II, pp. 315, 320, 322, 404, 477, 489, 492, 506, 552.
 Charter by Leighton, p. 397.
 Charteris (Prof. Henry), p. 50.
 Charteris (Laurence), pp. 437-8.
 Charteris (Professor), p. 570.
 Cheapside, p. 39.
 Cheyney (Dr. James), p. 76.
 Chigi, p. 93.
 Children (Leighton's love of), p. 398.
 Chorley (Josiah), p. 485.
 Chorleyana, pp. 484-7.
 Christina (Abbess), p. 159.
 Chrysostom (St.), pp. 82, 95.
 Church and Bishop (Laud on), p. 25; Laudian Element in, p. 29; Newman and, p. 150; Leighton and, 151.
 Church (Scottish), characteristics of, pp. 69-70; Elements in, 116-120; and Nationality and Patriotism, pp. 135, 324.
 Cistercians, p. 139.
 Clanking Act, p. 441.
 Clara (St.), p. 96.
 Clergy (Presbyterian), Character of, p. 350.
 Clement VII (Pope), p. 94.
 Cochrane (Sir John), p. 437.
 Coleridge on Leighton's Style, p. 162; on Thought, p. 164; on Works, pp. 512, 532.
 Coltness Collections, pp. 361-2, 525-8.
 Columba (St.), p. 273.
 Colvell, William, pp. 72, 501.
 Colville (William), pp. 218-9.
 Commendator of Glasgow, p. 435.
 Commissioners to Westminster, p. 186.
 Commission (Assembly), pp. 181, 205.
 Confessional, p. 80.
 Conscience (Rule of), pp. 487-90.
 Contemplation and Divine Love, p. 503.
 Conventicles, pp. 389, 434.
 Court of High Commission, p. 30; and Alexander Leighton, p. 41.
 Covenanters and War Committee, p. 129; Army, p. 131.
 Covenant (National), pp. 124-126; Confounded with Solemn League, p. 186; and Leighton, p. 209.

Covenanters, Tombs of, p. 344 ;
Arms of, pp. 491-4 ; Gardiner
on, p. 492.

Craig, Parish of, p. 1.

Crawford (Earl of), p. 323.

Creed (Restoration), p. 352.

Crichton (Chancellor), p. 7.

Cromwell and Leighton, pp. 218,
246 ; Character of, p. 247 ; and
George Fox, p. 266 ; and Moder-
ate Episcopacy, pp. 313-315.

Crossraquel, p. 355.

Culross, p. 364.

Cunningham (Sir John), p. 437.

Cyran (St.), pp. 83, 84, 86, 88.

D

Dalhousie, p. 139.

Dallady, pp. 10, 11.

Dalrymple's Memorials, p. 72.

Dalziel, "The Muscovite," p. 417.

Dean of Chapel Royal, p. 115.

Declaration by Charles I, p. 27 ;
Resolution anent, p. 28.

Denys (St.), p. 98.

Deventer, p. 106.

Dickson (David), pp. 72, 117, 124,
216, 251.

Doctrinal Puritans, pp. 23, 24.

Doddridge (Philip), pp. 163, 512,
531.

Döllinger, p. 568.

Donatists, p. 569.

Dort (Synod of), p. 21.

Douay, pp. 72-74, 78 ; Colleges
at, p. 75 ; Leighton's Relatives
at, pp. 77-78, 111.

Douglas (Bishop), pp. 583-6.

Douglas (Robert), pp. 138, 187,
105, 216, 324, 418.

Droit and Fait, p. 93.

Drummond of Hawthornden, pp.
180, 196-198.

Drunken Parliament, p. 325.

Dunblane (Cathedral), Laud on,
p. 115 ; Bishop Bellenden of, p.
115 ; and Leighton, pp. 329, 345,
354, 356-360, 362-6, 435 ; Bene-
factions, pp. to, 504, 592, 594 ;
Records of, relating to Bishop
Leighton, pp. 575-581 ; Leigh-
tonian Library at, pp. 582-592.

Dunfermline, p. 351.

Dunloppy, Parson of, pp. 10-14.

Durham, Dean and Chapter of
pp. 15-16.

Dysart (Lady), pp. 453, 458, 499.

E

Eckhart, p. 96.

Edinburgh Bishopric Created, p.
115 ; Old, 163.

Edinburgh College, pp. 49, 53, 62-
66, 592-3.

Edinburgh Council Records re-
lating to Principal Leighton, pp.
293-302.

Edinburgh (Leighton's Benefac-
tions to), p. 504.

Edinburgh (Presbytery of) p. 324.

Editors and Mutilation of Leigh-
ton's Style, p. 161.

Edward I., p. 8.

Ejected Ministers, p. 439.

Election (Evidence of), p. 169.

Elgin, p. 5 ; Cathedral of, pp. 5, 6,
110.

Eliot (George), p. 137.

Elphinstone, Bishop, p. 9.

Engagement, p. 206 ; Unpopularity
of, p. 207 ; Leighton and, pp. 209,
228-31, 325.

England and Solemn League and
Covenant, pp. 187-95.

Epigram on Provost's Name, p. 54.

England (Church of), pp. 480-1 ;
Estimate of, p. 502.

Episcopacy and Calvinism, pp. 21 ;
and Laud, p. 25.

Episcopacy (Leighton's) p. 320 ;
(Low Church), p. 327 ; and
Scottish Mind, p. 330 ; Leigh-
ton's Disappointment with, p.
334 ; Attempts at Modified, pp.
403-32 ; and Scottish People,
pp. 439, 507 ; Episcopacy and
Presbytery, p. 485 ; Divine Right
Theory, p. 547 ; Low Church
Form, pp. 554-66 ; Episcopacy
(Scottish) of James, pp. 112-14 ; of
Charles I, pp. 114-24 ; Associated
to People with Popery, pp. 114-20 ;
and Nobles, p. 116 ; and Clergy,
p. 117 ; and People, p. 118 ; Cal-
vinism against, p. 119 ; Assisted,
p. 129 ; Thirty Years of, pp.
133-6 ; Liberal, p. 189 ; Limited

pp. 192, 310-20 ; Not Heroic, p. 327 ; and Presbytery, p. 328 ; Presbyteries and, p. 339 ; Restoration of, pp. 346-52 ; Characteristics of, pp. 351-4 ; Disappointment with Leighton, p. 498 ; Stepping Stone to Romanism, p. 508.
 Episcopate (Leighton on), p. 523.
 Epitome (Alex. Leighton's), p. 42.
 Erasmus, p. 542.
 Erastianism, pp. 456, 515.
 Erastians of Assembly, p. 192.
 Erskine's (Representatives of), pp. 533, 550.
 Estimates of Leighton, pp. 360-63, 530-40.
 Eternity (Preaching to), pp. 147, 171 ; cf. pp. 233, 503-4.
 Evangelists (Leighton's), p. 437 ; Impressions of, p. 439.
 Ewing (Bishop), p. 555.

F

Fairfoul (Bishop), pp. 307, 331.
 Fait and Droit, p. 93.
 Fall (Dr.), pp. 161, 531, 589.
 Fathers and Jansenists, p. 81.
 Fergus, St. (Chapel of), p. 1.
 Ferrar (Nicholas), p. 544.
 Flanders (Leighton in), p. 72.
 Flint (Professor), pp. 144, 245, 512.
 Forfar (Court at), p. 2.
 Fox (George), p. 265.
 France and Jansenism, p. 90.
 Francis (St.), pp. 77, 96, 97, 142, 151, 276.
 French Catholics, p. 79.
 French (Leighton's knowledge of), p. 72.
 Friends of God, p. 105.
 Fuller (Andrew), p. 67.
 Fuller on Laud, p. 24.
 Fyvie (Prior of), p. 5 ; Church of, p. 7.

G

Gardiner (Historian), pp. 40, 42, 47, 188, 327, 492.
 Geddes (Jenny), p. 123.
 Genevan Calvinism, p. 31.
 Gibbon on Church, p. 548.
 Gillespie (Patrick), p. 216.

Glasgow, pp. 113 ; Assembly, p. 127 *et seq.* ; Bishop's Palace at, pp. 595-6 ; Leighton at, p. 392 ; Remonstrance of Synod, p. 419 ; Leighton (Archbishop of), pp. 433-97 ; Address to, p. 459 ; Council and Presbytery Records relating to Leighton, pp. 494-7 ; Leighton Resigns Archbishopric, pp. 500-1 ; Glasgow Council on, p. 501 ; Leighton's Benefactions to, pp. 504, 592, 594.
 Glascune (Feud at), p. 3.
 Glencairn, p. 323.
 Goodwin, p. 190.
 Gordon (James), of Banchory, p. 109.
 Gordon (Rev. Dr.), p. 178.
 Gordon (Dr. Thomas), pp. 241, 242.
 Gouge (Dr. William), p. 33.
 Grace, p. 85.
 Graham (Archibald), p. 457.
 Grant (Sir Alexander), pp. 49, 50, 537.
 Grant, Mrs. (of Laggan), p. 344.
 Gray (Andrew), pp. 100, 259, 281.
 Greek Church (Fathers of), p. 81.
 Gregory (St.), p. 97.
 Greyfriars, Edinburgh, p. 124.
 Grub (Dr.) on Scottish Bishops, p. 344.
 Guthrie (James), pp. 216, 328.
 Guthrie (William), p. 161.
 Gutters, pp. 361, 487.

H

Haddock's Hole, p. 403.
 Hales on Prayer Book, p. 189.
 Hamilton (Bishop), pp. 307, 331, 464.
 Hamilton (Duke of), p. 453 ; and National Synod, p. 468 ; Party of, p. 499.
 Hamilton (Marquis of), pp. 126, 127, 208.
 Hamilton (Patrick), p. 121.
 Harnack (Professor), pp. 79, 92, 95, 545, 546, 566.
 Harper (Sir John), p. 437.
 Hastie (Professor), pp. 152, 156.
 Hatch (Edwin), pp. 565, 567.
 Hay of Craignethan, p. 281.
 Heath (Attorney-General), pp. 44, 47.

- Henderson (Alexander), pp. 117, 124, 128.
 Henson (Canon), p. 513.
 Herbert (George), pp. 521, 544.
 Herkless (Professor), pp. 508, 535.
 Herzen (Honorato), p. 88.
 Heth (Daughter of), pp. 35, 38, 41.
 Hierarchy, Prelatic, p. 36.
 Hildebrandism (Presbyterian), p. 197.
 Holland (Alex. Leighton in), pp. 20, 31; Robert Leighton in, pp. 73, 548.
 Holmes (Wendell), p. 15.
 Holyrood, pp. 115, 352, 356; Conference at, pp. 440-2, 444-50.
 Home Missions and "Brotherhoods" and "Sisterhoods," pp. 109, 544-5.
 Horsted-Keynes, pp. 501, 511.
 Huguenots, p. 95.
 Hutcheson (Rev. George), pp. 418, 440, 443; Answer to Leighton's Proposals, p. 445.

I

- Inchbrayoch Churchyard, p. 12.
 Incomes of Scottish Bishops, p. 355.
 Independents and Covenant, pp. 190, 192; Witness for Toleration, p. 194.
 Indulgence (First), pp. 418, 434; (Second), pp. 456, 462-4.
 Innes, Bishop, p. 5.
 Innes (Cosmo), pp. 139.
 Innes (A. Taylor), on Future of Presbyterianism, p. 194.
 Innocent (X), Pope, p. 91.
 Inquisitional Aspect of Presbytery, p. 187.
 Inverness, p. 3.
 Irene (Drummond's), p. 197.

J

- Jaffray (Alexander), p. 266.
 James I and Laud, p. 26.
 James VI, Ransom of, p. 6.
 Jameson, Professor, p. 508.
 Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, pp. 79, 83, 84. Author of *Augustinus* and death, p. 84; Doctrines, p. 88, 90, 342.

- Jansenism and Jansenists, pp. 78-95; Christo-centric, p. 79; Counter-Reformation, p. 79; and Inner Regeneration, p. 80. Evangelical, p. 81. Cf. with Protestants and Methodists, p. 81; and Papacy and Jesuits, p. 89 *et seq.*; Rejection of, p. 95; Influence on Leighton, p. 95 *et seq.*
 Jebb (Bishop), p. 535.
 Jedburgh, 467.
 Jerment (Dr.), p. 533.
 Jesuits, pp. 80, 82; and Jansenism, p. 90 *et seq.*
 Johnston of Warriston, pp. 116, 128.
 Jowett (Dr., of Balliol), pp. 67, 89.

K

- Kempis, Thomas à, and Robert Leighton, pp. 72, 100, 101, 102, 276, 587.
 Kildrummy Castle, p. 3.
 Kilmarnock, Meeting at, p. 443.
 Kincardine (Earl of), pp. 440, 453.
 Kinnaird, Lands of, p. 4.
 Kinnimond, Bishop, p. 8.
 Kirkton (Historian), p. 337.
 Knox, John, pp. 112, 118, 339, 547.
 Kuyper (Prof.), on Calvinism, p. 71.

L

- Lady Iblispadin, pp. 11-14.
 Laing, Dr. David, pp. 55, 57.
 Lambeth, p. 47.
 Lamont's Diary, p. 247.
 Laud and the Puritan Lecturers, pp. 18, 20. Life of, pp. 23-30; High Church Ideas, p. 25; Named Calvinists "Doctrinal Puritans," p. 25; Views on Kingly Authority, p. 27; and Charles I, pp. 27, 30. His Ideas and Objects, *ibid.*; and Courts, pp. 29, 30; and Oxford, 30: Archbishop of Canterbury, p. 30; and Alexander Leighton, pp. 34, 47; Diary, pp. 39, 45; Regarded his Opponents as Enemies of God, p. 40; and Charles I, pp. 114, 124; and Calvinism, p. 119; and Scotland, p. 121; Laudian Party, p. 309.

- Lauderdale (Correspondence), p. 161 ; Earl of, pp. 323, 330, and Leighton, pp. 413, 418, 433, 434-6, 441, 452 ; Letters to, pp. 454-460, 499, 552.
- Lecky (Historian), p. 96.
- Lecturers, pp. 18-20.
- Lees (Dr. Cameron), p. 8.
- Leighton—Origin of Name, p. 3 ; Arms of, p. 4 ; Leighton, Family of, p. 3 ; Sir Richard, p. 3 ; William de, p. 3 ; Sir William, p. 3 ; Thomas of, p. 3 ; Walter of, p. 3 ; Alexander de, Prior of Torphichen, p. 4 ; Bishop Alexander de, p. 4 ; Sir David of, Abbot, p. 5 ; Walter Lichton, p. 5 ; Henry de (Bishop of Moray and Aberdeen), pp. 5-9 ; Restores Elgin and Erects St. Machars, p. 6 ; Erects Towers of St. Machars, pp. 69, 110 ; John, p. 10 ; Charged with Murder, pp. 10-14 ; Last Connected with Usan, p. 11 ; Jurors and Commissioners, p. 11 ; End of, pp. 11-14.
- Leighton (Alexander, Dr.), pp. 11, 15-20 ; Father of Archbishop, p. 15 ; Graduates at St. Andrew's, p. 14 ; Approaches Dean of Durham, p. 15 ; in England, p. 16 ; at Leyden, p. 16 ; Publishes, p. 17 ; on Bishops, 18 ; a Lecturer, 18 ; Retires to Holland, 20 ; Preaches at Utrecht, 31 ; and Christian Year, p. 31 ; Letter of, p. 32 ; Returns to England, p. 33 ; Seized at Blackfriars, p. 33 ; Imprisoned, p. 34 ; Letters Seized, 34 ; and Laud, pp. 34, 41 ; and Star Chamber, p. 37 ; a Hero, p. 38 ; Rushworth's Account of Trial, p. 38 ; Leighton's Confession, p. 39 ; Sentenced, pp. 39, 40 ; Escape and Apprehension, p. 39 ; Not Present at Whole Trial, p. 40 ; Bearing of, p. 41 ; Wife, p. 41 ; in Fleet for Ten Years, p. 43 ; Petition of, pp. 43, 44 ; Resolution of Parliament regarding, p. 44 ; Character of, pp. 45, 46 ; Wife and Family, p. 46 ; References to, and Anonymous Works, pp. 46, 47 ; Keeper of Prisoners at Lambeth House, p. 47 ; Father of Robert Leighton (q.v.), p. 48 ; Letters to, pp. 55, 61 ; Imprisonment and Death, 62 ; With Robert, when Latter Signed Covenant, p. 195 ; Death of, p. 211.
- Leighton, Robert, and Usan, pp. 9, 11, 12 ; Birthplace Unknown, pp. 48, 49 ; Mother's Name Unknown, p. 49 ; Graduated, p. 49 ; His Professors, p. 50 ; Influenced by Rollock, p. 51 ; A Saint from Youth, p. 52 ; Youth and Milton's, pp. 53, 54 ; Epigram on Edinburgh Provost, p. 54 ; Letters to Father, pp. 55, 61 ; Disposition to Satire, p. 57 ; Influence of his Mother, p. 57 ; Catechism, p. 57 ; Step-Mother, p. 46 ; Letters to, pp. 59-61 ; Father's Death, p. 62 ; Abroad, p. 62 ; Course at Edinburgh, pp. 62, 66 ; Unseen in, p. 68 ; Embodied Scottish Church Culture, p. 69 ; Influence of Calvinism, pp. 70, 71 ; Abroad, pp. 71, 111 ; At Douay and Flanders, pp. 72, 73 ; Formative Influences at Douay, p. 76 *et seq.* ; On Grandfather, 76 ; Influence of Jansenism on, pp. 78, 95 ; Influence of Jansen and Jean du Verges on, pp. 63, 85, 95 ; and Catholic Church, p. 96, *et seq.* ; and Thomas à Kempis, pp. 100-4 ; Views on Monasticism, pp. 104, 110 ; Inclination to Scotland, p. 111 ; Settles in Scotland, p. 137 ; and St. Bernard's Movement, p. 139 ; Works Written at Newbattle, p. 144 ; Characteristics of, pp. 144, 162 ; cfd. with Newman, pp. 149, 153 ; Style, 160 ; Examples of Style and Message, pp. 162-177 ; and Presbytery, p. 178 *et seq.* ; and Earl of Lothian, p. 179 ; Ordained, p. 181 ; Signs Covenant, p. 195 ; and Argyll and Montrose, pp. 198, 200 ; Letter to Earl of Lothian, p. 203 ; and Parliament and Presbytery, pp. 205, 220 ; Admonished, p. 209 ; Visits London, 211 ; and Patrimony, 212 ; Chosen to go to London, p. 216 ; Desires to be Freed from Newbattle, p. 216 ; Called to be Principal, p. 217 ; Relations with his Presbytery, p. 218 ; Books bequeathed

- to Newbattle, pp. 242, 244 ; Principal of Edinburgh College, pp. 245-302 ; Catholicity of, p. 246 ; Leighton (Robert) and Cromwell, p. 246 ; Principal of Edinburgh College, p. 247 *et seq.* ; Proceeds to London, p. 252 ; Sir Robert Sibbald on, p. 253 ; Letters of, pp. 254-266 ; Mysticism of, pp. 272-280 ; Letters of, pp. 282-286 ; and Sir Elisha Leighton, pp. 288-291 ; Letters, pp. 290-2 ; Council Record and, pp. 293-302 ; Transition from Presbytery to Episcopacy, pp. 303-22 ; Objects in, pp. 320, 322 ; and Sir Elisha Leighton's Influence, p. 329 ; Ordination Views, p. 332 ; Writes Lothian and Mr. Aird, 335-8 ; Disappointment of, p. 342 ; Method, p. 343 ; Separates, p. 346 ; Defends Presbyterians, p. 347 ; On Restoration Church, p. 352 ; Dean and Bishop, pp. 355-360 ; Work at Dunblane, pp. 363-6 ; Synodical Addresses, pp. 366-394 ; at Glasgow, p. 392 ; and Heritors ; p. 395 ; Letters of, pp. 395-432 ; Archbishop of Glasgow, pp. 419, 433 ; Letters, p. 434 ; Appeals and Purging Committee, p. 437 ; Appoints Evangelists, p. 438 ; Holds Conferences, p. 440 *et seq.* ; at Paisley, p. 443 ; Holyrood Conference, pp. 444-450 ; Mr. Ward Attacks, pp. 450-52 ; Letters to Lauderdale, pp. 454-80 ; on Second Indulgence, pp. 462-4 ; on Western Difficulties, pp. 474-7 ; Suspected by Lauderdale, p. 478 ; Resignation, Retirement, Death, pp. 498-516 ; Benefactions, pp. 504-5 ; Death at London, p. 509 ; Character, p. 512 ; Leightoniana, pp. 517-29 ; Tributes to, pp. 530-540 ; and Monasticism, pp. 541, 545 ; Conclusions as to, pp. 546, 574 ; Leightonian Library, pp. 582-592.
- Leighton (Sir Elisha), pp. 288-91.
- Leslie (General), pp. 130, 132.
- Library (Leightonian), pp. 582-92.
- Lightfoot (Bishop), p. 546.
- Lightmaker (Mr.), pp. 398, 517, 583-6, 593-4.
- Little Land, p. 23.
- Liturgies, p. 189.
- Livingston (Sir William), p. 7.
- Lothian (Earl of), presents Leighton to Newbattle, p. 138 ; Leighton in Sympathy with, p. 179 ; Covenanting Leader, p. 180 ; at Newcastle, p. 201 ; Leighton's Letter to, p. 203 ; Protects Leighton, p. 210 ; on Leighton, p. 219 ; Leighton's Letter to, p. 335.
- Loudoun (Chancellor), p. 196.
- Louvain, pp. 76, 79, 84, 90.
- Luther, pp. 79, 82, 83, 473.
- M
- MacEwen (Professor), p. 550.
- Machar's (St.), Cathedral, p. 6 ; St. Mary's Altar at, p. 6 ; Chaplains at, p. 7 ; Chapel of St. John, p. 7 ; Building of, pp. 8, 9, 110.
- Mackenzie (Bishop), p. 342.
- Mackenzie (Sir George), pp. 353, 530.
- Magee (Archbishop) on Orders, p. 107 ; on Preachers, 159.
- Maidment, p. 340.
- Maitland Treasurer, p. 11.
- Manning, Cardinal, pp. 78, 538.
- Marcion, p. 79.
- Martineau (Dr. James), p. 245.
- Mary (Queen), p. 76.
- Mary (St.), Chapel of, pp. 1, 12.
- Masson (Prof.), pp. 18, 67, 117.
- Maurice (Frederick), p. 559.
- McKail (Hugh), p. 417.
- McWard on Episcopacy, pp. 354, 360, 422, 450-2, 572.
- Melville (Andrew), p. 328.
- Memory (Robert Leighton's), p. 64.
- Middleton-Commissioners, pp. 323, 343, 348, 350.
- Miles (Henry), p. 351.
- Millenary Petition, p. 21.
- Milton and Alex. Leighton, p. 42 ; Youth and Robert Leighton's, pp. 53, 54, also 58, 67 ; on Covenant, p. 194 ; on Ordination, 561 ; and Usher, 565.

- Ministers (Characteristics of), p. 178.
 Mitchell's Fanaticism, pp. 487, 493.
 Mitchell (Bishop), p. 344.
 Moderate Episcopacy, pp. 554-68.
 Monasteries (Reformed Protestant), pp. 107-8 ; Leighton on, pp. 108-10, 541-5 ; Harnack on, p. 545.
 Monk (General), pp. 215, 249, 324.
 Monks, p. 510.
 Monk's Cell, p. 104.
 Monmouth (Duke of), pp. 502, 506, 507.
 Montalembert, p. 541.
 Montrose, pp. 130, 180, 196 ; Character of, pp. 196-8 ; Position, pp. 198-200.
 Moray (Canon of), pp. 3-6.
 Morley (John) on Churchmen, p. 23 ; on Leighton, p. 537.
 Mount St. Agnes, p. 106.
 Murder at Usan, pp. 10-14.
 Murray (Sir Robert), pp. 291, 418, 433, 453.
 Musgrave (Sir William), pp. 46, 214.
 Mysticism, pp. 272-80.
- N
- Nairn (Mr.), p. 437.
 Napier (Lord), p. 116.
 Naphthali, pp. 360, 487-9.
 Neal (Historian), p. 45.
 Negative Vote of Bishop, p. 442.
 Neile, pp. 27, 28.
 Neri (Philip, St.), p. 149.
 Newbattle—Leighton Ordained to, p. 138 ; History and Description of, pp. 138-143 ; Manse, p. 143 ; Leighton's Works belong to Newbattle Period, p. 144 ; Work at, p. 210 ; Leighton and, pp. 220-24 ; Books left to Ministers of, pp. 242-4.
 Newcastle (Scottish Army at), p. 201.
 Newman and Leighton, pp. 149-52 ; and Church, 554.
 Nice (Council of), p. 413.
 Nicolas (St.) Hospital, pp. 593-6.
 Nicole, p. 83.
- Nobles and Lairds (Scottish) and Episcopacy, p. 116.
 Nye, p. 190.
- O
- Ogilvy, Sir Walter, p. 3 ; Family of, p. 4.
 Orders (Leighton's Relatives in), p. 73.
 Ordination (Leighton and Milton on), p. 333 ; Leighton's Example, pp. 558, 572.
 Orme, p. 9.
 Oxford, pp. 24, 25, 30.
- P
- Paisley (Conference at), p. 443.
 Papists and Robert Leighton, pp. 72, 76.
 Parish Churches, Absence from, p. 351.
 Parliament (Scottish), Leighton Preaches before, pp. 205, 348, 419-21.
 Parliament and Charles I, p. 28.
 Parties, Three Church, pp. 68, 69.
 Pascal, pp. 82, 83, 88, 155.
 Patrimony, Loss of, pp. 212, 213.
 Paul (St.) and Reformation, p. 79.
 Peebles, p. 436.
 Pentland Rising, p. 493.
 Persecutions, Leighton on, p. 453.
 Personality (Leighton's), p. 553.
 Physicians, College of, and Alex. Leighton, p. 16.
 Plays, Alex. Leighton on, p. 17.
 Pope (Sixtus V), p. 90.
 Popes, Leighton on, p. 176.
 Portrait of Alexander Leighton, p. 47.
 Port of Menteith Ordination, p. 581.
 Port Royal, pp. 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 94, 95, 105, 277, 278, 545.
 Prayers (Leighton's), pp. 271-272.
 Prelate on Hierarchical Party, p. 21.
 Alexander Leighton on, 34-37.
 Prerogative (King's), pp. 325, 419.
 Prerogative Kingly and Laudian Element, p. 29.

- Presbyterianism and Parliamentarianism, p. 34.
 Presbyterianism (Scottish) National, p. 118 ; Calvinism in, 118-20, 135-6, 193-5. Influence of English Puritanism on, p. 215 ; English, p. 310 ; and Comprehension : pp. 316-320 ; resists Episcopacy, pp. 346, 348 ; Reasons for, p. 349 ; and Liberty, pp. 547-552 ; and Leighton, p. 558 ; Heroic, pp. 573-4.
 Presbytery and Leighton, p. 179 *et seq.* ; Intolerant, p. 189, and Civil Magistrate, p. 325 ; Attack on, 326 ; English Presbyterians and Charles II, pp. 404, 426 ; Leighton Sits as Presbyter, pp. 496-7, 575-81.
 Presbyter (Bishop Leighton as), pp. 496-97, 575-81.
 President (Fixed), p. 411.
 Primitive Ages (Purity of), p. 73.
 Primrose (Sir Archibald), p. 324.
 Princes and Subjects, p. 27.
 Privy Council, pp. 29, 115.
 Probability (Doctrine of), pp. 80, 149.
 Protestantism, p. 97 ; Leighton's, pp. 110, 175 ; Scottish, p. 508 ; Genuine, p. 561.
 Protesters, pp. 216, 248 308.
 Puritans, pp. 15, 21, 22.
 Puritan Spirit, p. 148.
 Puritanism and Laud, p. 24 ; Laud's Opposition to, pp. 28-30 ; Influence on Robert Leighton, p. 71 ; and Catholicism, p. 77.
 Puritanism and Calvinism, p. 119.
 Pym, p. 21.
 Ramsay (Bishop), pp. 393, 457, 458.
 Ramus, p. 63.
 Ranke (Historian), pp. 80, 84, 86.
 Rankin (Professor), p. 51.
 Records (Presbytery) and Leighton, pp. 220, 241 ; Glasgow and, 496-7 ; Dunblane and, p. 575-81.
 Reformation in Scottish Church, p. 112.
 Registers of Douay College, pp. 77, 78.
 Religion, Object of, pp. 120-1.
 Renwick, p. 417.
 Resignation (Leighton's), pp. 374, 392, 400-402, 435, 458, 464.
 Resolutioners, pp. 216, 248.
 Retirement (Influence on Leighton), p. 110.
 Romanism and Episcopacy, pp. 120-121 ; Hatred of, p. 548.
 Re-ordination—none at Dunblane, p. 364 ; nor in Scotland, p. 428 ; Leighton on, p. 557.
 Resolutioners, p. 138.
 Restoration in Scotland, pp. 323, 325.
 Revolution Settlement and Leighton's Scheme, p. 513.
 Ripon, Bishop of, p. 31.
 Robinson (Independent), p. 191.
 Rollock (Principal), pp. 51, 52, 57.
 Ross, Archdeacon of, p. 5.
 Rossy, Lands of, p. 3.
 Rothes, Earl of, pp. 402, 413, 418, 507.
 Rouse's Report regarding Alex. Leighton, p. 44.
 Row (Bishop), p. 514.
 Row (Historian), pp. 33, 72, 331 341, 342, 349, 360-1, 436.
 Royalists (Scottish), p. 341.
 Rushworth, p. 38.
 Rutherford (Samuel), pp. 117, 194, 195.

Q

Quakers, p. 265.

R

Rait on Parliament and Assembly, p. 133.
 Ralph (Abbot), p. 140.

S

Sacrament (Leighton on), p. 172 ; Neglect of, p. 423.
 St. Andrews, pp. 15, 76, 113.
 St. Giles (Elgin), p. 5 ; St. Giles (Edinburgh), pp. 7, 114, 251 ; St. Giles (Durham), p. 16.

- St. John's (Aisle), p. 9.
 St. Peter (Commentary), p. 144.
 Salton, p. 352.
 Satires on Bishop, pp. 340-341.
 Schism (Cause of), p. 189.
 Scotch College at Douay, pp. 74-78.
 Scotland (Church of), p. 69; Elements in, pp. 116-120; and Nationality, p. 135; Resolutioners in, p. 138; Solemn League and Covenant with its Influence, p. 186; Alternatives before, p. 193.
 Scotland and Dutch Calvinism, p. 31; and Alexander Leighton, p. 42; and Calvinism, p. 71; and Episcopacy, 116-119; during Cromwell's time, p. 248 *et seq.*
 Scougal (Henry), pp. 276, 281; Leighton's Influence on and through, pp. 281-282, 323, 342.
 Sedition, Sower of, p. 41.
 Sermons (Leighton's), Selections from, pp. 164-177; University Addresses, pp. 266-270.
 Sharp (Archbishop), pp. 307, 329, 331, 343, 347, 402, 413, 414, 452-4, 505.
 Shotts (Revival), p. 120.
 Sheldon (Archbishop), pp. 329, 413.
 Sibbald (Sir Robert), p. 253.
 Simpson, p. 190.
 Skiamachia, p. 197.
 Skioch, St., Chapel of, pp. 1, 2, 12.
 Smith (Dr. Walter), pp. 73, 74, 322, 356-8.
 Solemn League and Covenant, Leighton Signs, p. 179; Essential parts of, pp. 183-185; Effects of, on Scotland, pp. 86; Compared with National Covenant, p. 186; Gardiner on, p. 188; Prevented Conciliation, pp. 188-192; Alienates Independents, and Moderate Episcopalians and Presbyterians, p. 191; Milton on, p. 194; and Montrose, pp. 196-198; Leighton on, p. 309; and Prelacy, p. 317; and Modified Episcopacy, pp. 403-432; see Leighton's Letters: and Episcopacy, p. 563.
 Southesk, Earl of, p. 11.
 Sovereignty (King's), p. 325.
 Speculum Belli Sacri, p. 17.
 Spiritual Independence, p. 549.
 Spirituality (Leighton's), p. 145.
 Spontaneity of Presbytery, p. 135.
 Spynie, Bishop, p. 6.
 Stanley (Dean), pp. 69, 134, 344, 512, 534, 562.
 Star Chamber, pp. 29, 37.
 State and Church, p. 549.
 Stevenson (Rev. Robert), p. 351.
 Stewart (Robert), p. 209.
 Stewart (Sir James), pp. 54, 76, 209, 361, 487, 525.
 Stirling (Sir George), p. 397.
 Stirling (Helen), pp. 9, 13, 14.
 Stirling (John), p. 487.
 Story (Principal), pp. 327, 351, 353; Comprehensive Settlement, pp. 513, 515; on Leighton, p. 535.
 Stoughton (Dr.), p. 511.
 Stuart Kings and Romanism, pp. 507, 548-9, 550.
 Sunday (Leighton on), p. 517.
 Superintendents (Knox's), pp. 516, 558, 560, 569.
 Suso, p. 96.
 Sydserf (Bishop), p. 329.
 Symson (Matthias), pp. 352, 364.

T

- "Tables," The, pp. 123, 127.
 Tarbot (Viscount), p. 514.
 Tauler, pp. 96, 97, 137, 147, 159, 276.
 Temple, p. 139.
 Tennyson, pp. 137, 155.
 Teresa, p. 97.
 Theophilus Timorcus, p. 406.
 Timelessness (Leighton's), p. 146.
 Times, Preaching to, p. 233.
 Times, Preaching up, p. 147.
 Titles (Leighton and), pp. 415, 559.
 Toleration (Leighton's), p. 157; Cromwell's, pp. 247, 308.
 Toleration and Anti-Toleration, p. 193; Leighton's, pp. 303-305.
 Traces of Leighton at Newbattle, p. 244.
 Travel (Robert Leighton on), p. 62.
 Trent, pp. 79, 152.
 Tron Kirk (Edinburgh), Leighton Preaches in, p. 342.
 Tron Church (Glasgow), Laureation in, pp. 486-7.
 Tulloch (Principal), pp. 49, 112, 512, 535; on Episcopacy, pp. 556, 568.

Tulloch, Family of, p. 2.
 Turner (James), pp. 402, 417.
 Tweeddale (Earl of), pp. 418, 433,
 440, 443, 453.

U

Ullmann (Professor), p. 106.
 Unanimity (Christian), p. 175.
 Uniformity (Act of), p. 328 ; and
 Union, p. 570.
 Union (Baxter on), p. 540.
 United Free Church, p. 568.
 Urban, VIII (Pope), pp. 90-91.
 Usan, pp. 1-14.
 Usher (Archbishop) — Represent-
 ative of Comprehensive Church,
 p. 189 ; Influence on, of Solemn
 League and Covenant, p. 189 ;
 His Reduction, pp. 193, 309, 320 ;
 and Leighton, pp. 320, 346 ; Possi-
 bilities of, pp. 351, 426, 499 ; and
 Milton, p. 565.

V

Vacancies (Impossibility of Filling),
 p. 455.
 Verger (Jean du), of Gascony, pp.
 83-84 ; or St. Cyran (q.v.).

W

Waldeve (Abbot), p. 140.
 Wallace and Bruce, p. 135.
 Wallace (Sir Thomas), p. 437.
 Wentworth and Laud, pp. 20, 34.
 Wesley (John), pp. 68, 101, 502,
 512, 517, 524.
 West, pp. 144, 536.
 Westminster Abbey (Scottish
 Bishops at), 333.

Westminster Confession on Catholic
 Church, p. 99.
 Westminster and Solemn League
 and Covenant, pp. 187, 309, 405 ;
 and Moderate Episcopacy, pp.
 562-7.
 Westminster, Pillory at, pp. 39, 41.
 West Scotland and Episcopacy,
 pp. 433-66, 474-7, 487.
 White (Dr.), p. 554.
 Will (Leighton's), p. 582.
 William King and Comprehension,
 p. 513.
 William the Silent, p. 561.
 Williams (Bishop), pp. 22, 26.
 Windesheim, p. 106.
 Wishart (Bishop), p. 344.
 Wishart (George), p. 121.
 Witham (Mrs. Dorothy), of Kirk-
 connell, p. 78.
 Wodrow, pp. 53, 72, 76, 161, 209.
 Woods (Family of), p. 2.
 Worcester, p. 216.
 Wordsworth (Bishop), pp. 339, 536,
 571-2, 569, 573.
 Wordsworth, pp. 16, 69.
 Wyntoun, p. 3.

X

Xavier (Francis), pp. 77, 159.

Y

Ypres, p. 78.

Z

Zion's Plea, p. 20 ; and Parliament,
 p. 31 ; and Laud, 33 ; Objects of,
 pp. 34-7 ; Alex. Leighton, Author
 of, p. 38 ; Dr. Harris on, p. 40 ;
 Robert Leighton on, p. 59.



